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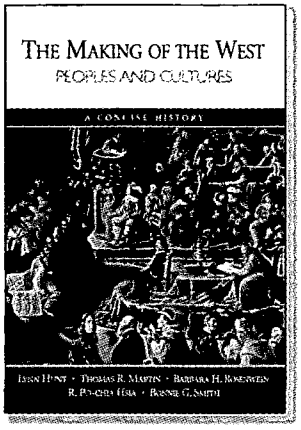
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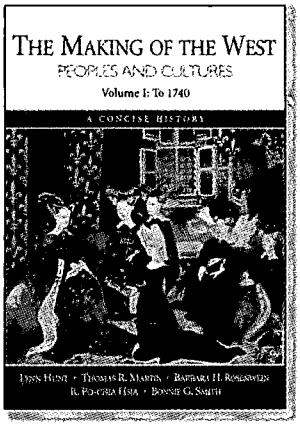
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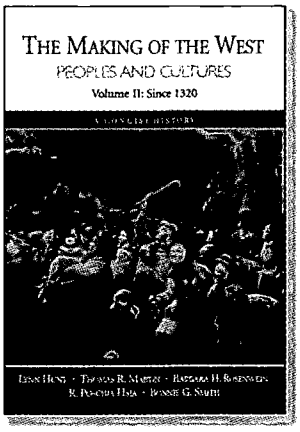
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In This Issue

This issue contains an American Historical Association Presidential Address, three articles, and a review essay. The presidential address reexamines the French Revolution as a seemingly paradoxical source of both democracy and totalitarianism. The articles analyze an individual exemplar of the Weberian Protestant ethic, state toleration of Muslims in nineteenth-century Russia, and the story of one couple's experiences crossing the color line. The review essay returns to the subject of the French Revolution in a critique of reigning historiographical orthodoxies. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Presidential Address

Lynn Hunt uses her Presidential Address to confront the now-classic question, how could the French Revolution be the source of both democracy and "totalitarianism"? She focuses on an aspect that has not often been analyzed in the two centuries of often acrimonious dispute about the Revolution of 1789: the experience of time. Contemporaries experienced events as unfolding in a kind of temporal hothouse; this sense of compression of time ultimately opened the way to a different approach toward the future, that is, the conviction that human will could remake society. New attitudes toward the past, present, and future proved essential to both democracy and government by terror. She also relates the experience of time to one of the most momentous consequences of the French Revolution, an increased attention to "the social," the notion that society has its own laws of operation open to human understanding and therefore to human intervention. The explosion of new plays, novels, and every manner of visual imagery helped instill this self-conscious awareness of social roles and patterns. Hunt's address demonstrates the insights possible by subjecting seemingly well-understood events to new forms of analysis.

Articles

Margaret C. Jacob and **Matthew Kadane** examine Max Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis in light of the evidence presented in the 14,000-page spiritual diary of a Leeds clothier, Joseph Ryder (1695–1768), about whom Weber (or anyone else in the last seventy-five years) had no apparent knowledge. While they acknowledge that there is much in Weber's thesis that needs modification, Jacob and Kadane contend that the remarkable correspondence between Weber's prototypical early Calvinist capitalist and

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the psychological self-portrait that Ryder created speaks to the ongoing insights of Weber's thesis. Ryder, like the Weberian archetype, saw his diligence in his religious and vocational calling as possible evidence of his soul's salvation. Nevertheless, he fretted that his worldly successes would distract him from religious duties and convictions and lead to his damnation. Ryder's lifelong attempt to navigate through success and excess never gave him a lasting sense of comfort. Instead, he experienced with deep ambivalence and anguish the slow process of decriminalizing material acquisition for its own sake that was in motion in his economically dynamic corner of Britain. Ryder's reluctance to accept fully the capitalist spirit is particularly significant because it points to the ways in which the practice and ideas of his religion shaped his behavior in the material world. It reminds us of Weber's exemplary balancing of ideas alongside the material as forces of historical change. Ryder was undoubtedly somewhat unique in keeping such a massive diary, but Jacob and Kadane argue that, in the economic heart of the very society that introduced industrialization to the rest of the world, ambivalence toward the capitalist spirit was more common than many historians have supposed. In doing so, they reveal the analytical possibilities of bringing a cultural approach to old problems of religious and economic history.

Robert Crews analyzes the place of Islam in the Russian Empire. He argues for a reconsideration of the nineteenth-century tsarist regime as a confessional state, whose understanding of toleration committed officials to act as the patrons and police of Islam and other non-Orthodox Christian traditions. Crews contends that this new instrumentality of imperial rule forged alliances between officials seeking religious support for imperial policies and spokesmen for novel notions of religious "orthodoxy." Despite the opposition of the Orthodox Church, the regime became an arbiter of contests over authority and interpretation within the non-Orthodox traditions. In Islam, Russian officials saw a valuable source of order and discipline. Analyzing court records, petitions, denunciations, and various Muslim sources, Crews maintains that Muslims, too, saw tsarist institutions as potential assets in struggles with co-religionists over the meaning and realization of God's law. He challenges the view that Muslims maintained their faith against, or outside, the institutional framework of the empire and shows instead how clerics and laypeople solicited state intervention against other Muslim opponents in defense of competing understandings of the tradition. Rooted in a shared language of sin and divine punishment, such relations of interdependence between Muslims and their Russian rulers linked dynamic processes of community formation to tsarist state-building. Crews argues that the adjudication of intraconfessional conflicts persisted as a singularly important vehicle for the extension of state power into local life, integrating and subordinating Muslim subjects but, paradoxically, also making the Orthodox tsar a guardian of Islamic "orthodoxy" in the everyday administration of the empire. His persuasive analysis is thus a compelling example of the importance of bringing the state back into the historical analysis of subjects such as religion.

Martha Hodes argues that the malleable nature of racial classification can work not only to diminish the power of racism but also to invigorate it. Focusing on transnational and local arenas, she explores the life of a white, working-class New

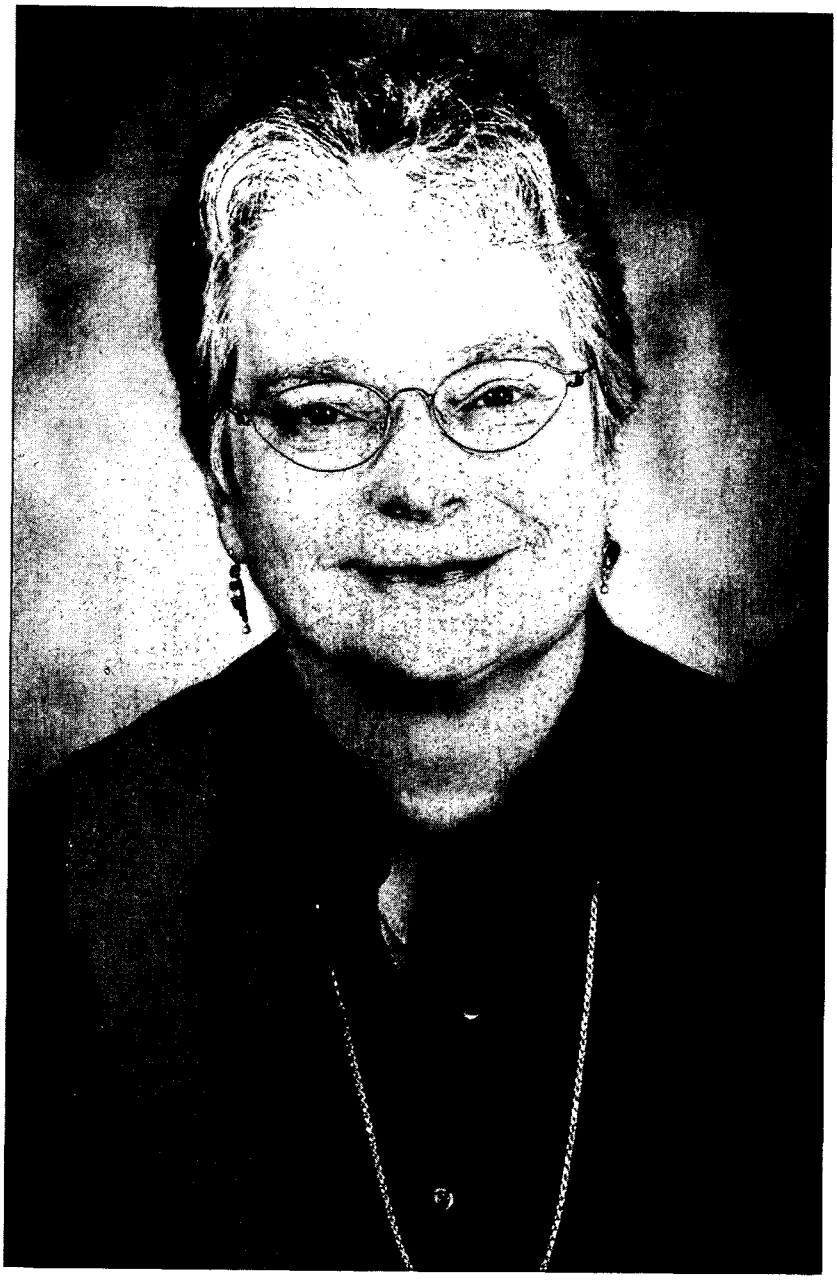
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England widow who married a well-to-do African Caribbean sea captain just after the Civil War. Juxtaposing U.S. and West Indian racial structures, Hodes complicates the idea of a binary U.S. system based solely on ancestry. Distinguishing between the abstraction of "whiteness" and the day-to-day gendered privileges of white womanhood, she reveals the ways in which Eunice Connolly's local status suffered by virtue of her proximity to Irish and African-American laboring women; marriage to a man of color only further degraded her. For the sea captain, the various ways in which white New Englanders perceived his color, class, and nationality served by turns to elevate and debase his neighborhood status. When the couple settled in a community of former slaves in the West Indies, however, Eunice Connolly's neighbors understood her to be an elite woman of color, permitting her to partake of the privileges of respectable womanhood that had eluded her in the United States. Through a story of the nineteenth-century Atlantic World, Hodes illuminates the ways in which historical actors can experience the fluidity of racial categorization between and within racial systems and challenges assumptions about the ameliorative qualities of racial mutability. And in doing so, she establishes the unique power of narrative to explain critical issues such as the development of racial, gender, and class identities.

Review Essay

Rebecca L. Spang's cogent and provocative essay suggests that the rhetoric of a bitter struggle between Marxists, Revisionists, and Post-Revisionists in the historiography of the French Revolution has obscured the extent to which a much grander historical narrative, about the shape and timing of "modern" life, has remained largely unchallenged for the past seventy years. Despite intellectual upheavals within the field, for most historians "modernity" still begins with the French Revolution. Repeated claims about methodological innovation and paradigm shifts may have energized the field, but they have also made it difficult to see just how much the "new" cultural interpretations owe to older social ones. Examining a number of recent books, she finds that attempts to demonstrate the emergence of revolutionary political culture from various strands of Late Enlightenment thought have been only partially effective. For if the social interpretation of the causes of the French Revolution, caricatured and rejected by cultural historians, left revolutionaries no option other than the mechanical expression of their class interests, the current mode of discursive analysis allows them little more individual agency. She calls attention to an implicit but rarely acknowledged "psychological turn" within studies of the revolution, and suggests that historians need to engage with this thematic more directly. In the absence of any way to explain how certain discourses, ideas, or texts become especially meaningful to people, the so-called cultural interpretation has compensated for its narrowness of focus with the vocabulary of madness. Spang's cogent and provocative review essay thus critiques the status quo from a conceptual vantage point outside the existing literature in a way that makes it a signal contribution not only to our understanding of the revolution itself but also of larger trends in contemporary historiography.

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LYNN HUNT. Photograph by Todd Cheney, UCLA.

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Presidential Address

The World We Have Gained: The Future of the French Revolution

LYNN HUNT

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION has fallen out of favor.[1] Even as recognition of its significance has spread, its reputation has suffered; for many, in the public and profession alike, it has become the harbinger of violence, terror, totalitarianism, and even genocide in the modern world. Edmund Burke seems to have won his argument with Tom Paine and Mary Wollstonecraft. His prophetic line of 1790—"In the groves of *their* academy, at the end of every visto, you see nothing but the gallows"[2]—might be read as the epitaph of all the utopian visions spawned by the French Revolution.

There is no point in denying that the French Revolution had its negative side; in 1793–1794, the deputies of the National Convention embraced terror as a form of government and developed the prototypes of totalitarian rule. But the French Revolution also gave birth to human rights and democracy, which have proved equally enduring in the modern world. Many past interpreters have tried to chalk up everything to one side or the other; some argued that the totalitarian side was a temporary aberration in response to the circumstances of war and counterrevolution, while others retorted that even the conceptions of rights and democracy were tainted by totalitarian ambitions. Such an either-or position is not sustainable; both the terror and democracy must be given their due. The question to be asked, then, is, how could the French Revolution produce such contradictory consequences?[3]

[1] My title may require some explanation. It echoes, while reversing, the title of Peter Laslett's pioneering study, *The World We Have Lost* (New York, 1965). Laslett described a demographic world that had been superseded. This essay has nothing to do with demography; it is about the new political and social world created by the French Revolution. I do not offer a review of recent historiography of the French Revolution, yet I do not mean to imply by this absence that recent historiography is other than important and of great influence on my own views. Serious attention to it would take up all the space allotted.

[2] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to That Event* (London, 1790), 115.

[3] There has been something of a revival of interest in the Terror of late. I cannot possibly do justice to the many writings on it. Even those from within the same school (followers of François Furet) differ, for example, about whether the Terror is best explained in philosophical terms (individualism versus nationalism) or practical ones (as a mode of political action). See, for the former position, Lucien Jaume, *Le discours jacobin de la démocratie* (Paris, 1989); and Ladan Boroumand, *La guerre des principes* (Paris, 1999); on the latter, see Patrice Gueniffey, *La politique de la Terreur: Essai sur la violence révolutionnaire, 1789–1794* (Paris, 2000). For a general statement that accords with my own

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If an answer to this question is not ready to hand, this should not surprise us. Every great interpreter of the French Revolution—and there have been many such—has found the event ultimately mystifying. Burke called the revolution "the most astonishing that has hitherto happened in the world . . . Every thing seems out of nature in this strange chaos of levity and ferocity . . . this monstrous tragi-comic scene."[4] Near the end of his life, Alexis de Tocqueville wrote poignantly to a friend about his frustration in understanding the events: "Independently of all that can be explained about the French Revolution, there is something unexplained in its spirit and in its acts. I can sense the presence of this unknown object, but despite all my efforts I cannot lift the veil that covers it."[5]

Karl Marx thought he had lifted the veil, and in the early 1840s he planned to write a history of the National Convention. He never did write that book, however, and even though the French Revolution served as the touchstone for Marxism, Marx himself continued to wrestle with the meaning of those events throughout his entire life. One of the last lessons he drew, in a letter of 1881, was the lesson of unpredictability. Although the French bourgeoisie had precisely defined demands before 1789, no Frenchman of the eighteenth century, Marx claimed, had the least idea before 1789 of how to get them satisfied. Similarly, he maintained, the proletariat could only devise the means of its revolution once it actually began.[6] If Marx never specified what would happen in the proletarian revolution of the future, this was at least in part because he never fully got a grasp on the events of the bourgeois revolution that he thought had prepared the way.

Although the sense of mystery has proved enticing (few are those who write one book about the French Revolution), there is often a price to pay. Exchanges about the French Revolution resemble a Belfast street fight more than a scholarly meeting. In his opening pages of *The Rights of Man*, dashed off in response to Burke's tract of 1790, Paine proclaims that "the flagrant misrepresentations" of Burke require a riposte. Paine's first sentence sets the tone for the ensuing quarrel: "Among the incivilities by which nations or individuals provoke and irritate each other, Mr. Burke's pamphlet on the French Revolution is an extraordinary instance."[7] Burke's passing reference to "a swinish multitude" sparked a firestorm of protest, yet his rhetoric paled in comparison to Hippolyte Taine's nearly a century later.[8] In his 1878 history of the French Revolution, Taine anathematized "*the mob* . . . A formidable, destructive, and shapeless beast that cannot be curbed,

views, see Bronislaw Baczko, "The Terror before the Terror? Conditions of Possibility, Logic of Realization," in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, 4 vols., Vol. 4: *The Terror* (Oxford, 1994), 19–38.

[4] Burke, *Reflections*, 11.

[5] In a letter to Louis de Kergolay as cited by François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Elborg Forster, trans. (Cambridge, 1981), 163.

[6] The letter to Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis is excerpted in François Furet, *Marx et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1986), 275–76. Furet offers the most extensive discussion of Marx's changing views of the French Revolution.

[7] Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution* (Dublin, 1791), 1. The sentence is the first sentence of the book. The phrase "flagrant misrepresentations" appears in the preface. The Dublin edition of 1791 did not have a preface, but the London edition of 1792 did. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution* (London, 1792), iii.

[8] Burke, *Reflections*, 117.

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it sits at the portals of the Revolution together with its mother, the baying monster Liberty, like Milton's two specters at the gates of Hell."[9]

Fourteen years after Taine died, his scholarship was targeted for demolition by the republican historian Alphonse Aulard, who published a 330-page book on Taine's errors. Aulard concluded from his "close and impartial inspection" that in Taine's book "an exact reference, an accurate transcription of a text, or a correct assertion is the exception." "There are serious inaccuracies, insignificant inaccuracies, innocent inaccuracies, tendentious inaccuracies, but there are inaccuracies everywhere or almost everywhere."[10] In the 1970s, to cite just one final example, François Furet planted his influential reinterpretation on the ruins left by his devastating barrage against the "Lenino-populist vulgate" of the communist historian Albert Soboul. "Why this poverty-stricken schema," Furet asked rhetorically, "this resurrection of scholasticism, this dearth of ideas, this passionate obstinacy disguised as Marxism?"[11]

The rat-a-tat-tat of scholarly and political crossfire threatens to obliterate the real accomplishments made in historical understanding over the centuries. I want to take a different approach and look for the unrecognized common ground on which all these debates have taken place. In other words, the interpretive forebears need not be wrong for me to be right. I do not envision myself as the circus performer at the top of the human pyramid, with Edmund, Tom, and Mary at the bottom, Karl and Alexis in the next row, and myself at the top straining to juggle several different interpretations in the air at once. The process resembles more a rambunctious history department meeting in which out of the cacophony of discordant voices finally issues, in part out of exhaustion, a partial, provisional, and always revocable agreement on what needs to be explained, if not on how to explain it.

All the great interpreters instinctively understood that no spreadsheet of causes and consequences could ever capture the meaning of the revolution. The French Revolution, like all revolutions, was first and foremost an experience. I use the word advisedly because the term "experience" is at once amorphous and vexed.[12] I use it, nonetheless, in order to signal that attention must be paid to the way in which events were subjectively viewed; these subjective views had everything to do with how events developed. One *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of experience is "an event by which one is affected." I want to get at what it means for an event such as the revolution to alter the mental state of millions of people.

[9] As quoted in Paul Farmer, *France Reviews Its Revolutionary Origins: Social Politics and Historical Opinion in the Third Republic* (New York, 1973), 30. The quotation can be found in full in Hippolyte Taine, *La Révolution: L'anarchie*, Vol. 3 of *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, 12 vols., 22d edn. (Paris, 1899), 79.

[10] Alphonse Aulard, *Taine: Historien de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1907), 324. Taine may have the last word, however, as the Liberty Fund has recently announced the republication of the English translation of Taine's three volumes on the French Revolution with an introduction by Mona Ozouf.

[11] Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 89, 131. The essay in question was first published in 1971.

[12] Among the definitions in the *Oxford English Dictionary* online are, "The fact of being consciously the subject of a state or condition, or of being consciously affected by an event. Also an instance of this; a state or condition viewed subjectively; an event by which one is affected." In addition, "A state of mind or feeling forming part of the inner religious life; the mental history (of a person) with regard to religious emotion." On the perils of experience as a concept in historical interpretation, see Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 773–97.

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The nature and significance of the experiential quality of the French Revolution has been very difficult to pin down. Metaphors have varied from the pathological—Tocqueville's "virus of a new and unknown kind" or Crane Brinton's "fever"—to the ecstatic: William Wordsworth famously termed it "bliss," and Emile Durkheim likened it to "general effervescence" or "general exaltation." Yet whether the metaphors are positive or negative, they almost always convey some sense of extraordinary bodily sensation, of literally being seized in the moment.[13]

Contemporaries themselves used the same kind of language. One of the very first newspapers to appear, *Courier français*, opened its account of the meeting of the National Assembly on July 15, 1789, by depicting an atmosphere of terror among the deputies: "Whimpers, tears, groans, lamentations and sobs signaled the opening of this session." They were receiving reports of "old men dragged in the streets, pregnant women knocked down by a huge crowd"; famine and civil war seemed to threaten.[14] The report for the next day changed tone abruptly. After the king seemed to reconcile himself to events and a deputation from the Assembly went to Paris to see for themselves, the note struck was resoundingly hopeful: "What a century we live in! . . . this legitimate insurrection, this necessary arming, only produces an instant of disorder . . . It is impossible to express the proofs of love, veneration and attachment that the deputies received from the citizens."[15] This phrase, "it is impossible to express," would recur time and again. Ordinary people felt the same way. In his personal journal, the Parisian glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra switched abruptly in 1789 from recounting his frequent sexual escapades to describing his day-by-day political travails. The French Revolution "came suddenly," he noted, "and revived all our spirits. And the word liberty so often repeated had an almost supernatural effect and invigorated us all."[16]

This notion of supernatural invigoration, and more generally of regeneration of the body politic, occurs everywhere and is often accompanied by a sense of being swept up in rapidly swirling events. From the very beginning, observers rushed to publish their accounts, as if writing down the events would give them a coherence they lacked intrinsically. Titles such as *Précis exact* . . . (Exact Summary . . .), *Récit relatif* . . . (Account of . . .), *La semaine mémorable* (The Memorable Week), and *Relation de ce qui s'est passé* . . . (Narrative of What Happened . . .) came off the

[13] In the same letter cited in note 5, Tocqueville says, "There is moreover in this disease of the French Revolution something very strange that I can sense, though I cannot describe it properly or analyse its causes. It is a *virus* of a new and unknown kind." Crane Brinton uses fever as the governing analogy of his entire book on *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1965). Wordsworth's line "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive" comes from his poem "The French Revolution as It Appears to Enthusiasts at Its Commencement" (1809), later incorporated into *The Prelude*. Durkheim used the French Revolution as an example when discussing moments of great social intensity. "That general effervescence results which is characteristic of revolutionary or creative epochs . . . Under the influence of the general exaltation, we see the most mediocre and inoffensive bourgeois become either a hero or a butcher." Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Joseph Ward Swain, trans. (New York, 1915; original French version, 1912), 241–42.

[14] At this stage, the *Courier français* had only begun to establish itself as a regular newspaper (it began publication on June 26, 1789). It appeared under the simple title, *Assemblée Nationale, séance XVme. Mercredi 15 Juillet 1789*, quote p. 1. For more information about the process of its establishment, see the indispensable Pierre Rétat, *Les journaux de 1789: Bibliographie critique* (Paris, 1988), 80–83.

[15] *Assemblée Nationale, séance XVI: Du Jeudi 16 Juillet 1789*, quote 1–2.

[16] *Journal of My Life by Jacques-Louis Ménétra*, Daniel Roche, ed., Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New York, 1986), 217.

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presses right after the fall of the Bastille, unsigned or with pseudonyms.[17] In the heat of the moment, before the proliferation of newspapers, authors offered no explanations, but they knew something momentous had happened: "In the end, we did in three days what people did not even do in three years during the old civil wars."[18]

Even sophisticated commentators felt caught in a political hurricane. The newspaper *Révolutions de Paris* referred in its second issue to "the innumerable multiplicity of events these last eight days . . . a thousand pens would not suffice to trace all the details." And that was only the third week in July 1789, "a week that was for us six centuries."[19] Again and again, unexpected events seemed literally to compress time. In the aftermath of the king's attempted escape in June 1791, Jeanne-Marie Roland wrote, "we are living through ten years in twenty-four hours; events and emotions are jumbled together and follow each other with a singular rapidity."[20]

On the evening of October 6, 1789, Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville breathlessly scribbled his first account of the "October Days" (October 5–6, 1789) for his newspaper *Le patriote français*: "The events that have taken place right in front of us appear almost like a dream . . . We cannot give a detailed account today of this astonishing Revolution. Exhausted with the fatigue brought on by guard service, it is impossible for us to enlarge upon this subject any further."[21] The next day, he tried to get at cause and effect by developing an exact chronological account, but he was far from certain that he had figured out the meaning of the events. Did the king really mean what he said when he expressed "his effusive joy"? Would the people "calm its effervescence, soothe its anxieties?" And then the seemingly inevitable and eventually fatal question: was "the riot the fruit of conspiracy"? Brissot answered, "That appears now more than probable."[22]

Brissot was only echoing a generally shared sentiment, for as soon as the Bastille fell, anonymous pamphlets began to denounce conspiracies: *Découverte de la conjuration* (Discovery of the Conspiracy), *Avis aux bons citoyens, touchant la grande conjuration des aristocrates* (Warning to All Good Citizens about the Great Aristocratic Conspiracy), *Les crimes dévoilés* (Crimes Unmasked), *Exécrable conspiration* (Abominable Plot)—the drumbeat began in mid-July 1789.[23] Only the passage of time, as Brissot implied, would reveal the inner significance of events.

Much has been written about how conspiracy fears and theories prepared the way for the Terror, and I do not contest the connection. Less attention has been paid to the way in which those obsessions were embedded in the extraordinary revolutionary experience of time. Time seemed both to stand still and speed up; the resulting sense of being out-of-joint (Brissot's dream-like state) demanded some

[17] For a sense of these titles, see Maurice Tourneux, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution française*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1890–94), 1: *Préliminaires, événements*, 155–62.

[18] *Relation de ce qui s'est passé à Paris depuis le 11 du présent mois, jusqu'au 15* (n.p., n.d.), 7.

[19] *Révolutions de Paris, Dédiées à la Nation* 2 (Du samedi 18 au 25 juillet 1789): 1 and 7.

[20] Claude Perroud, *Lettres de Madame Roland*, vol. 2 (1788–1793) (Paris, 1902), letter to Henry Bancal, July 11, 1792, Paris, 325.

[21] *Le patriote français* (in order to avoid confusion, I have modernized the spelling from françois to français), no. 63 (du Mercredi 7 octobre 1789): 3.

[22] "Journées des 5 et 6 octobre," *Le patriote français*, no. 64: 1–4.

[23] Tourneux, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris*, 1: 162–67.

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kind of equally extraordinary explanation (a plot). Conspiracy became all the more believable because people experienced time as a series of jolts rather than as a smoothly flowing river. Only something hidden could explain what Roland termed the "singular rapidity" of events.

A new relationship to time would turn out to be the single greatest innovation of the revolution, but this experience of temporality could not be decreed, as the devisers of the new revolutionary calendar discovered to their chagrin; it had to be lived and learned through a chaotic and complex set of emotions and sensations. Revolution meant rejecting the past, introducing a sense of rupture in secular time, maximizing and elongating the present in order to turn it into a moment of personal and collective transformation, and shaping the future in accordance with the discoveries made in the present. Time became an issue; it ceased being a given. (See Figure 1.) It also gained a new and fateful significance, later seized upon and codified, first by G. W. Hegel and then by Marx. Time's very passage came to seem revelatory—for the revolutionaries of conspiracies, for Hegel of the march forward of the world spirit, and for Marx of the progressive unfolding of the class struggle. The understanding of time's inner significance thus opened the prospect of voluntarism, that is, human will shaping the future.

Among the men of the Revolution of 1789, no one understood this development better than Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, nobleman, mathematician, philosopher, deputy, and victim of the Terror. In his *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit), written while in hiding, Condorcet told the history of progress through printing, science, and general enlightenment: "We will demonstrate that the principles of philosophy, the maxims of liberty, the knowledge of the true rights of man and his real interests are so widely spread in such a great number of nations and direct in each of them the opinions of such a great number of enlightened men that one cannot fear seeing them ever be forgotten."[24] Two centuries later, we might say that history proved Condorcet wrong, but we still wrestle with his central premise that human knowledge can shape the future.

The understanding of the passage of time as revelatory of its inner significance also cleared a path to a new kind of determinism. Bertrand Barère, leading member of the Comité de Salut Public, and thus one of the architects of the Terror, excused his actions as the product of his time:

> I did not at all shape my epoch, time of revolution and political storms . . . ; I only did what I had to do, obey it. It [*l'époque*] sovereignly commanded so many peoples and kings, so many geniuses, so many talents, wills and even events that this submission to the era and this obedience to the spirit of the century cannot be imputed to crime or fault.[25]

[24] Alain Pons, ed., *Condorcet: Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (Paris, 1988), 259.

[25] As cited in Sergio Luzzatto, "Un futur au passé: La Révolution dans les mémoires des Conventionnels," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 278 (1989): 455–75, quote 469. Barère's memoirs were published shortly after his death (1841) from sixty volumes of notes and documents he left behind for that purpose. The editors claim that this passage came from the notes Barère made for his introduction. Hippolyte Carnot and David (D'Angers), eds., *Mémoires de B. Barère*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1842–44), 1: 12–13.

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FIGURE 1: This rare revolutionary allegory of time makes manifest the effort to secularize temporality and get control of time's passage. In an allegorical subversion of the Catholic ritual of Ash Wednesday, the figure of Time takes the ashes of the titles of nobility and of the privileges of the church and presses them on the forehead of various clerics and nobles, saying, "You are only dust and you are going to return to dust." One version of the print is dated "Paris, Ash Wednesday, 1790, 2d year in the era of liberty." Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), Paris, Engravings Department, History of France, Qb1 1790 (17 janvier). Published with permission.

Voluntarism—the idea that humans could shape their future—and determinism were two faces of the same coin. This coin—this new apprehension of time—was forged in the crucible of revolution.

But I have leapt too far into the future. Before all this could happen, people had to experience time in new ways. The signs of preoccupation with time were everywhere and certainly not limited to the revolutionary calendar officially introduced in 1793 or to the odd suggestion that clocks be decimalized.[26] Especially striking is the penchant for naming revolutionary events by their "days": July 14 (fall of the Bastille), August 10 (fall of the monarchy), 9 Thermidor (fall of

[26] The suggestion to decimalize clocks was made in Toulouse. On the calendar and clocks, see Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 70–71.

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Robespierre), 18 Brumaire (Bonaparte's *coup d'état*)—these critical turning points are all known by their dates. The French language has two words for day: *jour* and *journée*, the former referring to the unit of time and the latter to what happens during it. All these were *journées*, that is, dates filled with a succession of events that made the day significant, that gave the date an enduring identity. The *journée* captured many of the ambiguities of temporal experience during the revolution. It marked a day that felt endlessly long when lived through, a day whose events effected major personal and political transformations, that is, rupture with the past. And yet each *journée* only set off a further cascade of events and thereby increased the desire to get the future under control.

Interpreters have differed about whether the revolutionaries really effected a rupture with the past and about whether the voluntaristic stance toward the future produced good or bad results, but they have all granted that the revolutionaries believed they were breaking with the past and thought that they could mold the future in accordance with their new principles. This belief in rupture was not just an ideological tenet preached by the high priests of revolution. The revolutionary calendar, which dated the year I from the founding of the republic in September 1792, equalized the length of months, established ten-day weeks, and gave both the months and days new names based on nature and reason, was devised by republican intellectuals. But its very possibility grew out of the common perception, expressed in newspapers, pamphlets, and personal correspondence, that some kind of new era had begun. Immediately after July 14, 1789, long before the official institution of a new calendar in 1793, people began to refer to 1789 as the year I of liberty.[27] The new sense of time, with its lasting implications, grew out of such common experiences; the official calendar, though not abolished until 1806, became a mere historical curiosity.

The experience of time became so central because revolution meant living the actual moment of the social contract. Although Jean-Jacques Rousseau bequeathed many notions about the social contract to the revolutionaries, he said almost nothing about the physical experience of it. For Rousseau, the social contract was mostly a hypothetical notion, a kind of primordial convention; his only historical examples were Sparta, Rome after the Tarquins, and Holland and Switzerland in modern times. Rousseau did describe these as moments of regeneration—"the State . . . is born again, so to speak, from its ashes, and takes on anew, fresh from the jaws of death, the vigour of youth"—but he focused on the meaning for the state rather than for individuals.[28]

For the revolutionaries, the moment of forging the social contract was something they came to know firsthand. No one has given a better description of this experience than Durkheim, nearly one hundred years after the events:

[27] Bronislaw Baczko, "Le calendrier républicain: Décréter l'éternité," in Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, Vol. 1: *La république* (Paris, 1984), 37–83, esp. 38.

[28] The passage in its entirety does include some reference to individuals and resonates with the French revolutionary experience: "There are indeed times in the history of States when, just as some kinds of illness [the Brinton metaphor] turn men's heads and make them forget the past, periods of violence and revolutions do to peoples what these crises do to individuals: horror of the past takes the place of forgetfulness, and the State, set on fire by civil wars, is born again, so to speak, from its ashes, and takes on anew, fresh from the jaws of death, the vigour of youth" (Book 2, chap. 8). Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses*, G. D. H. Cole, trans. (London, 1973), 218.

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There are periods in history when, under the influence of some great collective shock, social interactions have become much more frequent and active. Men look for each other and assemble together more than ever. That general effervescence results which is characteristic of revolutionary or creative epochs. Now this greater activity results in a general stimulation of individual forces. Men see more and differently now than in normal times. Changes are not merely of shades and degrees; men become different. The passions moving them are of such an intensity that they cannot be satisfied except by violent and unrestrained actions, actions of superhuman heroism or of bloody barbarism.[29]

Durkheim goes on to compare this to religious experience; this effervescence is what he calls the fundamental form of religious life, which becomes in the modern era the basis of social life itself. The French Revolution, then, is the moment when people discover the social roots of their being, when sacredness, to return to Durkheim's terms, is transferred from religion to society.

The revolutionary shock of recognition—that human life is embedded in social convention and therefore is subject to human will—was foreshadowed by Rousseau; in the first chapter of Book 1 of *The Social Contract*, Rousseau asserts that "the social order is a sacred right which is the basis of all other rights . . . [T]his right does not come from nature, and must therefore be founded on convention."[30] Over the past two centuries, commentators on Rousseau have focused their attention on the contractual side of the social contract; following Durkheim, who lectured extensively on Rousseau, I want to put more emphasis on the social half of the social contract.[31] Rousseau wrote of the social order, social state, social pact (he used "pact" eighteen times and "contract" twenty-five), social link, social system, social body, social treaty, social law, social spirit, and social bond.[32] He used these various terms, I think, because he implicitly recognized the potential contradiction in his notion of the social contract, one seized upon by Durkheim. According to Durkheim, Rousseau "fails to explain how social life, even in its imperfect historical forms, could come into being . . . how it can possibly cast off its imperfections and establish itself on a logical basis."[33]

Rousseau himself had recognized the problem:

[29] Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 241. The term "effervescence" was also used during the revolution. In 1789, the nobleman Gabriel Abot de Bazinghen wrote in his journal about the events of August in his area (Boulogne-sur-Mer): "félicitons nous que ce moment d'étourderie [a demonstration of the young of the town demanding a lowering of grain prices] aÿe été la seule tache dans ce moment d'effervescence." Alain Lottin, Louisette Caux, and Michel de Sainte-Maréville, eds., *Boulonnais, noble et révolutionnaire: Le journal de Gabriel Abot de Bazhinghen (1779–1798)* (Arras, 1995), 174.

[30] Rousseau, *Social Contract*, 182.

[31] Durkheim's essay-length study of Rousseau was published posthumously in the *Revue de métaphysique et de morale* 25 (1918): 129–61. The English version can be found in Emile Durkheim, *Montesquieu and Rousseau: Forerunners of Sociology* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1965), 65–138.

[32] It is possible to trace these terms using the Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language (ARTFL), a cooperative enterprise of Analyses et Traitements Informatiques du Lexique Français (ATILF) of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) and the Division of the Humanities, the Division of the Social Sciences, and Electronic Text Services (ETS) of the University of Chicago. The project has hundreds of French texts available for online searching, among them Rousseau's *Social Contract* (http://humanities.uchicago.edu/orgs/ARTFL/).

[33] Durkheim, *Montesquieu and Rousseau*, 137.

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For a young [he meant just emerging] people to be able to relish sound principles of political theory and follow the fundamental rules of statecraft, the effect would have to become the cause; the social spirit, which should be created by these institutions, would have to preside over their very foundation; and men would have to be before law what they should become by means of law.

In this passage, Rousseau anticipated the most fundamental dilemma that would confront the revolutionaries: how could liberty, equality, and fraternity be instituted before the French had any real experience of them?

Rousseau then went on, in a passage that foreshadows Durkheim, to claim that this difficulty explained the recourse to divine intervention:

This is what has, in all ages, compelled the fathers of nations to have recourse to divine intervention and credit the gods with their own wisdom, in order that the people, submitting to the laws of the State as to those of nature, and recognizing the same power in the formation of the city as in that of man, might obey freely.[34]

In other words, the transfer of sacredness from religion to society was very hard to effect, as the French revolutionaries were to discover.

Interpreters have differed about whether this relocation of the sacred was a good thing or not, but the greatest among them, from whichever end of the political spectrum, have seen that something this consequential was at stake. Thus Tocqueville gave as one of his chapter titles, "How, though its objectives were political, the French Revolution followed the lines of a religious revolution and why this was so." He went on to explain that "it developed into a species of religion, if a singularly imperfect one, since it was without a God, without a ritual or promise of a future life."[35] Although we know now that the revolution gave birth to almost endless rituals, some "savage" but most of them official, Tocqueville's insight remains valid: the revolution resembled a religious movement in its universalism and its goal of personal and political "regeneration of the whole human race." "This strange religion," Tocqueville concluded, "has, like Islam, overrun the whole world with its apostles, militants, and martyrs."[36] The central "religious" experience, I am arguing, was the reenactment of the social contract, ritually repeated at various decisive moments in the revolutionary process.

Revolutionaries did not speak often of living the actual moment of the social contract, much less of transferring the sacred. During the debate about whether or not to hold a trial of the king, Robespierre did make explicit the connection to the social contract:

When a nation has been forced to resort to its right of insurrection, it returns to the state of nature insofar as the tyrant is concerned. How could the tyrant invoke the social contract [*le pacte social*]? He abolished it . . . [T]he effect of tyranny and of insurrection is to break completely all bonds with the tyrant and to reestablish the state of war between tyrant and people.[37]

[34] Rousseau, *Social Contract*, 216 (Book 2, chap. 7).

[35] Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Régime and the French Revolution*, Stuart Gilbert, trans. (New York, 1955), 10, 13.

[36] Tocqueville, *Old Régime*, 12–13.

[37] Robespierre's speech of December 3, 1792, as translated by Michael Walzer, ed., *Regicide and Revolution: Speeches at the Trial of Louis XVI* (Cambridge, 1974), 132.

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But Robespierre said nothing in his speech about what would replace the now annulled contract. In this domain, actions spoke louder than words. As Mona Ozouf has shown, French festivals, funeral processions, translations of remains to the Pantheon of revolutionary heroes, and inaugurations of busts all contributed to this "transfer of the sacred." The swearing of oaths occupied such a central place in the festivals, she argues, because "it rendered visible the act of contracting, conceived as the fundamental characteristic of sociability."[38] Thus the moment of swearing an oath constituted the literal enactment of the social contract; it was the moment at which the sacred was transferred to society, to the social bond. The oath was one of the ways by which society could be sacralized, rendered sacred.

The festivals employed costumes, symbols, and ceremonial forms from Antiquity, not in order to link up with the past but in order to jump over the French past to a time of new beginnings, of innocence, and authenticity, that is, to something like the moment of Rousseau's primordial convention. Louis-François Portiez, a deputy in the Council of Five Hundred, argued in 1798 that "the interesting characters of Antiquity" (he was speaking of characters in plays) were "closer to nature; they fulfilled their duties more promptly and defended their rights more courageously."[39] This was a widely shared view. The moment of instituting the social contract thus inevitably entailed a rupture in the old sense of time and a feeling of rebirth.

The revolutionaries, and the radical "de-Christianizers" most of all, embraced the religious fervor and ritual dimension of their actions. The eulogy of Marie-Joseph Chalier, one of the revolutionary "martyrs" of 1793, is just one of countless examples. President of the revolutionary tribunal of Lyons, Chalier was executed by his opponents in July 1793. After the republican government retook the city, the president of the commission that was set up to exact vengeance offered an official eulogy in which he struck the same notes heard so often that year: "in this regenerated city, inside its walls now purified, we wanted to give this ceremony of a renewed people the dimension of the heavens as its vault, the stars as torch, and liberty as its pontiff."[40] The veneration of Chalier quickly took its place in the de-Christianization movement, which in Lyons drew sustenance from the extraordinarily violent struggle for control of the city. But the extremes of de-Christianization should not deflect attention from a more general underlying process; all politics took on a religious hue because the definition of the basis of the community was at stake.

The existential return to a kind of zero degree of social and political life—an act repeated again and again all over France—gave democracy both an instant and an unstable foundation. Thousands, perhaps millions, of people now felt that the scales

[38] Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1976), 337. The title of her concluding chapter is "La fête révolutionnaire: Un transfert de sacralité" (The Revolutionary Festival: A Transfer of Sacredness). To my mind, this is the single most important twentieth-century work written about the French Revolution.

[39] France, *Corps législatif: Conseil des Cinq-Cents*, Louis-François Portiez, *Opinion de Portiez (de l'Oise), sur les théâtres: Séance du 2 germinal an 6* (Paris, 1798), 3.

[40] As quoted in Walter Markov and Albert Soboul, eds., *Die Sansculotten von Paris: Dokumente zur Geschichte der Volksewegung, 1793–1794* (Berlin, 1957), 202. Markov and Soboul give the full text of the published eulogy by Antoine Dorfeuille, president of the Commission de Justice Populaire in reconquered Lyons, at a ceremony in honor of Chalier held October 24, 1793.

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were falling from their eyes. They speak constantly of having been blinded by the habits of despotic authority; they were awakening to a new day, a new time. As one newspaper wrote about the execution of the king, the French had discovered "that great truth which the prejudices of so many centuries had stifled; today we have just convinced ourselves that a king is only a man."[41]

Into the vacuum left by the moral and political collapse of the Old Regime rushed a mania for social dissection. Having experienced "the social" in the social contract—whether in festivals, in reading newspaper accounts about the revolutionary "days," or in the new day-to-day politics of local life—people now questioned every convention of social life. The role of women in property-holding, family life, and politics; the status of Protestants, Jews, blacks, and the propertyless; and the smallest minutiae of daily life, from the forms of address (*vous* or *tu*, citizen or sir) to names for children (Catholic saints or Roman heroes) and the style of clothing (wearing the knee breeches of the aristocracy or the trousers [*sans-culottes*] of the manual laborer), all came under pressure. This cultural revolution is now well documented.[42] It took many forms and reached many millions, thanks to the unprecedented expansion of printed media. To take just the best-known example, Paris had four newspapers in 1788, 184 in 1789, and 335 in 1790.[43] Nothing any longer went without saying.

The outpouring of social and political criticism undermined traditional notions of deference and monarchical authority and thereby prepared the way for democracy. Less noticed, however, is the collective craving for information about "the social."[44] The relaxation of censorship let loose a flood of social expression that was not always fault-finding in aim. Twice as many plays were written and performed in the decade between 1789 and 1799 as in the entire 250 years before the revolution. Careful investigation has shown that most plays were not revolutionary in their thematic content, but it does not follow that people only wanted diversion in a time of crisis; theater-goers went to see representations of everyday social existence.[45] Attending the theater gave them the opportunity to work out new understandings of society. Theater had always filled this function; now it fulfilled it at a much greater pace and intensity.

The invention of melodrama in the mid-1790s put the new anxieties about social life at the center of the plot. Stories of mistaken identities, evil villains overcome, and families reunited all spoke to the widespread concern with the reshaping of social roles. Contemporaries then and scholars since have differed over the meaning of melodrama, specifically about whether it was democratic in effect or

[41] *Journal des hommes libres de tous les pays*, no. 82 (January 22, 1793).

[42] By cultural revolution, I mean the politicization of everyday life. Serge Bianchi, *La révolution culturelle de l'an II: Elites et peuple (1789–1799)* (Paris, 1982). See also Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*.

[43] Carla Hesse, "Economic Upheavals in Publishing," in Robert Darnton and Daniel Roche, eds., *Revolution in Print: The Press in France, 1775–1800* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 69–97, esp. 92.

[44] My analysis has been influenced by the work of Brian C. J. Singer, *Society, Theory and the French Revolution: Studies in the Revolutionary Imaginary* (New York, 1986). "The revolutionary imaginary can best be described as involving a change in this relation of society to itself, a change that promises society a consciousness of its institution in a sense and to a degree that was formerly inconceivable" (p. 5). Surprisingly, given their points of intersection, Singer does not engage the interpretations of Furet or Ozouf in any fundamental way.

[45] My figures are based on those given in Emmet Kennedy, *A Cultural History of the French Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), 394. My conclusions differ from his.

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not. Yet everyone grants that melodramas drew a much more varied audience than classical theater and that the dark forests, thunderclaps, and terrifying music bore some relation to the revolutionary disaggregation of the old social order.[46] There is no denying, in other words, that melodrama's spectacle spoke to deep fears about social meaning, especially about the uncertainty of social location after the revolution.

Like melodramas, novels took off as a genre after the end of the Terror. The number of new French novels declined from fifty-eight in 1789 to a low point of fourteen in 1794. But with the end of the Terror, novelists reemerged in force; the number of new novels increased from twenty-seven in 1795 to 123 in 1799, nearly three times the yearly average for the last four decades of the Old Regime.[47] Novelists did not often propagandize about the evils of the Old Regime or the virtues of the new one; they focused on the efforts of individuals to make their way in the social milieus in which they found themselves. The subject of the novel, like the plot of melodrama, was "the social" itself.

The most telling indicator of the fascination with "the social" is the proliferation of visual imagery. As might be expected, the vast majority of the 30,000 or so engraved images of the revolutionary decade concerned political figures, political events, or political allegories; they testified to an ongoing uncertainty about the narrative line that was unfolding inside the revolutionary process.[48] But many also registered that same attention to the rules of social life that can be seen in plays and novels (and that surely expands, as do the number of novels and melodramas after the end of the Terror).[49] Portraits of deputies, "historical tableaus" of revolutionary "days," ordinary street scenes, heroization of martyrs, demonization of enemies domestic and foreign—they all participated in building up a picture of the workings of society in a time of revolution. (See Figure 2.) By their very nature as visual images, they captured that elongation of the present so central to revolutionary time. The image concerns one moment—the fall of the Bastille, for example—but

[46] The evidence and conflict of views are discussed in greater detail in Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 181–91.

[47] The average per year for 1751–1788 was thirty-four. The figures do not include translations. My calculations are based on Angus Martin, Vivienne G. Mylne, and Richard Frautschi, *Bibliographie du genre romanesque français, 1751–1800* (London, 1977), xxxvi–xxxvii.

[48] The essential starting point is Michel Vovelle, ed., *La Révolution française: Images et récit, 1789–1799*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1986). See also the videodisc that accompanies *The French Revolution Resource Collection*, Colin Lucas, ed. in chief, *Images de la Révolution française = Images of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1990). These are both somewhat misleading, however, as the editors have chosen images because they refer to political events. The weight of social as opposed to explicitly political interests is therefore under-represented. Moreover, the private collectors of these images, whose collections form the core of the holdings of all libraries, especially the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, most likely concentrated on political images from the revolutionary period. The De Vinck collection, for example, includes none of the socially inflected images of the Directorial period that can be seen in Qb1 (History of France) in the Engravings Department of the BNF.

[49] In the engravings of Qb1 (History of France), there are twice as many images for the period February 19, 1790–March 1791 as there are for the year 1794 (these are the categories by which the microfilms for Qb1 are organized). The number of images begins to increase in 1796. It is very difficult to be precise about the number of images in any given year because the Engravings Department has classified images by the year to which the engravings refer, not the year of their production (which is often unknown). Thus there appear to be fewer images for 1795 than for 1794, which is almost certainly a misrepresentation, because so many images made after 1794 referred to the fall of Robespierre and the evils of the Terror (and therefore are classified under 1794).

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FIGURE 2: "Oh! The Good Constitution" is a typical example of how political and social themes could be mixed in revolutionary imagery. Like many engravings from 1790–1791, it foreshadows the approach of Honoré Daumier in representing social differences. The print is supposedly concerned with lower-class support for revolutionary changes, but at the same time it offers a glimpse into how people of different social stations looked. It is a comment on the relation between social class and political position. Dated to the second half of September 1790, the print shows an ordinary couple. The man wears a revolutionary cockade on his hat to signal support of the revolution. (He is not portrayed as a "sans-culotte," however, for the sans-culottes wore trousers.) The verse, using the language of the popular classes, indicates that food is their primary concern ("the good constitution brought us flour and we only ate the best quality; we will have in our turn back-fat and triple chins"). Whether this print is construed as pro or anti-revolutionary, as celebratory or ironic about popular support, it clearly intends a social message. BNF, Qb1 1791 (14–30 septembre). Published with permission.

it also aims to perpetuate the effect of that moment by forever recapturing it. Most striking in the end, however, is the sheer number and variety of visual representations of the social. Like plays and novels, visual images made society as a set of rules and roles more visible to the ordinary person.[50]

[50] Singer, *Society, Theory and the French Revolution*, 5: "To speak, then, of society's presentation and representation is to refer to the formation of that relation of society to itself by which it becomes visible from within."

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The profusion of social imagery also contributed to the transfer of sacredness from a religious to a secular and social framework. One overlooked mode of this visual transfer is the publication of portraits of the deputies to the National Assembly of 1789. Printers began advertising them as early as June 1789. Neither historians nor art historians have paid much attention to them, the former because the engravings show no action and the latter because they seem to have little aesthetic value. Available in several different versions, either by single sheet or subscription series, in black and white or colored, and in some cases, signed by the deputies themselves, the portraits implicitly registered the transfer of sovereignty to the nation. Some publishers understood this function. The engraver Massard and his collaborator De Jabin announced their collection in reverential terms: "The deputies of the nation have acquired eternal rights to the public's veneration . . . [S]omething would be lacking in the satisfaction of our nephews and ourselves if the present century did not transmit to future ones the image of the founders of French liberty."[51]

More telling still was the choice by the engravings-merchant Charles-François Le Vachez to begin his series of portraits of deputies with one of King Louis XVI (Figure 3). Louis's portrait is the same size, the same pose facing slightly left, with the same frame as those given the other deputies. The process of dispersing sacredness from the king alone outward to the representatives of the nation had begun.

The revolutionary experience, then, drew attention in new ways to the workings of society. The French revolutionaries did not invent the notion of "the social"; "civil society," for example, was a term commonly used in Enlightenment discourse. Indeed, the *Encyclopédie* had gone so far as to argue that for a philosophe "civil society is for him, in a manner of speaking, an earthly deity."[52] The Enlightenment gave the notion of society its conceptual underpinnings and made it something that could be studied; the revolution made it a palpable experience, an object of everyday knowledge for ordinary people, and a subject of enduring contention, especially in its relationship to the political order.

Much of the originality of the nineteenth century follows from this heightened awareness of "the social," from the novels of Honoré de Balzac and Gustave Flaubert to the birth of ideology, of the social sciences, and of Marxism. Commentators as different as Marx and Taine both take off from this fundamental point of departure. Even before elaborating his notion of class struggle as the motor of all history, Marx wrote in 1843, "It is only the French Revolution that has completed the transformation of *political* orders into *social* orders, or to put it another way, the Revolution turned the *differences between orders* in civil society into purely *social* differences, into differences in private life, insignificant for

[51] As quoted in *Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, 1770–1871, Collection de Vinck: Inventaire analytique*, François-Louis Bruel, *et al.*, eds., 8 vols., Vol. 2: *La constituante* (Paris, 1914), 285.

[52] As quoted in Keith Michael Baker, "Enlightenment and the Institution of Society: Notes for a Conceptual History," in Willem Melching and Wyger Velema, eds., *Main Trends in Cultural History* (Amsterdam, 1994), 95–120, quote 95–96. Baker's article is an essential starting point for grasping the eighteenth-century evolution of the notion of society. See also Daniel Gordon, *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thoughts, 1670–1789* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), esp. 43–85.

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FIGURE 3: Portrait of Louis XVI. Charles-François Le Vachez was probably the first to gain permission to publish portraits of the deputies (June 20, 1789, according to the BNF, *Un siècle d'histoire de France par l'estampe, 1700–1871, Collection de Vinck: Inventaire analytique*, François-Louis Bruel, *et al.*, eds., 8 vols., Vol. 2: *La constituante* [Paris, 1914], 285). Le Vachez began with the king and the presidents of the three orders (clergy, nobility, Third Estate) and then published eight portraits every two weeks thereafter. The prospectus assured potential buyers that the originals for the engravings were signed by the individual deputies themselves. Le Vachez did not intend to present the king as just like all the other deputies; he comes first and is wearing royal vestments. Yet it is noteworthy that all the deputies, whether princes of the realm, cardinals of the church, or simple lawyers from the provinces, appear in exactly the same pose and framing. *Collection de Vinck*, 2: no. 476 and no. 2136. Published with permission.

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political life." True political emancipation, in Marx's view, could only come when men recaptured the authentic socialness of their nature.[53]

Taine insisted in the preface to his volumes on the Jacobin ascendancy that he did not write out of political bias. He had only one principle, "so simple that it will seem puerile and I hardly dare to mention it. Nevertheless, I hold to it because all of the judgments that one reads here derive from it, and their truth has to be measured by its truth . . . that *a human society, especially a modern society, is a vast and complicated thing*."[54] He devoted himself therefore to the anatomical dissection of this society. Whatever one thinks of Taine's conclusions, it is impossible to deny the salience of his central question: how can we understand the social and psychological foundations of modernity? The French Revolution taught both Marx and Taine to consider "the social" central to modernity.

The greatest of the philosophically minded, twentieth-century interpreters of the French Revolution, Hannah Arendt and François Furet, both made the role of "the social" central to their analyses of the Terror, although they did not use the category in exactly the same way. Arendt insisted that "the whole record of past revolutions demonstrates beyond doubt that every attempt to solve the social question with political means leads into terror."[55] Furet would agree with her to this point, arguing for his part that the Terror followed from the revolutionary "illusion of politics," that is, the belief that politics and ideology could be used to reconfigure the social world.[56] But in the end, Arendt was even more Tocquevillian than Furet, for like Tocqueville she saw an inevitably tragic contradiction between concern for the social question and true political freedom. In her view, preoccupation with the social question (Tocqueville's equality) led the revolutionaries to ignore the importance of founding viable political institutions (Tocqueville's liberty). Furet, in contrast, celebrated the fall of Robespierre as the moment when society recovered its independence from ideology and politics.[57] In his account, society and social interests ride in as a kind of savior of the revolution from the "illusion of politics."

Most interpreters agree that the Terror had something to do with the relationship between the political and the social. For Marxists, government by terror was the concession the popular classes demanded of their bourgeois leaders; it was therefore the necessary political arm of class struggle.[58] For Tocquevillians such as Arendt and Furet, in contrast, government by terror marked the necessary failure of revolution; rather than linking social interests to political struggle, it followed

[53] From "Kritik des Hegelschen Staatsrechts," as quoted in Furet, *Marx et la Révolution française*, 133.

[54] Hippolite Taine, *La Révolution: La conquête jacobine*, Vol. 5 of *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, tome 1, preface (n.p.).

[55] Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York, 1965), 112.

[56] In truth, it is not entirely clear just what Furet meant by the illusion of politics, a phrase he takes from Marx. "Thus the French, deprived as they were of true liberties, strove for abstract liberty; incapable of collective experience, lacking the means of testing the limits of action, they unwittingly moved toward the *illusion of politics* [his emphasis]. Since there was no debate on how best to govern people and things, France came to discuss goals and values as the only content and the only foundation of public life." Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 37.

[57] Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 72, 75.

[58] See, for example, Albert Soboul, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), 2: 36–46. "La Terreur, en principe à l'ordre du jour depuis le 5 septembre, fut peu à peu imposée par l'action populaire" (pp. 36–37).

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from the fatally flawed utopian project of using political means to reshape society. Neither of these opposing positions could have been elaborated without the social learning inaugurated in the revolutionary decade itself.

Must we choose between the Marxist and Tocquevillian positions? My own view builds on elements taken from both sides. In fact, most now agree on what needs to be explained about the Terror. Emergency measures to win the war—price controls, the draft, even the suppression of dissent and the arrest of suspects—have taken place in various times and places and do not set the French Revolution apart. New and full of consequence for the future, in contrast, was the effort to "regenerate" mankind through a combination of political education of potential supporters and terrorizing or, that failing, killing opponents. The resulting atmosphere of fear and conformism affected everyone, opponents and supporters alike.[59] The Terror thus was *one* way of filling the political gap, already identified by Rousseau, between what people are and what they ought to be in a democracy. That is, the Terror was an effort to create through political education and political repression what is usually the slower work of political institutions. In that sense, it was an attempt to speed up time, an endeavor embedded in the new experiences of time that had occurred since 1789. The repeated ritual reenactment of the social contract did not succeed in creating the social spirit necessary to enduring democracy; the effect could not become the cause, as Rousseau had anticipated.

The hothouse effect of the Terror cannot be traced in single-minded fashion to either circumstances or ideology alone. Circumstances made time go faster; ideology tried to explain that experience and justify it as a principle of political life. The unfolding of events taught the revolutionaries that human will could reconfigure social and political life, but events also showed that this voluntarism would inevitably run into the obstacles thrown up by social inertia. The future, it turned out, had many deep connections to the past despite the desire for rupture. Modern political life ever since has turned on the question of how hard the accelerator of political and social change should be pushed.

In its inherently unstable foundations (Can the social contract ever really be located in time and space? Are the people really represented in the institutions of representative government?), democracy opened the way to terror. But terror was only one possible answer to that fundamental instability. The Terror is such a dramatic and gruesome moment in the French Revolution that many forget that it was succeeded by five years of a different experiment in democracy, in which terror was renounced without jettisoning the principle of popular sovereignty.[60] That experiment "failed," too; the republicans of the Directory did not attract enduring loyalty to their institutions. But they did succeed in keeping the prospect of democracy alive, to reappear in 1830 and 1848, and to eventuate after 1870 in an

[59] The success of the efforts at enforcing conformity are traced by Bronisław Baczko, who shows how the overthrow of Robespierre was greeted with the same rote enthusiasm expressed about all the previous killings of dissidents. *Comment sortir de la Terreur: Thermidor et la Révolution* (Paris, 1989), esp. 67.

[60] I am aware that there is much controversy about just what kind of regime the Directory was in its actual operation. See, for example, James Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); and Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*.

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enduring French habit of democracy. As the revolutionary experience taught, the judgment of history depends on where the clock stops.

So to some extent, my opening question—how could the French Revolution give birth to both democracy and terror?—is the classic *question mal posée*. The opening to democracy, history showed, made possible not only the Terror but also the authoritarian police state of Napoleon, socialism, communism, fascism, and, of course, representative government. We could add to the list sexism, racism, and antisemitism, for, in contrast to simple prejudice, the systematic denigration of what you are not requires a doctrine, and such doctrines only appeared once inequality had to be justified. Inequality only had to be justified—giving birth to ideology itself—once the American and French revolutions had shown that equality could become the principle of government and that government could derive its authority from within human society rather than from without. The history of the nineteenth, twentieth, and now twenty-first centuries repeatedly confirmed what the revolutionaries had already discovered: that it is very difficult to establish an enduring and productive tension between the effervescent experience of the social contract and the more mundane daily life with political institutions. In that sense, the French Revolution prepared the way for many different futures, futures already past and futures yet to come.

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Missing, Now Found in the Eighteenth Century: Weber's Protestant Capitalist

MARGARET C. JACOB and MATTHEW KADANE

FEW HISTORICAL THEORIES HAVE LIVED THE LONG LIFE of Max Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis. As a recent surveyor of Weber's importance reckons: "Since its publication in 1904–1905 as a two-part article, Max Weber's thesis on the Protestant ethic has been the focus of the longest running debate in modern social science."[1] It is therefore impossible to pull Weber out of the bag without the baggage of a century's worth of critics. Some of his more incautious critics, in particular those who have attacked him for naïve idealism or for saying that Protestantism *caused* capitalism, can be disregarded since they did not carefully read *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904–05). To have analytical power still to this day, Weber's text had also to be subtle enough to risk exposure to consistent misinterpretation.[2] Yet, as more perceptive critics have pointed out, the Weber who placed too much emphasis solely on the doctrine of double predestination in shaping inner-worldly asceticism,[3] who took Richard Baxter as a

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[1] David Zaret, "The Use and Abuse of Textual Data," in *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, Hartmut Lehmann and Guenther Roth, eds. (Cambridge, 1993), 245–72. Zaret's article is in response to two essays by Malcolm H. MacKinnon: "Part I: Calvinism and the Infallible Assurance of Grace: The Weber Thesis Reconsidered," and "Part II: Weber's Exploration of Calvinism: The Undiscovered Provenance of Capitalism," *British Journal of Sociology* 29 (1989): 143–210. MacKinnon's position is also restated in "The Longevity of the Thesis: A Critique of the Critics," in Lehmann and Roth, *Weber's Protestant Ethic*.

[2] For a long history of the misinterpreters on these two points about naïve idealism and causality, see Part 2, esp. chaps. 10–15, in the invaluable Lehmann and Roth, *Weber's Protestant Ethic*. Note also the caution we need to bring to English translations of his famous text, Peter Baehr, "The 'Iron Cage' and the 'Shell as Hard as Steel': Parsons, Weber, and the *stahlhartes Gehäuse* Metaphor in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*," *History and Theory* 40 (May 2001): 153–69.

[3] Kaspar von Greyerz convincingly argues that inner-worldly asceticism, "an unmistakable aspect of seventeenth-century English Protestantism ... was an expression of predestinarianism but at the same time, and as the century progressed increasingly, of providentialism." "Biographical Evidence on Predestination, Covenant, and Special Providence," in Lehmann and Roth, *Weber's Protestant Ethic*,

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typical seventeenth-century Calvinist,[4] who never had an adequate explanation for why certain Catholic (not to mention Jewish) communities in parts of Europe could be more successful than their Calvinist counterparts[5]—that Weber is in need of a refinement. We agree, but we also believe that Weber was "onto something."

The invocation of Weber seems inevitably to bring with it the history of the historians' debates about the thesis itself, the sagas of capitalism and Protestantism, and the enormous historiography those subjects have generated. Not least, invoking Weber conjures up a host of methodological disputes—about the value of sociological models, the limits of empiricism, and the utility of cultural history, to name just a few. Given its thorniness, why invoke Weber's thesis yet again? On the most general level, as even the very un-Marxist Patrick Collinson has recently said in passing of Karl Marx, Weber formulated the questions we still ask.[6] Those questions concern the relationship between economy and culture, and their answers treat culture not as epiphenomenal but as a source of meaning itself. It is no accident that the recent work of economists and economic historians with an interest in culture, so-called "economic anthropologists," has been described as overarchingly neo-Weberian.[7] Weber set the terms for making ideas and culture matter alongside the material, and in this general sense we are summoning the *spirit* of Weber, theorist of social systems.

But we are equally interested in Weber as historian, and the more specific reason we have called him back into the historians' debates is our rediscovery of the 14,000-page spiritual journal of an all-but-lost historical figure: Joseph Ryder, a Leeds clothier (1695–1768), who flourished on the eve of industrialization in the geographical heart of Britain's dynamic economy.[8] In spite of the length of his

283. Greyerz's observation accords with Ryder's theology, a mix of predestinarianism and providentialism. On providentialism, also see Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

[4] Baxter became suspicious of the doctrine of predestination relatively early in his life after his experiences with the free-wheeling Antinomians in the army during the civil war. See William M. Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millennium* (London, 1979), 127; Dewey D. Wallace, Jr., *Puritans and Predestination: Grace in English Protestant Theology, 1525–1695* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), 136.

[5] The best survey of Weber's influence on historians of religion and the economy in early modern Europe is Philip Benedict, "The Historiography of Continental Calvinism," in Lehmann and Roth, *Weber's Protestant Ethic*, 305–25. Werner Sombart famously addressed the role of Jews and Jewish thought in early capitalism in his *Modern Capitalism* (1902). See also Hartmut Lehmann, "The Rise of Capitalism: Weber versus Sombart," in *Weber's Protestant Ethic*, 195–208.

[6] The full sentence reads, "Although Karl Marx deserves eternal credit for formulating the questions we still ask, the fully matured Marxist analysis of the religious factor will not do: not only because in accounting for religion as a social contrivance it reduces it to the level of epiphenomenon; but also because it understands "society" too narrowly, as a material system of reproductive and distributive economics." Collinson goes on to argue that the Weberian methodological accommodation of both the material and the ideal is much more exemplary, though still not perfect: "Weber is a sort of hero for my purposes, albeit a flawed hero." Patrick Collinson, "Religion, Society, and the Historian," *Journal of Religious History* 23 (June 1999): 158, 162. Our position is not all that different from Collinson's, who writes that "we can almost forget about the specifics of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [though that "almost" should be read literally]. What we should not forget is Weber's strategy for measuring and balancing the ideal and material factors in history, and particularly in the history of religion in society"; p. 166.

[7] See Michael S. Billig, "Institutions and Culture: Neo-Weberian Economic Anthropology," *Journal of Economic Issues* 34 (December 2000): 771–88. For more on the neo-Weberianism in economic and developmental studies, see also Amy L. Sherman, *The Soul of Development: Biblical Christianity and Economic Transformation in Guatemala* (New York, 1997).

[8] The diary can currently be found at the John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, UK,

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written account of his spiritual self, not much is known about many of the details of Ryder's life. He was born to religious, nonconformist parents, that is, to non-Anglican Protestants also known as Dissenters. His father died three months before his birth, but his mother, with whom he was close if also often at odds, lived until a month before he turned forty-eight.[9] He married at the comparatively late age of forty in 1735 to a woman he never names but who he does reveal was ten years to the day his junior.[10] Nineteen years later, his wife died of a drawn-out illness, which also goes unnamed. Childless and lonely in the hours when he was not working or busy with his church duties, Ryder never remarried.[11]

Unitarian MSS, Q/6, Diary of Joseph Ryder. (Subsequent quotations will be by date only.) To our knowledge, the only thing ever written specifically on Ryder is Herbert McLachlan, "Diary of a Leeds Layman, 1733–1768," *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* 4 (1929–30): 248–67, also collected in his *Essays and Addresses* (Manchester, 1950), 20–38. McLachlan, a prolific church historian and Unitarian minister at Mill Hill Chapel in the early twentieth century, was not interested in the Weberian dimensions of Ryder's life. There is a very brief mention of Ryder, apparently based on McLachlan's essay, in R. K. Webb, "The Emergence of Rational Dissent," in *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Knud Haakonssen, ed. (Cambridge, 1996). A nineteenth-century work also makes brief use of Ryder's diary in an attempt to tell the history of Mill Hill: Charles Wicksteed, *Lectures on the Memory of the Just: Being a Series of Discourses on the Lives and Times of the Ministers of Mill-Hill Chapel, Leeds . . . ; With a Farewell Sermon Delivered on the 14th of March, 1847* (London, 1849). Wicksteed, also a minister at Mill Hill Chapel, read the diary while it was still in the hands of Ryder's relative, Arthur Lupton of Newton Hall, near Leeds. Arthur Lupton, Sr., possibly the father or grandfather of Arthur Lupton of Newton Hall, married Olive Ryder, daughter of David Ryder (on both of whom, see below) on November 17, 1773; "The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds," *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 25 (1917, 1918, 1920, 1922): 262. Although we have no record that Ryder directly bequeathed his diary to Olive Ryder, it must have passed into her hands, and from there passed down through the Lupton family. McLachlan records that the diary was presented to the John Rylands Library by Edgar Lupton, a descendent of the husband of Ryder's niece; "Diary of a Leeds Layman," 248.

[9] His mother's death left him deeply melancholic for months. He wrote about it poignantly a week after it happened. "This Day I still find myself very much concerned about my Dear Mother. I look in one place, and she is not there, I come into another place where she was wont to be, and that is also empty. The eyes that used to see her, must now see her no more." Joseph Ryder Diary, March 3, 1743.

[10] We can tell from a marriage registry that her name was Elisabeth Wheelhouse: "Joseph Rider m. Elisabeth Wheelhouse, Leedes" on the same day he makes a more general note of the event in his journal. "The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds, from 1722–1757," *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 20 (1911, 1914): 330. Strangely, the same register lists her name as "Ann, wife of Joseph Rider [*sic*]" on the day of her burial, April 27, 1754, which occurred two days after Ryder recorded her death. The other spelling of Ryder is common throughout this register, so it seems nearly impossible that this would not be the same man and woman. Her name may have been Elisabeth Ann, or this may be a mistake in the records. Wheelhouse, on the other hand, seems in any case to be the right maiden name, and Ryder refers on one occasion to attending the funeral of "Aunt Alice Wheelhouse" (February 14, 1754), an aunt, presumably, by marriage.

[11] What we know of his intellectual life comes almost entirely from his diary. His basic Dissenter education can be inferred from the names of authors he randomly mentions: Elizabeth Rowe, John Bunyan, Philip Doddridge, Mathew Henry, John Flavel, Christopher Nesse, Richard Baxter, and Isaac Watts. We also have Ryder's copy of a manuscript book of sermons, "The Spirrituall Marriage: or, The Union of Christ to Believers Set Forth and Explained in 22 sermons from Jermiah 3:14," by Whitaker's father, possession of which Ryder records in the front cover that he gained on October 1, 1723. John Rylands Library, Unitarian MSS, G.Q/6. Special thanks to Peter Nockles of the Rylands Library for help with this reference. Whitaker the elder had baptized Ryder, and his diary often makes favorable mention of his reading from the manuscript sermons and his listening at chapel to Whitaker the younger. Why he enjoyed these particular sermons enough to procure a copy (though we may never know what other books he owned) is not entirely clear. In the sermons, a long elaboration on a short passage in Jeremiah, Whitaker emphasized that Christ is married to believers as a man to his wife and that this bond implies an eternal connection and the possibility of redemption. So maybe Ryder would have found comfort in this idea, since it theologically could have allayed his fears of eternal separation from his symbolic spouse.

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Slightly more can be said about the details of his working life, less because of what he writes about it directly than because of what we also know about other clothiers from Leeds in the middle third of the eighteenth century.[12] By the 1730s but probably earlier, Ryder rode into the Yorkshire countryside almost weekly, collecting from cottagers the spun woolen yarn that he then arranged to have made into whole cloth, much of it destined for London and a national, if not international, market.[13] Contemporary evidence also suggests that merchants like Ryder and their spouses may have spun with their hired clothiers in workdays that could stretch up to fifteen hours long.[14] The capital for the mercantile venture was theirs alone, but exactly how much capital Ryder possessed is hard to know. It is clear that it varied over time. His will reveals that he left a little over £200 to his friends and family and allocated another £50 for funeral expenses. He also had both property and goods to give to others, although he does not specify how much property or the nature of his goods.[15] But significantly, he also seems to have lost some—maybe a good deal—of his wealth as he reached old age and his health declined further. Two months before his death on November 10, 1767, for example, he records both his material condition and his abiding faith: "I find that I sink in my termporall things much, I find my health much impair'd, creature comforts much diminish'd, but I dare not indulge a hard thought of providence, for God takes nothing from me but what He first gave, for Naked came I into the world, and naked shall I return."

Ryder straddled the two worlds between which so many other mid-eighteenth-century British entrepreneurs stood poised. The first and earlier one had been driven by the need to find markets, to hustle for profit, and it was defined by an economy still based on hand labor and family sources for credit.[16] The second took shape only in the 1770s and gradually became an economic and industrial order where productivity met a robust consumption and where technological innovation in steam and cotton opened an unprecedented set of opportunities. However unmechanized its industry—and Ryder still lived in an age of wooden machines, muscle power, labor forces, and capital resources that rarely extended beyond the family circle[17]—over the course of the eighteenth century, Yorkshire's share of Britain's wool and worsted industry rose from 20 to 60 percent, with the West Riding at the center of this growth.[18] We do not mean to imply that in Leeds prosperity was automatic. Early in his career, Ryder, in his own words, faced "a

[12] On economic life in Leeds during this period, see W. G. Rimmer, "The Industrial Profile of Leeds, 1740–1840," *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 14 (1968): 130–57; R. G. Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants: The Merchant Community in Leeds, 1700–1830* (Manchester, 1971); and Wilson, "Georgian Leeds," in *A History of Modern Leeds* (Manchester, 1980), 24–45. A major source on which all historians have depended, in spite of its hyperbole, is Daniel Defoe, *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* (London, 1724–26). For more general economic histories of the region, see Pat Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: A Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry, c. 1750–1850* (Cambridge, 1986); and Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700–1820: Industry, Innovation, and Work in Britain*, 2d edn. (London, 1994), esp. chap. 10 on the textile industry.

[13] Daniel Defoe vividly describes the Leeds market in his tour of Great Britain, but an equally vivid and more comprehensive account can be found in Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries: From the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution*, 2d edn. (Oxford, 1965), 359–404.

[14] "A Poem Descriptive of the Manners of the Clothiers, Written about the Year 1730," *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 41 (1947): 275–81.

[15] Historical Institute, York, Will of Joseph Ryder of Leeds (1695–1768).

[16] On family credit, see Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996).

[17] On the details of occupational life in Leeds, see Rimmer, "Industrial Profile of Leeds," 130–57.

[18] Wilson, *Gentlemen Merchants*, 37.

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probability of want of money for necessary supplys."[19] But within a year, he made "provision for food for my household in a plentifull manner."[20] Ryder stood firmly in a preindustrial world; only, as his voluminous spiritual diary begun in 1733 reveals, as he prospered, Joseph Ryder, "entrepreneur and capitalist" (neither word would have been known to him), was not quite of this world.

In spite of Ryder's otherworldliness, but also because of it, Weber would have found him to have been scripted for the part of the early capitalist in *The Protestant Ethic*: "some young man from one of the putting-out families [who] went out into the country, carefully chose weavers for his employ, greatly increased the rigour of his supervision of their work, and thus turned them from peasants into labourers."[21] This ideal type of the capitalistic entrepreneur, Weber continued, "avoids ostentation and unnecessary expenditure, as well as conscious enjoyment of his power, and is embarrassed by the outward signs of the social recognition which he receives. His manner of life is, in other words, often ... distinguished by a certain ascetic tendency."[22] The question we had to ask on first reading Ryder's diary, which is a thirty-five-year elaboration on these archetypal characteristics, is whether or not the correspondence between Weber's description of the ideal type of capitalist and Joseph Ryder was merely coincidental? If it is not—and what a striking coincidence it would have to be for Weber to have described so well the behavior of a man about whose spiritual life we have immensely detailed evidence but of whom Weber knew nothing—then the Weberian archetype of the early modern capitalist deserves a reconsideration.

We are arguing that Joseph Ryder is the German sociologist's missing, now found, case study. Weber's three key features of ascetic Protestantism—diligence in spiritual and vocational calling, making use of one's time, and material asceticism—read like bullet points at the top of Ryder's spiritual résumé. Despite the complex and largely German context of *The Protestant Ethic*,[23] Ryder's diary reveals that Weber got very close to certain aspects of this new ethos so beneficial to capitalism. As Weber puts it, close to identifying an ethic about "the earning of more and more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life," an ethic that "is above all completely devoid of any eudaemonistic, not to say hedonistic, admixture."[24] Weber recognized that, at its very origin, the ethos of capitalism for everyday, ordinary practitioners like Ryder could entail a radical

[19] Joseph Ryder Diary, August 7, 1733.

[20] Joseph Ryder Diary, January 15, 1734.

[21] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Anthony Giddens, intro. (New York, 1958), 67.

[22] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 71.

[23] See Guenther Roth, "The Young Max Weber: Anglo-American Religious Influences and Protestant Social Reform in Germany," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 10 (1997): 659–71. Roth's argument that the Anglophile Weber had political reasons for idealizing the positive link between religion and the economy in early modern England and America is convincing. But while *The Protestant Ethic* may have come into existence because of Weber's opposition to various political and religious interests in Imperial Germany, its insights into certain aspects of the psychology of merchants and Protestants in the early modern English-speaking world do not by any means have to be disregarded. Having a social context does not invalidate the conclusions of scientific research. For Weber's idealization of early Anglo commerce and religion to work as a foil for his political agenda, it stands to reason that that idealization had to contain for him and others a convincing degree of truth. In spite of our qualifications of this point, we are deeply grateful to Guenther Roth for his reading of our essay and his caveats about Weber.

[24] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 53.

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self-disciplining, as well as through their chapel life a communal and not simply an individual effort to save one's soul while prospering amid plenty for the few.

But—and this is also our argument—had Weber uncovered Ryder's diary, he would have needed to call his thesis back for revision on at least two points. The first is theological. Weber argued that predestination was an all-important theological doctrine, that it led believers into a despair from which, in the context of a Protestant world "disenchanted" of the soul-relieving practices of Catholicism like confession and absolution, only work that glorified God—and which over time came to glorify the secular "common good"—could rescue them.[25] Ryder, however, was the product of a particularly transitory theological climate.[26] One foot still waded in predestinarian waters, if only because of his fears of the heresies lurking in new theological doctrines.[27] But Ryder did not expressly believe that the souls of all had been predestined to be saved, or damned, before the fall of Adam and Eve. Certainly he embraced watchfulness, the habitual monitoring of himself and the world around him that was so common among predestinarians of an earlier generation. (See Figure 1.) But Ryder's watchfulness came less from his predestinarianism, of which we hear only muted articulations in the diary, than from his providentialism. The weather, news from abroad or from his neighborhood, military victories, the defeat of the Jacobites, his and others' changing material fortunes—all were signs that for Ryder signified God's approving, or disapproving, providential hand in human affairs. Any and all events could be read as texts that held clues to salvation and that led him to greater watchfulness.[28] And more on the providentialist side of the theological spectrum—and thus less frightened by fate

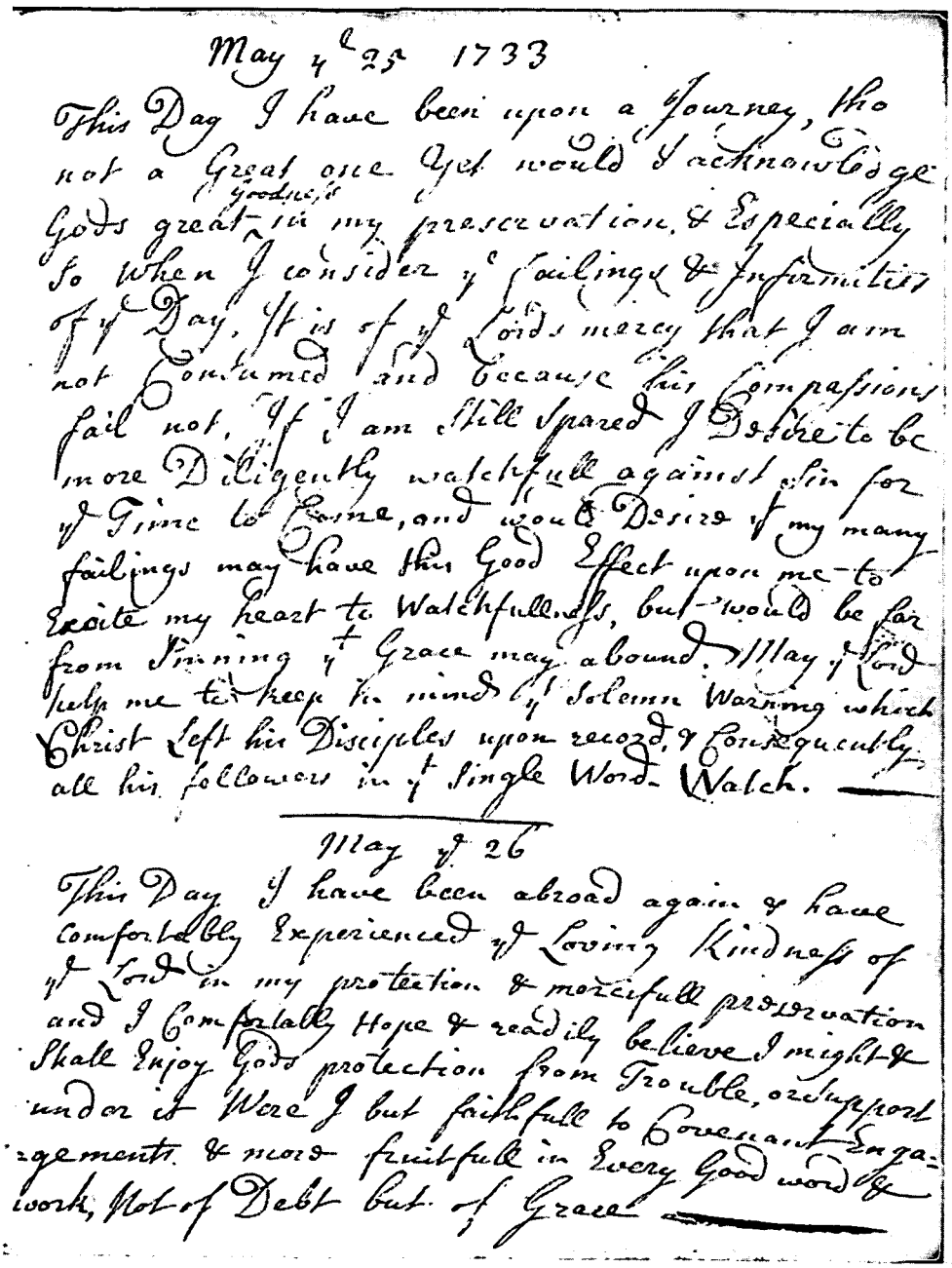
[25] We have benefited here from a clear summary of the thesis found in Fritz Ringer, *Max Weber's Methodology: The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 163–67.

[26] Hence part of the explanation for his affinity for two other theologically transitory figures from the previous century whose religious works we know he read: Richard Baxter and the other great seventeenth-century "puritan" who softened the doctrine of predestination (and whose *Grace Abounding* [1666] served as a model for many a spiritual diarist), John Bunyan. The other explanation for the presence of those authors in his diary is, of course, their enormous popularity.

[27] When Thomas Walker, a heretical minister at his second chapel, Mill Hill, dismissed "election and reprobation" as merely one of many "abstruse arguments and knotty controversies," Ryder contemplated severing his ties with the minister and the chapel. Joseph Ryder Diary, January 27, 1757.

[28] For those English Protestants in the Reformed tradition who lived between the middle of Elizabeth's reign and the civil war, Alexandra Walsham has written, "providence had a dual definition . . . it referred firstly to the immutability of the Lord's eternal and unchangeable decree." It also "pertained to the Lord's 'operating hands' no less than His 'observing eyes.' Foreknowledge was linked with perpetual, purposeful action, with direct and dynamic government of the terrestrial realm." Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, 9–10. A predestinarian view of the world was thus not incompatible with one that saw God as an active observer of and participant in his creation. But providentialism gradually eroded predestinarianism over the course of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as the signs of God's will became ever more readable to those godly men and women who possessed the necessary divine literacy. Yet this shift did not necessarily lessen those psychological aspects of "protestant" behavior that Weber emphasized. As Kaspar von Greyerz has argued, "Under the terms of providentialism, what seemed to count far more than highlighting the special but singular experience of God's favor through conversion was the daily record of godly conduct." Providentialism "resulted in as much rigorous self-control as that presumably brought forth by predestinarianism and [*sic*] what is more, unlike the latter, it clearly had both individual and collective implications: Under the premises of the belief in God's regular interventions in this world as long as these interventions were seen as reward *and* punishment alike (depending, of course, on the concrete occasion), one had to strive for individual as well as collective sanctification in order to avoid God's displeasure as to gain His grace." Greyerz, "Predestination, Covenant, and Special Providence," 281, 283. See also R. J. van der Molen, "Providence as Mystery, Providence as Revelation: Puritan and Anglican Modifications of John Calvin's Doctrine of Providence," *Church History* 47 (1978): 27–47.

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May y^e 25 1733

This Day I have been upon a Journey, tho not a Great one. Yet would I acknowledge Gods great goodness in my preservation, & Especially So When I consider y^e Failings & Infirmities of y^e Day, It is of y^e Lords mercy that I am not Consumed and because his Compassions fail not, If I am still Spared I Desire to be more Diligently watchfull against sin for y^e Time to Come, and would Desire y^t my many failings may have this Good Effect upon me—to Excite my heart to Watchfullness, but—would be far from Sinning y^t Grace may abound. May y^e Lord help me to keep in mind y^e Solemn Warning which Christ Left his Disciples upon record, & Consequently all his followers in y^e Single Word Watch.

May y^e 26

This Day I have been abroad again & have Comfortably Experienced y^e Loving Kindness of y^e Lord in my protection & merciefull preservation and I Comfortably Hope & readily believe I might & Shall Enjoy Gods protection from Trouble, or support under it Were I but faithfull to Covenant Engagements & more fruitfull in Every Good word & work, Not of Debt but of Grace

FIGURE 1: May 25, 1733. Joseph Ryder's first entry prefigures the "watchfulness" that would become his trademark activity. Photo courtesy of the John Rylands Library of Manchester.

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than his predestinarian forebears—Ryder was also freer to imagine the rewards of his striving.

In revising the key theology he singularly identified by his thesis, Weber would need a closer look at Ryder's religious milieu. Ryder came out of the world of radical Dissent, and by mid-century it had adopted a kinder, gentler face. Ryder wrote that a forgiving "Christ has in his word assured every penitent believer . . . tho his sins be red as crimson he can make them as wool"—an unsurprising metaphor, given his occupation.[29] Yet Ryder's openness to new doctrines, even ones as tepid as belief in the forgiveness of Christ, only went so far. The doubt-ridden Ryder thought that assurance was never "out of ye reach of Doubting because by our Sins we render ourselves liable to be attacked with doubts & fears notwithstanding our former attainments, Much less in any Degree of assurance attainable as should render us unsecure or unwatchful."[30] As much as the most anxious Elizabethan Puritan, Ryder was plagued by uncertainties about his salvation and struggled to find a way to live a pious life, which he consistently felt to be beyond his capabilities. If his "election" to heaven was not determined millennia before his birth, salvation still seemed unattainable, left to his own meager devices. In Ryder's estimation, he continually failed to live up to his own model of piety.[31] Yet if Weber unduly stressed doctrinaire predestination, he nevertheless captured—and here is why he is still important for the case we want to make—the despair that stemmed from uncertainty over salvation. Ryder never believed that an assurance of grace could mitigate the uncertainty. The watching that predestination instilled in the first generations of Reformed Protestants, the children and grandchildren of John Calvin, carried over. Even if not fully imbued with the doctrine of predestination, the watchfulness was every bit as present in Ryder. It formed the core of his religious outlook and his economic drive and restraint. By the 1830s, faced with an economic miracle that Ryder could never have imagined, Protestant intellectuals seeking to understand the new political economy in Britain still made recourse to doctrines about salvation and sin, backsliding and atonement.[32] In Calvin, Weber rightly spied a theorist whose staying power vastly exceeded even his own.

The second point for revision of Weber's thesis concerns what he did not consider, or did not know: the path that Ryder's religious behavior was meant to travel, as it became more prosperous and hence worldly, was agonizingly difficult. Its spiritual perils were as dangerous as his countless harrowing journeys into the Yorkshire countryside that he continually reminds us was still infested with highwaymen. At stake were Ryder's spiritual health and his physical well-being, the latter seeming to deteriorate as his anxiety over the former increased. Weber did not emphasize enough how much the religious entrepreneur agonized in the bargain he continually negotiated with God. The dark side of capitalism lay not in its inequities. They could be explained by reference to the "inequality" of

[29] Joseph Ryder Diary, January 9, 1735.

[30] Joseph Ryder Diary, December 2, 1733.

[31] By "election," we mean God's choice for a person of salvation or damnation. Compare Ryder's theology with a contemporary, James Clegg (1679–1755), a Dissenter minister and doctor who also wrote a fascinating diary. See note 112.

[32] See Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford, 1988).

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providence, and Ryder seldom dwells on the poverty he must have seen in town and countryside. Rather than simple destitution, the life of the market had the potential to ensure eternal damnation. Questing for riches, prosperity, even comfort—for the things of this world—required a certain kind of courage as well as the ability to beg and humble oneself in the quest for grace. Ryder sought to be prosperous in this world, but simultaneously he could never be sure of his godliness.

In his very first volume, when he faces the probability of a want of money for supplies, he lays out the bargain of moderation he is trying to negotiate with the deity. Throughout this essay wherever possible, we will let him speak in his own words: "This day considering a Little about my family affairs, and seeing a probability of want of money for necessary supplys I thought what a poor Empty Thing it would prove to any man Tho he was never so furnished with Trading Commodities if so be he wanted bread . . . and further Thought what an Empty Thing ye World with all its Enjoyments would prove in ye want of ye Grace of God."[33] Ryder's diary presents page after page of evidence that acquiring the capitalist spirit, which he never really did fully possess, did not always come easy. Thus we must exempt him from a point recently made in John Smail's excellent book on eighteenth-century Yorkshire wool merchants. Smail writes that "profit maximization was as much the goal of entrepreneurs in 1700 or 1750 as it was in 1800."[34] Not only was profit maximization something Ryder never took for granted, it is never clear that he wants to live in a world in which he could take it for granted.

We have so naturalized capitalism around the globe that we are in danger of losing our ability to understand the texture and nature of the ascetic worldliness to which Ryder's spiritual life attests. We have made economic actors so "rational" that we have lost sight of the fact that nearly a century ago Weber identified a problem worthy of explanation. He took for granted the greed of humankind and saw the acquisition of money as nothing out of the ordinary. What Weber wanted to understand concerned the linkage between specifically religious values, the ethos of Protestantism, and its relationship to worldly success of a capitalist variety. He wanted to understand why certain religious values that promoted steady accumulation and reinvestment, and that Joseph Ryder's life and beliefs notably exemplify, became normative and commonplace, the possessions of countless ordinary but entrepreneurial men and women. Some critics have said that Weber was looking for a religious phenomenon that never existed, that no linkage can be seen between the spiritual life encouraged by early modern Protestantism and a propensity for disciplined commercial life.[35] But consider the following meditation by Ryder—one among countless—and notice the intricate linkage between providential assistance, piety, and prosperity: "looking upon some poor people, and Considering of their Circumstances, How poor & Low their case was with respect to this world compared with mine, I was so far from despising them, that I begun rather to admire ye Liberality of providence Towards me Who might in Justice have placed me in

[33] Joseph Ryder Diary, August 7, 1733.

[34] John Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture: The English Wool Textile Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1999), 9.

[35] For a critical history of the critics, which is itself (unconvincingly) critical of Weber's understanding of Calvinism, see MacKinnon, "Longevity of the Thesis," 211–43. The following essay in the same book, Zaret, "Use and Abuse of Textual Data," should be read as an antidote to MacKinnon.

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Circumstances as Low or Lower When of his bounty he had rather made me Instrumental of such poor peoples relief."[36]

There may have been many Joseph Ryders in eighteenth-century England who saw themselves as benefiting because of divine providence, who congregated in chapels and churches where preachers as diverse as latitudinarian Anglicans and itinerant chapel lecturers addressed their concerns for salvation amid the evidence of their worldliness.[37] Such merchants would have espoused an ethic that associated one's economic fortunes with the depth and degree of providential grace and with one's success in striving for it. Protestant entrepreneurs may have been busy before 1700, but to the best of our knowledge only Ryder's diary lays out so clearly, and for so many years, the striving and pious ethos, the spiritual discipline they imagined as needed for success. Ryder's entire economic life entailed a negotiation between the need for profit and the dictates of his religious desires; indeed, the latter drove the former, or, at the very least, naturalized and civilized his economic needs. His lifelong central preoccupation thus concerned the fate of his soul, especially in relation to the ever-pressing demands of his disciplined and, we are suggesting, religiously sanctioned worldliness. (See Figure 2.) His porosity to the world was matched only by the porosity of his soul as it strove for grace and hence salvation. In his diary, he lays out the dilemma presented by the wealth he coveted: "I thought if ye Rich dye but safe if they were interested in Christ, & had a title to glory then all was well but if it was not thus with them I think it not worth desiring to be rich if it is but to descent with Pomp into ye pit."[38] All his life, Ryder was an amateur religious poet, and so he also sang about his plight as Christian and entrepreneur. Put in the rhythm of one of his countless inimitable verses:

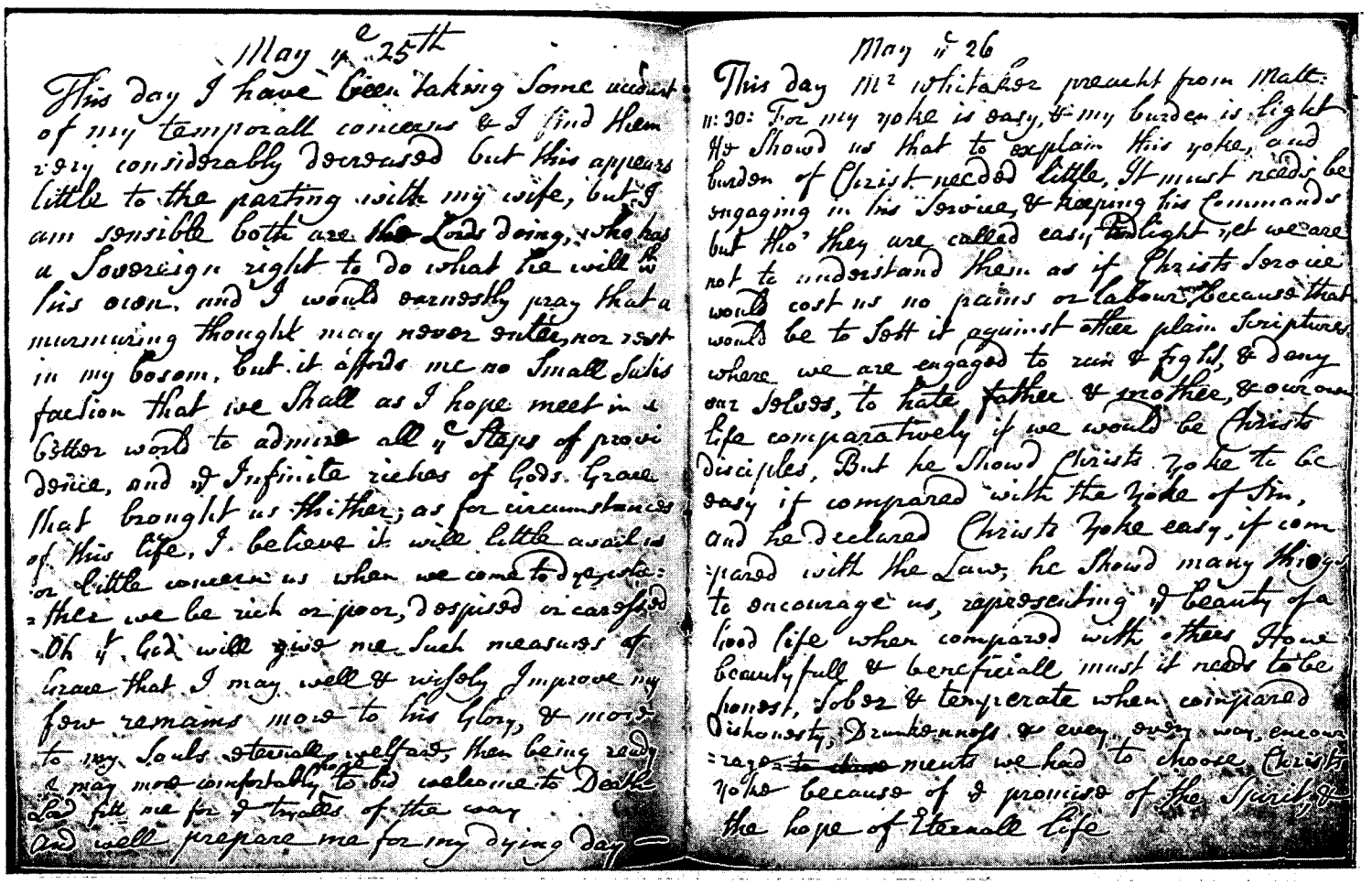
> Our Danger's Great while we on Wealth do place
> Our best affections slighting offered Grace.[39]

Ryder's aspirations for wealth were contained by a nervousness about his spiritual path that, whether fully consciously or not, also valorized his middling social place and led him to consider those richer than himself as mired in sin: "a Neighbours profits and Incomes by business far to exceed mine I hope by ye blessing of God it was that I Immediately thus reason'd with my Self that I had ye favour of God & a Competency."[40] The clothier's religious ethic thus gave *de facto* endorsement to the prosperous middling sort, who traded, employed, traveled, and could imagine their betters as more in danger of damnation than themselves. Such an ethic made their own mobility easier—though by no means effortless—to accept. "God gave me a heart as well as ability to Communicate to ye necessity of Others & not to Covetous hoarding."[41]

As if he were written for the part, Ryder exemplifies the positive and negative

[36] Joseph Ryder Diary, February 22, 1734.
[37] For early latitudinarians and worldly success, see Margaret C. Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution, 1689–1720* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976), 35–36, 68–70, 182–85.
[38] Joseph Ryder Diary, July 26, 1733.
[39] Joseph Ryder Diary, June 24, 1735.
[40] Joseph Ryder Diary, June 18, 1733.
[41] Joseph Ryder Diary, October 2, 1733.

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May ye 25th

This day I have been taking Some account of my temporall concerns & I find them very considrably decreased but this appears little to the parting with my wife, but I am sensible both are the Lords doing, who has a Soveraign right to do what he will w his own, and I would earnestly pray that a murmuring thought may never enter nor rest in my bosom, but it affords me no Small Satisfaction that we Shall as I hope meet in a better world to admire all ye Steps of providence, and ye Infinite riches of Gods Grace that brought us thither; as for circumstances of this life, I believe it will little avail us or little concern us when we come to dye whether we be rich or poor, despised or caressed. Oh yt God will give me Such measures of Grace that I may well & wisely improve my few remains more to his Glory, & more to my Souls eternall welfare, then being ready & may more comfortably be bid welcome to Death and fit me for ye trialls of the way and well prepare me for my dying day —

May ye 26

This day Mr Whitaker preacht from Matt. 11: 30: For my yoke is easy, & my burden is light. He Showd us that to explain this yoke, and burden of Christ needd little, It must needs be engaging in his Service, & keeping his Commands but tho' they are called easy & light yet we are not to understand them as if Christs Service would cost us no pains or labour, because that would be to Sett it against other plain Scriptures where we are engaged to run & fight, & deny our Selves, to hate father & mother, & our own life comparatively if we would be Christs disciples, But he Showd Christs Yoke to be easy if compared with the Yoke of Sin, and he declared Christs Yoke easy, if compared with the Law, he Showd many things to encourage us, representing ye beauty of a good life when compared with others How beautyfull & beneficiall must it needs be to be honest, Sober & temperate when compared with dishonesty, Drunkenness & every other way, enormities we had to choose Christs Yoke because of ye promises of the Spirit & the hope of Eternall life

FIGURE 2: August 6–11, 1738. The busy summer months kept Ryder uncharacteristically concise and even more concerned to "be kept above the world." Photo courtesy of the John Rylands Library of Manchester.

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aspects of Weber's thesis: the striving for worldly achievements that suggested success in the afterlife and the worry that too much success in the here and now augured failure in the hereafter. In his mind, he had metaphysical business partners, God and his son, Jesus Christ, but the partnership required daily attention and self-monitoring in order to locate its enemies—those that lurked in his own sinful nature and, although he appears infrequently, in the wiles of Satan.[42] The battle God and Mammon waged for Ryder's attention kept him attentive to both, and on occasion Ryder spells it out: too much success in this world breached the Mosaic covenant.[43]

This was Joseph Ryder's life. God's covenant with him aided his economic striving, but in that help God gave him the greatest, most agonizing trial—how to balance the worldly and spiritual. That balancing act was, moreover, a lifelong concern.[44] When he was in his early seventies, contemplating his retirement from trade, Ryder summed up his partnership with God, his desire for profit here and in the afterlife, and his own work ethic: "This day I endeavoured to mind my business and finds it necessary while I follow trade, but finding so little or nothing of profit arising it is apt to damp a little, for I always think that this is the greatest motive to industry whether it be in things relating to this world or a better, next to Obedience to Gods comment, but then I do not think a prosperous condition without its snares, & great ones too . . . God knows what is for ye best, for if riches Increase much, we often set our hearts too much upon them . . . Lord kill the root that's in my heart That I may not from Thee Depart."[45]

BEFORE GOING ANY FURTHER INTO RYDER'S DIARY, we should pause to say what we know about the text itself. Unlike the work of the prolific seventeenth-century diarist Samuel Pepys or Ryder's nearer contemporary James Boswell, Ryder's spiritual journal was not written with posterity in mind or to record the details of daily life. His stated intention in keeping a written account of himself was first and foremost to maintain a watch over the state of his soul. With an almost literary foreshadowing, he wrote on the first page of his journal, "May the Lord help me to keep in mind the Solemn Warning which Christ left his Disciples upon record, and consequently all his followers, in the single word—Watch."[46] He could have just as easily, and accurately, written the same on the last page, for he consistently tried to

[42] Joseph Ryder Diary, November 6, 1733.

[43] Joseph Ryder Diary, February 25, 1734: "This Day Having my hands full Employ'd in ye Things of this World, my Thoughts ran but too fast by far after it. But in ye pursuit of Business I was meditating on this Question In my Catechism, Are there more Gods than One, and the Answer is There is but One Only the Living and True God, Considering upon this I Considered tho I was not, nor should be guilty of Actually Bowing to An Idol, Yet If ye Things of this World should so Gain upon my affections as to Obtain yet Chief room there, then this Onely True God is not my God In Covenant, But I should certainly here upon be chargeable with Idolatry—From which may God in mercy & in Love Deliver me."

[44] Ryder's economic and religious views and beliefs are remarkably consistent throughout his recorded life. But as his health starts to decline, especially from the mid-1750s until his death, his preoccupation with the state of his health takes a prominent place in his journal. As James S. Amelang writes, "Health loomed large as a topic for autobiographers from all walks of life." *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, Calif., 1998), 117.

[45] Joseph Ryder Diary, January 16, 1766.

[46] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 25, 1733.

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examine his own life—to catch himself sinning, to detect signs of "election," to monitor his moral and spiritual duties and excesses in his accumulation of material wealth—and to examine—the watching was also directed outward—the external world in order to locate God's providential hand. In his moments of authorial self-reflection, Ryder always desired that his diary "may prove a means to keeping Watchfull"[47] of his manifold and omnipresent temptations, including sexual passions, which he occasionally suggests marked his early years.[48] But unlike the youthful sexual transgressions that he could unequivocally condemn, his business successes constantly teetered between sinful and permissible. In Ryder's preindustrial world, profit maximization was no more a given than sexual freedom. And his inability to draw a firm distinction between sinful greed and meritorious money-making left him little choice but to monitor himself in greater detail. "If Riches Should Encrease upon me, I might not set my heart upon them, & thought withal they were a sorry portion unless I or any Other have ye Comfortable & Additional blessing of ye Grace of God . . . a market Day for ye Body, too often makes but small addition to ye benefit of ye Soul."[49] Until his failing health becomes a major preoccupation in the late 1750s, almost every diary entry begins with the state of his business and ends with the worry that either he might become poor and would have to be accepting of this state, or that his concern, we might say obsession, with "those things here below" might "encroach not upon my Religious hours nor upon Sabbath Time."[50] The monitoring of business and soul were two sides of the same coin, and each fed into the striving needed to maintain the other.

At the time that Ryder wrote his first entry about the need to "watch," examining the self in writing was at least a hundred-and-fifty-year-old practice among Reformed Protestants. The Bible offered the oldest prescription for keeping a journal, but the genre that Ryder's text more closely resembles in structure is the Puritan diary, that remarkable artifact of devotional practice appearing first in the 1580s among the godly identified with experimental Calvinism. Experimental Calvinists, as Tom Webster has recently put it, were "those who made more than an intellectual assent to the dogmas of Calvinist soteriology, predestination, election and assurance, who made the search for the marks of election central to a practical divinity."[51] Experimental Calvinism thus encouraged intense self-examination in order that the practitioner might read the world, and his and God's activities in it, as a text that held the clues to salvation. The diary, in turn, became for many self-examiners the place where the "godly self," again in Webster's words, "was maintained, indeed constructed, through the action of writing."[52] "Experimental

[47] Joseph Ryder Diary, July 4, 1734.

[48] In one breath, he refers, for example, to "a prevailing Love to our Lusts & sensual appetites, an inordinate Love to ye present World . . . and an affectation to have something of our own as meritorious. From these Directions and their marks of Desire I may sincerely Embrace the Lord Jesus to be my Kind and Guide." Joseph Ryder Diary, May 27, 1733. The sins of his youth still troubled him late in life. He writes on October 15, 1763, "This Day I find my heart so prone to wander and so little detestation at my old sins it makes me to call into Question ye sincerity of my faith and repentance."

[49] Joseph Ryder Diary, March 19, 1734.

[50] Joseph Ryder Diary, July 16, 1734. Most of the entries from the last decade of his life begin with a statement about the state of his physical health.

[51] Tom Webster, "Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality," *Historical Journal* 39 (1996): 36.

[52] Webster, "Writing to Redundancy," 41.

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Calvinism" as a theological description no longer had historical precision in Ryder's lifetime, but Ryder's providentialist outlook shaped his habits of self-maintenance and godly self-making in much the same manner that the staunchly predestinarian version of Calvinism affected the Puritan diarists of the 1580s to 1640s. Writing, for Ryder, a man with a natural literary sensibility, as evidenced by hundreds of original verses in the diary, in turn functioned as a kind of technology of the self that could assist his watching.

The question persists, why did Ryder write so much? He answers us on one occasion as if he were asking himself the same thing: "This Morning considering about ye making and keeping of this Diary, & ye Seeming Difficulty at first entrance . . . I Concluded that Gods mercies to them that fear him are New Every morning, Great is Gods Faithfullness . . . [M]y main End and design may be by Gods Assistance to keep alive upon my heart a Sense of Gods Great Goodness, and that it may prove a means to keep me Watchfull."[53] The best means to determine if he was a beneficiary of God's mercy was to read his experiences for signs of his potential salvation. What better way literally to read that text of his experience than to write it down, daily? The fact that some entries are naturally less interesting, but no shorter, than others can be painful to Ryder's modern reader, but the logic Ryder used to explain his behavior—a logic predicated on his theology—was consistent to such a degree that his life as a spiritual writer was quantitatively, and therefore probably qualitatively, very different from the kind of life led by his less literate or verbose peers. His first entry was on May 25, 1733, his last, in shaky handwriting, on January 3, 1768.[54] Each day for over thirty-four years included the goal of writing in the journal, and for the longer entries, especially those with rhymed verses, the time spent must have approached an hour. The arithmetic here is not meant to be precise, but even roughly approximated numbers illustrate that a significant piece of Ryder's earthly waking time, on average as much as a half hour each day, was spent writing in his journal. He never talks about leisure, except on the rare occasion to express with remorse probably an equally rare experience of it. So it may be safe to assume that when he was not working long days, traveling, attending religious services, or doing various things of biological necessity, Ryder was writing.

IF, FOR RYDER, his massive, forty-one-volume spiritual journal served to maintain his moral vigilance, above all else it also illuminates for us the agony of his striving.[55] On the most basic level, that striving was ever present because, by his own estimation, he never watched his soul well enough: "I resolve to be more particular

[53] Joseph Ryder Diary, July 4, 1734.

[54] Ryder wrote in his diary to the bitter end. The parish register records that his burial occurred eight days after he wrote his last entry (the burial was presumably two or three days after his death), and that the cause of his death was "old age." "The Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds, Baptisms and Burials, 1757 to 1776," transcribed by James Singleton, edited by Singleton and Miss Emily Hargrave, *Publications of the Thoresby Society* 25 (1917, 1918, 1920, 1922): 289.

[55] The literature on spiritual diarists is vast and growing. Some of the more recent works from which we have benefited are Webster, "Writing to Redundancy"; Michael Mascuch, *Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591–1791* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); and Amelang, *Flight of Icarus*.

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in self-examination, that great Christian Duty," he recorded, in a list of other resolutions at the end of his second volume.[56] "This day I was much concerned to begin a more strict watch over all my ways," he resolved anew several years later.[57] Even toward the end of his life, on what for others would have been the happy occasion of temporary relief from health problems, he still prayed in verse, "Lord may a sense of thine allseeing eye/make me more watchfull till the day I dye."[58] Watching was also the means to determine if he was failing to watch sufficiently. Ryder's spiritual self-analysis was always governed more by negation than affirmation. He rarely praised himself, and when he did it was usually for not failing. The main purpose of his self-surveillance was therefore less to search for spiritual successes than to look for sin, which presented itself, hour by hour, in a multitude of forms. "Sin has a tyrannizing power in this heart of mine," he wrote shortly after starting his journal. "I find a strange alienation in my heart to what is Good, a strange inclination to sin," to which he continually returned like "the dog to his vomit."[59] Whole days Ryder consigns to his possessing "a fatall hypocrisy," to being "infested with Vain Thoughts, Base Desires, & Sinfull Conceptions."[60] Even when he allowed his family leave from their chores to go to the Thursday lecture at chapel, he examined his generosity: "I thought I preferr'd ye welfare of my Family's Souls before my own Temporal Interest & Advantage." But then in the next sentence, he wondered if his "Coldness or Lukewarmness in ye Service of God" might lie at the root of his generosity.[61]

Sin was especially frightening to Ryder because it signified his potential damnation, which in turn was especially frightening when death always seemed around the corner. Yet Ryder never reveals in any kind of detail the full range of his past and present sins. He can be both vague and explicit about what generally will lead to his spiritual demise: "turning aside from the good ways of God . . . my heart and affections are running after other objects."[62] "The outward grosser sins," which he earlier defines as "drunkenness, swearing, fornication," occurred with the more specific "speculative wantonness, worldly desires, and forbidden pleasures" and lurked everywhere he turned.[63] All the phrases are suggestive, and we can occasionally infer what Ryder did before his conversion at age thirty, or what he may have felt the impulse to continue doing. On hearing Thomas Whitaker preach, he writes that he "discovered how we were Guilty of Uncleanness, not only by Adultery, & Fornication but by obscenity in ye Imagination, we had ye Dismall Effects of this Sin Discovered, to be poverty, Disgrace, Loss of reputation (Tho valuable) and many Loathsome Diseases, and if unrepented of, Eternall Death. We were Cautioned against Lascivious Pictures, unclean Songs & Books, ye Effects whereof has been of bad Consequence filling the World so with this Vile Sin against all Intemperance, which tends Greatly to Lead the Soul aside to this Sin. Many and

[56] Joseph Ryder Diary, February 23, 1735.
[57] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 19, 1741.
[58] Joseph Ryder Diary, September 11, 1758.
[59] Joseph Ryder Diary, June 11, 1733.
[60] Joseph Ryder Diary, June 5, 1735.
[61] Joseph Ryder Diary, July 25, 1734. His "family" here referred to his mother and his orphan employees.
[62] Joseph Ryder Diary, March 22 and March 27, 1758.
[63] Joseph Ryder Diary, February 23, 1735.

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Great have been my Temptations to this Vile Sin."[64] Rarely is Ryder so explicit about his thoughts or the kinds of books he may have read or purchased. As was typically the case with Puritan diarists a century earlier, Ryder's intended readers were himself and God, and both knew the details.[65] The point of a spiritual journal was to record the feelings: the penitence for sins about which we can only speculate, the despair induced by an unnamed employee, the gratitude after returning from travels to places never described more specifically than "abroad." On October 23, 1733, he writes with typical asceticism that he does not want "any great profit or Increase" but rather desires "God's assistance and Blessing not to grow great but good." "Too Great an attachment to worldly care and pleasure," he warned himself three years later, "is a considerable hindrance of the success of the Gospel."[66]

Max Weber would have been delighted to find Ryder's explicitly stated wishes for an ascetic life of moderation. Unlike Weber's favorite, Benjamin Franklin, however, who also offered the advice to "avoid extremes," Ryder could not always confidently draw the line between success and theft, and thus chart his future as saved or damned.[67] On one occasion, he thankfully records that so far "he had fared very well and . . . with Moderation knew no want to any Thing. But his recognition of his own success fueled by moderation turned to fear of greed: "Let him that Stole Steal no more but rather let him Labour working with his hands ye Thing that is Good that he may have to Give to him that needeth."[68] The direct products of his labor did not constitute theft (although here he is saying that the fruits of his labor should be redistributed charitably), but the accumulation of any extra profit was tantamount to stealing. The equation was simple: material success could be a sign of election, but too much success meant sinking into the bottomless pit of worldly desires. Where exactly to draw the line between profiting and pilfering rarely seems to Ryder to have been so easy.

The preachers in the commercial town of Leeds, whom he heard at weekday and Sunday devotions, generally attended in both morning and evening, addressed many of the same concerns that reappear constantly in his diary, in particular the tension between commercial and religious life. Ryder's spiritual diary also contained a profoundly social dialogue between himself and countless preachers whom he heard and pious neighbors with whom he visited and worshiped. "Mr Capp[e] preach[es] . . . while many attend publick ordinances they are often ye greatest part of the Time asleep or else wandering after other Things, some have their hearts in their Marketts, Others have their hearts in their fields . . . and so the Word becomes *unprofitable* to them."[69] In his own words, Ryder echoed Joseph Cappe's admonition later in the year. "This day was much of it spent in worldly business somewhat throngly being markett day. In the evening I was visiting so that little was done in work of a spirituall nature . . . Lord keep me watchfull against every sin, and

[64] Joseph Ryder Diary, April 28, 1734.

[65] On writing from God's perspective, see the general comments about spiritual journals in Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, Calif., 1985), 183.

[66] Joseph Ryder Diary, November 21, 1736.

[67] Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, Kenneth Silverman, ed. (New York, 1986), 92.

[68] Joseph Ryder Diary, October 2, 1733.

[69] Joseph Ryder Diary, June 17, 1735, emphasis in original.

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watchful of every duty, and make me to grow in grace."[70] Yet the preachers also condoned prosperity. Again, Cappe gave the consoling advice: "Beloved I wish above all things that thou mayest prosper & be in health even as thy soul prospereth. Whence we had it declared that Soul prosperity is ye best prosperity but Where a man Enjoys both they render him abundantly usefull, & give him a much greater opportunity of Doing Good."[71]

The local ministry saw little purpose in putting itself at loggerheads with the aspirations for comfort, even wealth, that plagued Ryder and his friends. Indeed, at moments, Ryder even suspected that "ye Rich have ye Advantage to be Religious having nothing else to mind."[72] But in general, Ryder and the preachers to whom he listened so avidly, again in his words, believed in moderation in riches and their pursuit: "considering of these times, & of my Desires at some times to be rid of Business, in Order to a Greater Leisure for ye Business of Religion, [I] was ready to conclude That too much ease as well as too much hurry were Both prejudicial to Religion & that Moderate Labour might prove advantageous to soul and body."[73] When profits were up, when "finding a comfortable Increase of ye Fruits of my Labour, I hope I was Thankful . . . was very Desirous that if riches should Increase, I may not set my heart upon them."[74]

In adverse times, the chapel lecturers, such as Thomas Whitaker, could also reassure the congregation. In spite of general growth in the Yorkshire cloth industry, the early and mid-1750s could be difficult for smaller clothiers, and for the sake of his chapel folk Whitaker "took to vindicate ye divine providence correcting and afflicting ye Good or upright, while wicked enjoy'd health, ease and prosperity . . . [W]e had but one part to cut, & if we but act it well whether it was prosperous or poor . . . this is but a state of tryal."[75] The linkage between worldly success or travail and providence had to be maintained in times harsh as well as sweet. In the same year, 1753, the visiting lecturer from Hackney, Mr. Sandercock, "warned against an inordinate pursuit of temporall concerns," but he also cautioned that those of slothful tempers should not take him in a literal sense.[76] Within the week, another visitor, Mr. Oldraid of Morley, reminded the congregation of God's justice and "inequality." "He showed that if Good men were all ways prosperous, if they were always rewarded here, there would be no room for faith, in the rewards of another world."[77] The temptation to think that piety translated directly into prosperity must have been alluring. Writing in that same year while his wife's health declined, Ryder noted God's goodness to him amid temptation. He found himself with "tryalls to Conflict with from ye world, from the flesh, & from the Devill." But Jesus Christ is "Captain of my Salvation," and in addition "God has been pleased to hand me out a plentifull supply of temporall things today, while many are in

[70] Joseph Ryder Diary, December 16, 1735.
[71] Joseph Ryder Diary, March 28, 1734.
[72] Joseph Ryder Diary, April 6, 1734.
[73] Joseph Ryder Diary, April 16, 1734.
[74] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 7, 1734.
[75] Joseph Ryder Diary, February 18, 1753.
[76] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 20, 1753. This is not to say all those who sat in the chapel were hurting economically. Many of the city's richest merchants were Dissenters who attended both Call Lane and Mill Hill.
[77] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 24, 1753.

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Great want, Oh [that] I may never overlook these blessings nor ever rest satisfied with them as my portion."[78] Contentment was never the order of the day for Joseph Ryder. (See Figure 3.)

Agonizing on a daily basis could lead to a kind of despair, and there are many passages in the diary suggesting that Ryder suffered from mild depression, possibly exasperated by his unfailing ability to "watch" and to find himself spiritually wanting.[79] The depression may also have led to physical ailments, even if Ryder saw it the other way around. "This Day, or some part of it, was spent but in a disconsolate way, my corruptions seemed to gain ground which dejected my spirit, my Body was in some disorder which helped forward the distress; was somewhat afraid of impatience getting the advantage of me, and still adding to my affliction." So he wrote on April 26, 1734. Seven years later to the day, it was as if no time had passed. "Again persons of a melancholy frame are much to be pitied who are harassed with blasphemous thoughts in Duty, but this is often from ye constitution of ye Body for as that is restored to its former health ye mind frequently returns to its composure."[80] The pain of his body, attended by the afflictions visited on his wife and the orphans whom they oversaw, was nevertheless an inescapable source of anguish, and the Book of Job never far from his mind, or from the preaching at his chapel. And then there was Satan. "This Day I have had many disquieting thoughts . . . either from Satan, or my own heart or both, and much ado I found to keep from dejection."[81] So tormented that day, Ryder invoked Job and declared that he would "sell a rich value upon ye light of Gods Countenance esteeming it above riches." Ryder would have given just about anything at certain times to escape the dejection visited on him by Satan and his own heart.

Yet depression also logically followed from his theological views. Even if Ryder saw a connection between his physical ailments and his despair, which we can now see must have come in part from intense self-scrutiny, the thought of being any *less* consumed by despair was a troublesome indication of his failure to attain salvation. "Some part of this Day I meditated . . . saying things that happened so much to heart might be prejudicial to my health, and hereupon thinking on these words a merry heart does good like a medicine resolves if I could to carry more chearfully under whatever befell me . . . Yet again thought of perhaps giving way to chearfulness, Levity should come in upon me and so I should fall short at last, may God in love show me ye right way and enable me to walk in it."[82] The "thought of perhaps giving way to chearfulness" suggests that Ryder felt a degree of control over his depression. But he wasn't always so confident of his own powers. "This Evening I found some difficulty upon the appearance of distress to gett into a chearfull frame . . . Oh that I had a more chearfull and thankfull and submissive frame of spirit to the will of God whatsoever it may be concerning me."[83] As if we

[78] Joseph Ryder Diary, April 7, 1753.

[79] On depression in the period, see Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1981); Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness: Stories of the Insane* (London, 1987); and Porter, *Madness: A Brief History* (Oxford, 2002).

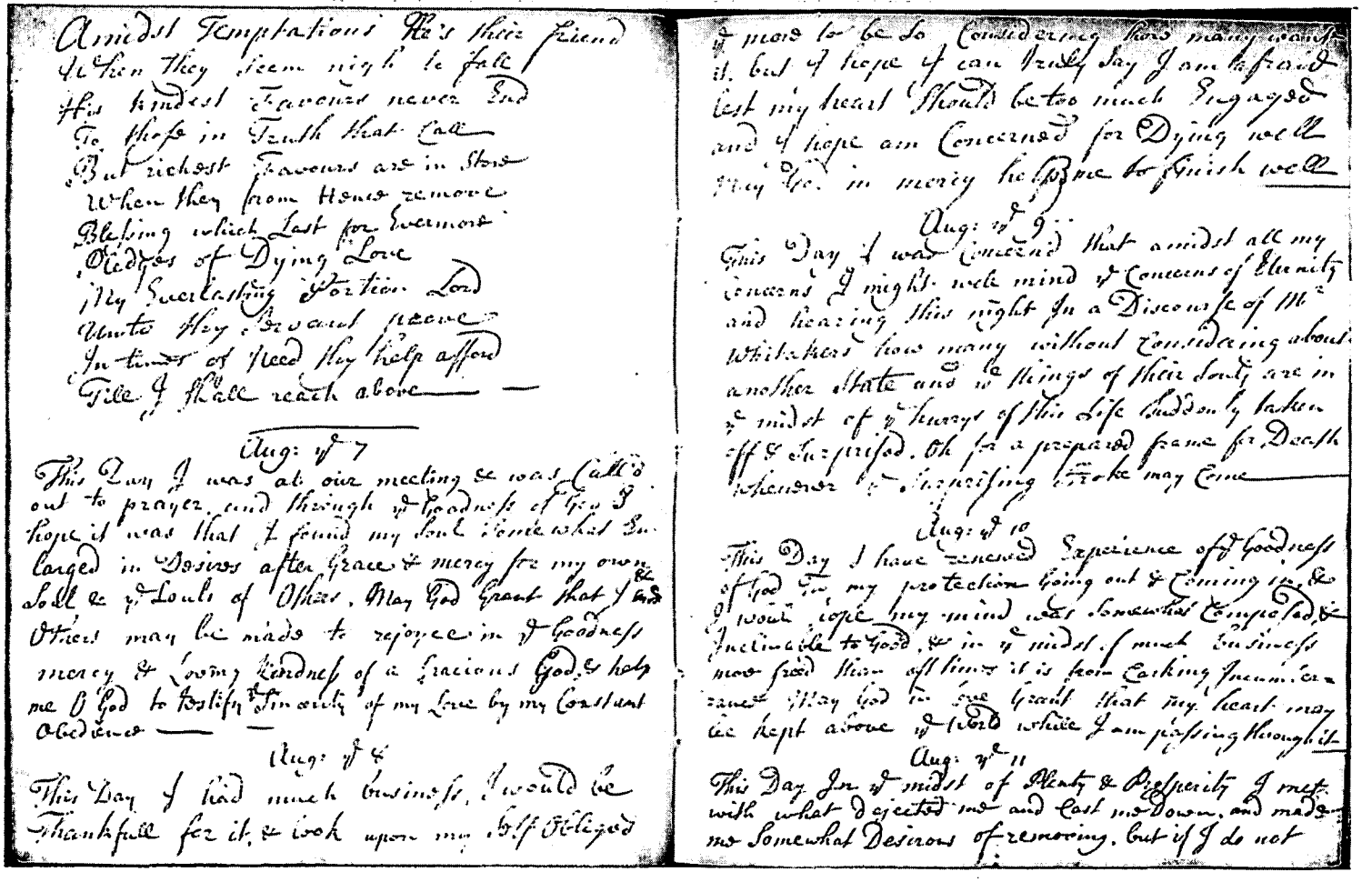
[80] Joseph Ryder Diary, April 26, 1741.

[81] Joseph Ryder Diary, March 19, 1753.

[82] Joseph Ryder Diary, August 22, 1733.

[83] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 8, 1741.

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Amidst Temptations Gods their friend
When they seem nigh to fall
His kindest favours never End
To those in Truth that Call
But richest favours are in Store
When they from Home remove
Blessing which Last for Evermore
Pledges of Dying Love
My Everlasting Portion Lord
Unto thy Bosom receive
In time of Need thy help afford
Till I shall reach above

Aug: ye 7
This Day I was at our meeting & was Call'd out to prayer, and through ye Goodness of God I hope it was that I found my Soul somewhat Enlarged in Desires after Grace & mercy for my own Soul & ye Souls of Others. May God Grant that I and Others may be made to rejoyce in ye Goodness mercy & loving Kindness of a Gracious God & help me O God to testify ye sincerity of my Love by my Constant Obedience

Aug: ye 8
This Day I had much business, I would be Thankfull for it & look upon my Self Obliged & more to be so Considering how many want it. but I hope I can truely Say I am afraid lest my heart Should be too much Engaged and I hope am Concerned for Dying well May God in mercy help me to finish well

Aug: ye 9
This Day I was Concernd that amidst all my Concerns I might not mind ye Concerns of Eternity and hearing this night in a Discourse of ye Whether how many without Considering about another State and ye things of their body are in ye midst of ye Enjoyments of this Life Suddenly taken off & Surprised. Oh for a prepared frame for Death whenever ye Surprising Stroke may Come

Aug: ye 10
This Day I have renewed Experience of ye Goodness of God in my protection Going out & Coming in & your hope my mind was somewhat Composed & Inclinable to Good, & in ye midst of much Business now and then all times it is from Casting Incumbrance May God in free Grace Grant that my heart may be kept above ye World while I am passing through it

Aug: ye 11
This Day In ye midst of Plenty & Prosperity I met with what dejected me and cast me Down, and made me Somewhat Desirous of removing, but if I do not

FIGURE 3: May 25–26, 1754. Two entries shortly after the death of Ryder's wife. Photo courtesy of the John Rylands Library of Manchester.

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need to be reminded, life in the mid-eighteenth century offered many more daily occurrences of bodily afflictions about which a sensitive soul like Ryder could be depressed.[84]

Chapel life was also not without its afflictions. Only occasionally do we glimpse in Ryder's entries the religious ferment that preoccupied Protestants at mid-century. He met with Methodist women who tried to talk him out of the remnants of his predestinarianism, and he heard Unitarians preach. Certainly Joseph Cappe, the minister at Mill Hill Chapel, was an Arian, though still a Trinitarian; Ryder's great favorite, Thomas Whitaker, probably evolved into Arianism; and Thomas Walker, Cappe's replacement after 1748 at Mill Hill, was both unabashedly anti-Trinitarian and a denier of the doctrine of Atonement.[85] Ryder also had kinsmen and women who denied the Trinity.[86] Indeed, the latter and their clergy

[84] Especially toward the end of his life, as his illnesses took hold and many of his friends died, Ryder was acutely aware of suffering and life's transitory nature. Within less than four weeks, from April 8 to May 3, 1766, he reports seven, possibly eight, deaths, three of whom are children. "This day I heard of an acquaintance about my age was to be buried, and of another who I had been formerly acquainted with died yesterday, and of a third who is very ill, and in a poor frame for dying. [April 8, 1766]." Three days later, "Oh that I may not spend one day of this transitory life without some serious reflections on death and judgment, and an awfull eternity into which I must shortly enter," after which he reports two more deaths. On the 29th, "This day I was in a great measure exempted from labour upon the account of having the funerall of Mary the youngest daughter of my cousin John Ryder to attend with which I was uncommonly affected, and could not account for it. She was a lovely promising child, but God was pleased to afflict her with sores, and by them took her of[f] the stage at about eleven years old, while another child who has been a much longer time is yet spared." "This day we have the melancholy account of two children being poisoned the night before by licking something they found carelessly laid in a neighbours house, their apothecary told me they had lingered too long before they got help [May 8]." It is not surprising to find him write, on December 17 of the next year, "This day we have an evident proof that this lower world is a vale of tears, for man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble. One I am somewhat acquainted with has in less than four months buried two children and his wife if she is yet alive appears to be near a dissolution, but shall we say that God is unrighteous, God forbid. Her old mother who lived ten miles from her being animated with desires to see her alive is com'd on foot to see her, and has found her alive. May but such awfull providences awaken us all, and so teach us to number our days as to apply our hearts to wisdom."

[85] Unitarians denied that God could have a son; Arians saw the Son as a second-level God and not one with him; anti-Trinitarians attacked the doctrine of the Trinity as not authentically biblical. For religious life in Leeds during this period, see Robert E. Schofield, *The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley: A Study of His Life and Work from 1733 to 1773* (University Park, Pa., 1997), chap. 7, esp. 168. For how Dissenters of the time interpreted Arianism, see John Rylands Library, Benson MSS, Samuel Bourn to George Benson, June 22, 1751, box B 1/14, item no. 4. Bourn has been offered the minister's position at Bolton, "consisting very much of young striving Tradesmen"; he is also angling for Birmingham, where he has something of a position already. He goes on to say that he is one of many who have given up on the orthodox description of Christ but who wish to keep him with a personality and second only to God. And see same to same, December 2, 1743: "as to our *Saviour's Divinity*, the Author agrees with DR. W[att] in giving up the Orthodox Scheme." Thomas Lightfoot, whom Ryder also heard, is connected to the Benson circle. The letter continues by stating that the author wishes for Christ to have "the *Proper Personality* of the Son of God, and had made I know not well what of him." A very brief mention of Thomas Walker occurs in Charles Wicksteed, *Lectures on the Memory of the Just*, a history of Mill Hill written in the mid-nineteenth century. Wicksteed mentions that Walker published one sermon—its whereabouts are unfortunately unknown. But Wicksteed, himself a Unitarian minister, writes that Walker was the first minister who "broke through the transition state in which the English Presbyterians at this time were in doctrinal matters, and gave definite expression to many of their concealed or but half-hearted opinions" (p. 49). Besides denying the Trinity, Walker preached against the doctrine of Atonement and argued that all one had to do to be saved was repent. Ryder was never moved by this controversial thinking and often records his disapproval of Walker's ideas. (Though, suggestively, Ryder continued for fifteen years to hear Walker preach.) Even Priestley thought Walker to be one of the "most heretical ministers in the neighbourhood"; Wicksteed, *Lectures*, 50.

[86] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 18, 1753.

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were remarkably active in Presbyterian chapels, many of which turned into Unitarian congregations, with Joseph Priestley as their most famous exponent in the 1760s. Priestley went to Leeds in 1767 as the minister of the Mill Hill Chapel, but by that date Ryder was somewhat infirm and probably not moved by the theological controversy that Priestley's views generated.[87] At times, not coincidentally during the ministry of the anti-Trinitarian Walker, Ryder refers to the Savior as "a man of sorrows and acquainted with Grief."[88] At others, he announces, "there is one God and one Mediator between God and man, ye Man Christ Jesus."[89] What metaphysical nature Ryder ascribed to Christ cannot be known with certainty, but it seems clear that Christ's humanity drew Ryder to him. Yet on May 18, 1753, Ryder, perhaps driven by his sense of probity, recorded his consternation over an anti-Trinitarian kinsman.[90] The Reverend Walker too would often give him pause. On November 21, 1754, Ryder records Walker sermonizing that he "knoweth no man, nor the Son, but the Father, Hence [Walker] showed that Some would Say that he knew it as God, but not as man, which way of arguing he show'd to be trifling and Jesuitical, which I must own Gave me much Concern, while I took him in that Christ was not God."

We think of Unitarianism as a rationalizing of faith, the foundation of what Priestley called "a rational theology," but it could have its deeply emotional side. The ferment about Christ's nature could have had the effect of drawing men like Ryder to him. "All Such as do on Christ rely/Shall in him find a rich Supply." Perhaps the remarkably large number of congregations that turned to the Unitarian credo by mid-century—with Leeds as the center of this ferment—did so out of the pressure created by the striving for salvation and worldly success. Only a being's humanity, however elevated, could understand the necessity for such striving and the toll that it took.[91]

[87] Ryder records hearing Priestley preach on October 2, 1767, and again on November 5. Neither sermon seems to have been controversial, or at least struck Ryder that way. But the second record is worth quoting in full for its Whig and political associations. "This day Dr Priestley preacht at Mill Hill from Psalm: 64:9:10. Find all men shall fear, and shall declare the work of God, for they shall wisely consider of His doing. The righteous shall be glad in the Lord and all they upright in heart shall glory Gods works of wonder and mercy we were call'd upon to recollect and consider and particularly he enlarged upon three nationall deliverances which had wrought for us which were the powder plot, the coming in of King Willliam of glorious memory, and the defeating the Spanish Invincible Armada as it was stiled, but all were to our great Joy and comfort defeated, ye snares were broken and we escaped, and we were excited to a thankfull improvement of our liberties civil and religious secured to us thereby may God help us to Improve them God did in wondrous love for us appear When in distress He brought Salvation near."

[88] Joseph Ryder Diary, March 21, 1753.

[89] Joseph Ryder Diary, March 25, 1753.

[90] "This day I went to see Olive Ryder, daughter of David Ryder, baptized, because I have been informed that he denies the Trinity. I cannot say but I found myself much concerned that my kindred according to the flesh are not found walking in conformity to the life and power of godliness. I found much concern for the little infant." This entry is of special interest because Olive ended up being the heir to Joseph's diary. See note 8.

[91] Other historians have noticed this connection between Unitarianism and early capitalism. R. G. Wilson, for example, writes "that this rational progressive faith [of the Unitarians] held attractions for mercantile society there is no doubt." But his argument is that, "As at Call Lane, membership [at Mill Hill] brought benefits only to those already established on the path to success. Yet the introspection of the congregation, and their homogeneity of interests provided a web of connection and consanguinity that was more evident than in the Anglican church. It was this, rather than any singularity in the tenets of their faith that levered them into positions of economic dominance. Moreover the reformist political

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Not only around the doctrine of the Trinity but also in the most general way, Ryder was caught between worlds. From our distance, we can describe these worlds as "preindustrial" and "modern." Ryder was well aware of his liminal state, only he would have said that he vacillated between the secular and the spiritual, or, more specifically, the realm of moneymaking that suggested his salvation and the darker world of excess that he thought would lead to his eternal death. It is only natural that he longed for equilibrium, for a balancing of the hours of each day. "[T]hese considerations at times occasion much trouble and concern of mind . . . I find somewhat of comfort upon this or the like reflection that . . . these things here below encroach not upon my religious hours nor upon sabbath time."[92]

The management of his hours lay close to the heart of Ryder's agonies about salvation, and finding a solution to his dilemma meant making better use of time. "This Day I have had much Business relating to this present Life, my affections has been but too much carried away after ye Things of time . . . I long for a good Improvement of Time."[93] In Ryder's mind, time was palpable, an entity to be managed and worried about. He was utterly ignorant of the new science of the day—at least as far as his diary tells us—but his understanding of time is remarkably like that of another deeply devout Protestant, Isaac Newton, who died in 1727. For Newton, as for Ryder, time is an absolute, an actual entity, not merely a relative marker created by the passage of events. An obsessive concern for time also appears early in Ryder's many verses.[94]

opinions of the Unitarian merchants—induced by their own civic disabilities more than any convinced democratic belief—dovetailed with those of the new manufacturers and engineers. Together they formed a powerful political group in the country. Thus when the ranks of the old merchant families diminished after 1800, the nineteenth-century giants, the Marshalls and Kitsons, took their place. It was this easy absorption of new talent that secured such a lengthy and notable role for Mill Hill chapel in the history of Leeds." *Gentlemen Merchants*, 189–90. Wilson is surely right in part. Ryder went to both Call Lane, where he found ministers with whom he had a real spiritual and intellectual affinity, and Mill Hill, the richer of the two with more merchants sitting in the pews and with heretical ministers who he consistently disagreed with, because Mill Hill gave him greater access to social networks. That longing to network has to be behind his frequenting of so many funerals. But we would argue that this is the superficial picture. From the diary, about which Wilson knew but which his footnotes indicate he only encountered through McLachlan's brief article, we know that Ryder's piety was genuine and ran deep and that he could not get enough of preaching or the experience of death via funerals, which served to remind him that his time was short and of his need to be godly. More important, we also know from the diary that full-fledged Unitarianism did not take hold of later eighteenth-century merchants as if, as rational consumers, they simply selected "Unitarianism" in a supermarket full of theological choices. It was a hard-won theology of which, like the capitalist spirit, Ryder never had full possession but which in his struggles between wealth and spiritual health he almost improvised. This is why he makes the almost incomprehensible distinction between Arianism and anti-Trinitarianism: Arianism, among other things, offered budding pious men of commerce a way to rationalize their faith and fashion it to fit the demands of their economic outlook while avoiding the more undeniably heretical and potentially soul-damning consequences of fully articulated anti-Trinitarianism, which stripped Christ of both his divinity and his importance as second only to God. Thus Wilson may be right, tenets might not have pushed Unitarians into commercial prominence, *but* if those Unitarian merchants had not been able to work out their tenets and make those tenets suitable to their worldly lives during Ryder's generation, their consciences would not have allowed them to function as successful entrepreneurs.

[92] Joseph Ryder Diary, July 16, 1734.

[93] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 15, 1734.

[94] Joseph Ryder Diary, July 29, 1739. "Mans Days Fleeting": "Man that is of a woman born/Has but a while to stay/Lives full of sorrow, sin and Care/And quickly [hastes] away/Much like the grass in field that grows/at morn looks fresh and Gay/But quickly is cutt down and then/Its Beauty fades away . . ./Since here my Time so fleeting is/Oh may I spend it well/That so at Last I may escape/The punishments of Hell."

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Being ever vigilant and fearful of his own capacity for sloth gave Ryder an acuity about time. It represented worldliness; indeed, time is the world, and given his religious anxieties Ryder had not internalized time as we have. Instead, he obsessively monitored himself in relation to it. "Some part of this Day I have spent in Visitt amongst Friends & acquaintance. Yet upon reflection cannot find that It has been any way Beneficiall to my better Part being a great part of it spent in Trifling about Insignificant Subjects or needless Diversion . . . I could have prized an hours communion with God. Nay a Quarter of an hour communion . . . May God assist me in a better Improvement of Time."[95]

Ryder's many and careful discussions of time suggest that he owned and used a pocket watch, which, along with the rhythm of the weekly religious days, Thursday lectures, and the Sabbath feast, would have given him a material sense of the clock ticking and yet another way to engage with that singular dictum, "watch."[96] At war within his time zone were the obligations of business and his worshipful duties toward God, "that my business had hindered me of ye opportunity of attending a private meeting . . . This Day being worried & fatigued with ye toal and Business of the preceding Day . . . I was in a Dilatory frame for Duty Either with respect to Soul or Body. I own it ungratefull of me that I spend or Trifle away any one Day."[97] At moments, the necessity of moneymaking competed with his religious duties and heightened Ryder's anxiety about his relationship to the temporal. At other times, business saved him from sinfulness by literally absorbing so much of his time that he had no consciousness capable of evil thoughts.[98] But Ryder could not rest content or take consolation from his economic striving.[99] The temporal business of this world had Ryder in a trap—"I look upon my Self to be a poor Vile & polluted Creature and I really admire Gods patience towards me," he wrote on December 20, 1733. On the eve of Christmas celebrations, there was little joy in the soul of Joseph Ryder. He believed that there was "my appointed time" and that "God will make me cheerfully willing to go when it does come." Only eternity would be timeless, which made damnation all the more unthinkable.

Charity offered Ryder one acceptable outlet for excess profits and a solution to the salvific dilemma that too much material success posed. This was often the message of the sermons of Whitaker, his pastor and main theological influence. On November 16, 1735, Ryder approvingly recorded Whitaker's sermon against the vices to which "affluent circumstances too frequently led men . . . pride, luxury, voluptuousness, tyranny and oppression of ye poor, forgetfullness of God." Whitaker did not condemn wealth or inequality; he argued that the right thing to do with one's wealth was offer relief for "indigent brethren." But in his journal, Ryder took Whitaker's sermon to its ultimate conclusion. He follows his entry for the day with a poem "On Death," the ultimate leveler. "The Poor and Rich on

[95] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 29, 1733.

[96] On the connections between the use of timepieces and the mechanized sense of time and discipline that became more prevalent as the eighteenth century progressed, see E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," in Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York, 1993), 352–403.

[97] Joseph Ryder Diary, May 29–30, 1733.

[98] "This Day having many worldly concerns I found at ye Close of ye Day they had Ingrossed ye Greatest part of my Time, Tho Sometimes I am ready to Think That business befriends me In Turning away bad Thoughts." Joseph Ryder Diary, December 20, 1733.

[99] See Joseph Ryder Diary, June 2, 1735.

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equall levell stand," he wrote in language redolent of the 1640s, "Both yield to death when God gives out command."[100] Death was never far off in Ryder's mind; neither was charity, presumably as a means to allay anxiety over the former. Two years before hearing Whitaker's sermon, Ryder made note of "wonderfull" news of a woman in Vicar Lane giving birth to "three living children." Out of pity, he writes, "I was ready to resolve if she was an object of charity to do something, as soon as opportunity served, for her relief."[101] This rare occurrence in the eighteenth century of successful triplet births presented the parents with a potentially enormous financial burden, which Ryder was prepared to relieve, no doubt in the process relieving his own anxiety. But the triplet birth was a wondrous divine action. Poverty arising from less than divine activity was the "product of sloth." "If any man all his affairs neglect/His poverty his neighbours soon expect." Just as surely as drawing profits in excess of the labor of one's own hands was stealing, so doing no work at all was negative proof of one's salvation:

> Give me an active Frame in Courts below
> That I the Riches of thy Grace may know
> Let me not like the Slothfull servant hide
> Thy Talent, and in slothfull frame abide
> But make me active while my strength remains
> May it Thro Christ prove my perpetuall gains.[102]

Ryder could hardly be clearer. A productive life on earth was a sign of the "riches" of grace; gains on earth were proof of "perpetuall gains" in the hereafter; a slothful frame proved nothing about one's salvation—it strongly suggested failure. Ryder was a self-made man who apparently never sold his own labor and who knew from experience that poverty could be avoided as long as one maintained the proper discipline. He could approvingly record the message of Whitaker's sermon on the story of Lazarus: "In the finall day of judgment how ye poor and rich stand upon an equall levell and shall be rewarded not according to their greatness but according to their goodness."[103] But charity—and Whitaker was not talking about class leveling—was meant only for those incapable of work. "This is not to be encouraged while a man can work," Ryder wrote two weeks earlier about someone begging for bread.[104] We can again imagine Franklin and Weber—if for vastly different reasons—nodding in agreement. When Ryder was at the peak of his trade, charity had its distinct limits. In the 1730s, he owned a shop in Leeds and in 1738 mentions selling a man's goods in payment of a debt "which left the wife in a poor and low condition."[105] Charity could allay the tumult of his anxious imagination, but in practice it also took second place to the justice of the market.

HOWEVER RELUCTANTLY AND LATENTLY, Joseph Ryder exhibited many of the characteristics of a late eighteenth-century capitalist and suffered the despair endured by the rigid predestinarians who lived in the century and a half before his birth. Yet he was never fully possessed by the spirit of capitalism nor did he

[100] Joseph Ryder Diary, November 16, 1735.
[101] Joseph Ryder Diary, August 24, 1733.
[102] Joseph Ryder Diary, August 26, 1733.
[103] Joseph Ryder Diary, December 7, 1735.
[104] Joseph Ryder Diary, November 23, 1735.
[105] Joseph Ryder Diary, June 4, 1738.

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completely tailor his theology to his economic needs. He is a long way from Daniel Howe's comfortable American Unitarians of the nineteenth century, where "the search for redemption through suffering was alien to the dominant spirit of New England Unitarianism."[106] So too at the same time, the devout Methodist and Lancashire cotton mill owner David Whitehead, as zealous for Methodism as Ryder had been for his watching, evinces none of the agony induced distinctively by even the fading doctrine of predestination.[107] Precariousness of market and health, as well as a much more visible class hierarchy, made mid-eighteenth-century Englishmen like Ryder far more nervous and agonized than their American or British cousins after 1800 could have even imagined.[108]

Progress in worldliness had been made, however, from the Protestant sermonizing and temper of the pre–civil war days. Cristina Malcolmson describes the great poet and Reformation Protestant George Herbert (1593–1633) as reproducing in his sermons on vocation an insistence "on hard work [while condemning] as deviant both social mobility and the acquisition of wealth for its own sake."[109] Paul Seaver writes that, for the London turner Nehemiah Wallington (1598–1658) "riches were not a reward for honest labor but a consequence of sharp practice, of 'lying and oppression,' of 'cruelty and unmercifulness to the poor.'"[110] Wallington did not actively seek out poverty, and—this is an important point—"voluntary poverty is never praised as a Christian virtue," but "successful enterprise seemed all too often . . . a hazard to one's eternal soul for the sake of vainglorious and temporary show."[111] Ryder never regarded his mobility and creature comforts as deviant; rather, they taxed his religiosity without ever being condemned *tout court*. James Clegg (1679–1755), a Derbyshire minister and medical practitioner, was closer in both time and religious temperament to Ryder, but in Clegg's diary we find very little interest in economic life.[112] For the most part, Clegg's fascinating diary is full of medical notes (the vast majority of his comments about his nine children, for example, concern the nature of their often fatal diseases and little else) and words of devotion. Yet, even in this comparatively short journal, we occasionally hear echoes of the characteristics Weber identified. On October 30, 1730, with his son James "dangerously ill of a Fever," Clegg apprehends that God is punishing him for his excessive confidence in his "sober and diligent" son's business acumen, which Clegg thought would "make a considerable figure in the world."[113] Perhaps Ryder's sensibility has something in common with that found among the poor of Brazil, who in our time acquire through Pentecostalism a sense of control over, or "at least certainty about" a destiny in another world. Riddled by the same anxiety over

[106] Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805–1861* (1970; Middletown, Conn., 1988), 158–59.

[107] *The Autobiography of David Whitehead of Rawtenstall (1790–1865)*, Stanley Chapman, ed. (Otley, 2001).

[108] See Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), chap. 3.

[109] Cristina Malcolmson, *Heart-Work: George Herbert and the Protestant Ethic* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 145–46.

[110] Paul Seaver, "The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," *Journal of British Studies* 19 (1980): 44; see also Seaver, *Wallington's World*.

[111] Seaver, "Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," 44.

[112] James Clegg, *The Diary of James Clegg of Chapel en le Frith, 1708–1755*, Vanessa S. Doe, ed., 3 vols. (Matlock, 1978).

[113] *Diary of James Clegg*, 1: 97, 98.

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salvation, those who turn toward evangelical Protestantism find strictness and discipline and a sense of spiritual empowerment available only to the believer as he journeys through a precarious and dangerous but fleeting world.[114]

However many cases we cite, there is an inevitable problem associated with determining Ryder's representativeness. When we survey the surviving evidence of personal writings of men (or women)[115] of Ryder's milieu, often missing are the kinds of intensely private, spiritual sources that would tell us if other early entrepreneurs felt as Ryder did.[116] Of course, this only means that the implications of the dearth of evidence cut two ways: among his immediate contemporaries, Ryder may have been uniquely distraught over his material successes. (Yet would anyone have really known just how troubled he was if only his account books had survived?)[117] By the same token, can we take the absence of comments of a spiritual nature in many of the ledger books from the eighteenth century as evidence that their authors were unconcerned about the potential otherworldly consequences of their worldly activities? To quibble too much with the "representativeness" of Joseph Ryder's spiritual (and now we may add, commercial) diary runs the risk of us saying that we must sample the entire ocean in order to know that it is salty. It also ignores the compelling evidence of Ryder's engagement with the sermons he heard two and three times a week. The ministers were not talking into a void, and we doubt that Ryder's were the only ears attuned to the issues of striving, salvation, and the lure of prosperity. Quite possibly, Ryder—by the very fact of his having so compulsively recorded his spiritual state—was saltier in matters religious than most of the clothiers and wool merchants who sat in chapel with him. But whether there was one or a plethora of Joseph Ryders, the tensions expressed in Ryder's diary can still be read as culturally symptomatic. On the subject of the usefulness of diaries as historical sources, Steven Ozment has recently remarked, "What these sources lack in representativeness they more than make up for in depth and opportunity for precise analysis. Such sources give entry to the private worlds of their subjects at an

[114] Manuel A. Vásquez, *The Brazilian Popular Church and the Crisis of Modernity* (New York, 1998), 92.

[115] Ryder tells us that his wife also kept a journal. Its whereabouts are unfortunately a mystery.

[116] The types of surviving sources related to men of commerce are almost invariably commercial in nature. Thus we often find nothing of spiritual concern among the records we have of other clothiers of Ryder's milieu. See, for example, K. H. Burley, "An Essex Clothier of the Eighteenth Century," *Economic History Review* 11 (1958): 289–301. Julia de Lacy Mann finds little spiritual concern in the journal of George Wansey, a clothier and Quaker from Wiltshire who was born four decades before Ryder—his diary "is, in general, an impersonal record of the weather and of public events." Mann, "A Wiltshire Family of Clothiers: George and Hester Wansey, 1683–1714," *Economic History Review* 9 (1956): 252.

[117] Ryder's trade notebook did actually survive and predictably contains nothing of a spiritual nature except for one short reference. See "Trade Note Book of a Leeds Clothier 'Putting Out' under the Domestic System," MS GA/B27, West Yorkshire Archives Service. Special thanks to Helle Folkersen for help with this reference. Leonore Davidoff and others have argued that over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries "intensely religious men came to depend on women, particularly female members of their family, to act as keepers of their conscience and protectors or their spiritual self." Davidoff, *et al.*, *The Family Story: Blood, Contract, and Intimacy, 1830–1960* (London, 1999), 59. This might suggest that, if this trend actually started earlier in the eighteenth century in some cases, one place to look for expressions of the spiritual side of entrepreneurs, who were overwhelmingly men, might be in the spiritual journals of their wives. Ryder often turned to his wife's diary as consolation after her death.

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emotional and intellectual level rarely accessible through any other contemporary record."[118]

Language is part of an intricate web that is deeply social. Sermons in particular are performative speech acts, imbedded in time and place, and, as we know from Ryder's diary, oftentimes on the mark, speaking to the innermost thoughts of a congregation. Most important for the larger cultural argument, Ryder's diary makes clear that every week for over thirty years the sermons he was hearing resonated with his fears and spiritual aspirations in the face of his worldly success. Priestley, whom Ryder heard briefly in Leeds before Priestley was dismissed for his Unitarianism, devoted many sermons to the issue of worldly success and the Christian life. When he spoke in Birmingham in the 1780s, he assumed that prosperity sat before him in the chapel pews.[119] In a spirit that Ryder would have understood, Priestley admonished his congregation to remember that "riches, honors and pleasures . . . are but *secondary* things for us. We are to receive them thankfully, and above all, to improve them properly, if, in the course of Divine Providence, they fall to our lot."[120] In the industrial take-off of the 1780s, Priestley walked a finer line than his predecessors in Dissent like Ryder's beloved Thomas Whitaker (who would have appreciated Priestley's warning that accumulation and its enjoyment are acceptable provided they do not "come in competition with our duty, and our obedience to the commands of Christ").[121] But the rigors of mid-century Dissent would probably have precluded Priestley's composure in the face of affluence, his willingness to tell his Birmingham congregation of the 1780s that there was nothing wrong in "mixing with the world, and sharing the emoluments of it . . . this is unavoidable."[122]

A previous generation of English historians, born earlier in the twentieth century and brought up amid deep class divisions and the poverty at their root, better understood the tensions about worldliness with which eighteenth-century Protestants grappled. Possessed of a Christian and socialist background, R. H. Tawney would have seized on Ryder's diary as a text in need of a social and economic reading. In a magisterial set of lectures delivered in 1922, Tawney endorsed Weber's thesis but then sought to historicize it. He opined, "the heart of man holds mysteries of contradiction," and then invoked the contradictory tendencies toward the revolutionary and the restrictive found in the Puritanism of the 1640s.[123] In those tendencies lay the roots of the Dissenting tradition to which Ryder belonged. He attended chapels that were both Independent and Presbyterian; both sects formed the core of the Puritanism that defeated and beheaded Charles I in 1649. Then, and again in Ryder's lifetime, "godly discipline" lay at the heart of Puritan and Dissenting sensibilities. But within Ryder's lifetime, the

[118] Steven Ozment, *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 106–07. We owe the analogy of saltiness to Ozment.

[119] See Margaret C. Jacob, "Commerce, Industry, and the Laws of Newtonian Science: Weber Revisited and Revised," *Canadian Journal of History* 35 (August 2000): 287–92.

[120] Joseph Priestley, *A Preface to a Sermon . . . December 31, 1780*, in *The Theological and Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Priestley*, J. T. Rutt, ed., 25 vols. (London, 1817), 15: 32–33.

[121] Rutt, *Preface to a Sermon*, 15: 32–33.

[122] Rutt, *Preface to a Sermon*, 15: 34.

[123] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (1926; rpt. edn., New York, 1947), 176.

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Dissenting churches also enjoyed religious toleration and laid down a stake in the stability that became Hanoverian England. Only dimly in Ryder's prose do we hear echoes of the revolutionary rhetoric of the 1640s. He believed that the great and the lowly are level in the eyes of God, but in all political matters Ryder was conformity itself. He comments occasionally on politics but with strict neutrality and a political passion aroused only by the appearance of men who would persecute him for his religion.[124] The energy that the godly and disciplined put into politics during the seventeenth century translated in the eighteenth century into the striving of business and trade.

Tawney's intellectual heir, Christopher Hill, the leading historian of the English Revolution from the 1960s to the 1980s, took the Weber thesis seriously from his earliest, major work on the economic problems of the English Church. In 1956, Hill proclaimed, "I do not accept the view that ideas can be disregarded merely because they can be shown not to have been quite as disinterested as the people who held them may have believed . . . The Weber-Tawney analysis still puts the *ideas* of the Puritans in the forefront of any explanation of the great social changes which took place in England."[125] Hill is often severely criticized because of his Marxism, and hence his materialism, by the so-called revisionists (and also conservatives) who came to dominate seventeenth-century English—and increasingly British—historiography in the 1980s. But unlike many of them, Hill asked the big questions and was not afraid to take seriously the implications of Weber's thesis and the challenge it had been intended to offer to a rigid Marxism. Consistently, Hill defended the validity of Weber's insight while nevertheless wanting always to note the human ability to dwell on doctrines in ways that encourage one's own prosperity.[126] He used the term "ethos" with comfort and always saw the doctrine of predestination as central to it.[127] "I shall assume without argument that there is such a thing as the protestant ethic," he writes in his magisterial *The World Turned Upside Down*, a book that at the same time never mentions Weber by name.[128] Yet, in the final

[124] This is not to say that Ryder's comments on politics, infrequent though they are, are uninteresting. What is especially striking about his political consciousness is its providentialist nature. When political events threatened his religious freedom, as he took to be the case briefly during the Jacobite uprising in 1745, he read those events as signs that God was punishing the nation as a whole for the sins of its citizens. On the other hand, when times were good for the nation, after the war with France and Spain had ended, for example, he gave thanks to God "both for national and personall favours." Joseph Ryder Diary, October 18, 1763. Ryder suggests that for many citizens of the nation only just formed when he was an early teenager, politics was still far from a purely secular affair. For the perseverance of the religious in politics after 1688 and the Act of Union in May 1707, see chaps. 6 and 7 of Tim Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660–1715* (New York, 1993), 147–207. We would add to Harris's argument that not only were political affiliations largely determined by religious identity, but that predominantly and in many ways wholly religious ways of reading political events persisted well into the eighteenth century. For another version of the same problem, see William E. Burns, *An Age of Wonders: Prodigies, Politics and Providence in England 1658–1727* (Manchester, 2002).

[125] Christopher Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church: From Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament* (1956; rpt. edn., London, 1971), x.

[126] Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (New York, 1965), 230.

[127] Christopher Hill, *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1974), 82.

[128] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (New York, 1972), 261. The subtitle of the chapter from which this quotation comes is "The Protestant Ethic." Hill also placed the ethic at work early in the seventeenth century; see Christopher Hill, "Puritans and the Poor," *Past and Present* 2 (1952): 32–50.

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analysis, Hill, like Tawney when viewing the Protestantism available to Daniel Defoe (and hence to Ryder), awarded priority to capitalism, and Protestantism was ultimately a product of established capitalist society.[129] By contrast, we of less doctrinal times and persuasion can set forth Ryder's world without having to choose whether God or Mammon lay at the root of his spiritual and material striving. Suffice it to say that the intensity of Ryder's engagement with the one fed his zeal for the other.

In our final analysis, we might think of Ryder's diary as thirty-five years of psychiatrist's notes and of his watching as the feature of his mental life that did more than anything to shape his behavior. One has to be careful not to assume that his life was lived entirely as it was written about in his journal—the journal is both the product and the means of his intense examination of himself and the world around him, and the degree of watching it suggests might therefore be greater than the degree to which Ryder scrutinized his behavior on an hourly basis. Yet we have to be careful not to assume the opposite, either. Even if he watched only as he wrote about himself, watching still framed his life. More to the point, it would be absurd to assume that the watcher in the journal was confined only to that text and to the activity of creating it. Not only would the massive lifelong project of his journal have shaped how he saw both himself and world around him, the commands to self-monitor that he gives himself in his diary, unless he was completely inauthentic, would have meant that he did in fact watch as he worked, traveled, prayed, functioned in social settings, and so on. Watching was the defining aspect—as he defined it—of his mental and probably physical life. The question with which we must now end presents itself, how did this self-conscious examining, which sprang from his religiosity, affect his behavior?

In the case of his economic behavior—and above all this is why Weber came to mind as we read through Ryder's journal—his self-examining seems to have been decisive in orienting him toward the middle ranks of society as he avoided the sinful extremes of excess but strove for the moderate successes that suggested his election. Self-examination per se does not have to create a middle-class sensibility—compare, for example, Nehemiah Wallington—but Ryder's material world, which was defined by its increasingly industrious economic landscape, had changed from that of the previous century in which Wallington lived. In Ryder's case, we would argue, self-scrutiny, which always coexisted with his observations of providence at work in the physical and social world, was the crucial ingredient that led to his middling social sensibility because that activity was practiced in the context of an increasingly commercial society in which he was a full and prosperous player. In that society, the Protestant ministers to whom Ryder listened so intently slowly decriminalized material acquisition. They helped him to prosper, and his watching— encouraged by those same sermons and the practice of diary writing—led him to exercise self-control.

Yet, *pace* Weber, it was not solely the doctrine of predestination that underpinned Ryder's watching. Predestination was part of it—that doctrine still had a hold on Ryder's anxious imagination and certainly led him to direct his examining toward the self. But we also have to consider his providentialist view of the

[129] From an essay on Defoe in Christopher Hill, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, 3 vols. (Amherst, Mass., 1985), 1: 110.

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world—his endless searches for signs of God's universal blueprint in political elections and uprisings, the rare triplet birth, the weather, or a safe return from a dangerous journey—and his belief in the power of Christ to extend grace to penitent sinners. He was also a watcher of what he saw taking place outside himself. Furthermore, his watching seems to have taken on a life of its own. It was always religious in character, but eventually it became a—maybe paradoxically—comforting habit, much as over time for reasons of taste one might continue to practice a diet originally prescribed by religion.

There is another point where Weber needs to be modified. He and others have failed to take into sufficient account how much the godly might suffer as they began to prosper.[130] With the aid of Joseph Ryder, we now know the depth of the agony induced by the simultaneous quest for profit and salvation. The potential conflict between those two pursuits may make it easier to understand why precisely, early in the eighteenth century, a young man like Benjamin Franklin, on the other hand, could turn away from the Calvinism of his youth, to become in Weber's description "a colourless deist."[131] The secularism of the Enlightenment may have been the coward's way out of the conundrum that governed the lives of the multitude of Joseph Ryders. They populated the burgeoning cities of England and America, traded and watched the market and the weather for signs of instability, for the awesome pleasure or censure of the deity. But for those reluctant capitalists who did not take Franklin's way out, for those who fretted over their spiritual progress or lack thereof and prayed in the darkness that damnation—the fate of the greedy and the sinful—might not overtake them, the tensions between this and the other world gave rise to a lifetime of struggle. Nowhere have we seen that struggle more painfully expressed than in Ryder's diary. If Ryder's agonized ambivalence was less unique than the historical artifact he unwittingly produced, then the story of how the capitalist spirit settled into the lives of those driving economic change on the eve of Britain's industrialization needs to be retold.

[130] We find much to agree with in Albert O. Hirschman's account of the decriminalization of self-interest; see *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton, N.J., 1977), but Hirschman neglects to consider that many of those economic actors stuck in the trenches could not explain rising self-interest as breezily as Adam Smith or Montesquieu and therefore might have suffered to an incomparably greater degree.

[131] Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 53.

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Empire and the Confessional State: Islam and Religious Politics in Nineteenth-Century Russia

ROBERT CREWS

> The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman World, were all considered by the people, as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful.
>
> Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776).

AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, a "Muslim question" confronted the tsarist regime. Islam provoked intense anxieties among Russian elites about political loyalty and social integration. Many conservatives identified a diverse population of some 20 million Muslim subjects—a total exceeding the number of Muslims under the rule of the Ottoman sultan—as a particular threat to the domestic order. Spread throughout the Volga River and Ural Mountains regions, the Crimea, Siberia, the Caucasus, the north Caspian steppe, and Transoxiana, Muslims appeared to present a danger to the stability and integrity of this vast empire.[1] Echoing earlier charges directed at Jews, critics such as E. N. Voronets claimed in 1891 that Muslims acted as a "state within a state."[2] Moreover, they maintained ties to millions of co-religionists in states adjoining Russia's southern borderlands. In an era when the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid II asserted himself as the caliph of all Muslims, the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg warned local Russian police to monitor Muslim subjects for signs of sympathy with the "idea of a world-wide Muslim kingdom with the sultan at the head" and for evidence that they "pray for the former, and not for the Sovereign Emperor."[3]

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[1] In 1897, the first all-imperial census counted some 14 million Muslims (out of a total population of 150 million subjects), although officials conceded that they undercounted Muslims. While estimates ranged as high as 40 million, most Muslim commentators arrived at the figure of 20 million. See S. Rybakov, "Statistika musul'man v Rossii," *Mir Islama* 2, no. 11 (1913): 757–63. In the same year, the Ottoman census counted 14.1 million Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Bilal Eryılmaz, *Osmanlı Devletinde Gayrimüslim Teb'anın Yönetimi* (Istanbul, 1990), 81.

[2] E. N. Voronets, *Nuzhnyi-li dlia Rossii mufti?* (Moscow, 1891), 4.

[3] See the warning of March 1893 to the governor of Kazan province in Natsional'nyi Arkhiv Respubliki Tatarstan (hereafter, NART), f. 1, op. 2, d. 9251, ll. 1–1 ob. On Abdülhamid, see Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* (London, 1999).

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Muslim intellectuals such as Ismail Bei Gasprinskii rejected charges of disloyalty but shared Russian conservatives' critique of an ostensibly isolated and inward-looking Muslim community, claiming that it "vegetates in the narrow, stifling realm of its old ideas and prejudices, as if isolated from the rest of humanity."[4] Appropriating the language of "reform" and "progress," Gasprinskii condemned his opponents as obscurantists and self-appointed guardians of Islam who rejected participation in the social and institutional life of the empire. The reformers set out to transform Islamic education and legal interpretation and looked to the state to advance science and the Russian language among Muslims. However, the regime remained suspicious of their overtures and continued to regard them as part of a broader scheme sponsored by foreign powers to weaken the Russian state in its Muslim regions.

The categories of these late nineteenth-century actors have largely determined how historians have approached the study of Islam in modern Russia. Reading these conflicts back into the distant past, scholars have tended to replicate the image of a conflict defined, on the one hand, by Muslim struggles against the regime and, on the other, by an internal tension between Muslim "reformers" and Muslim "traditionalists." Whereas internalist histories view the faith as an impregnable barrier against external threats to community and tradition, mainstream Russian historiography maintains that even Muslims who did not openly embrace jihad against the Russians nonetheless stood against, or apart from, the state. In most accounts, only the appearance of Muslim "modernist reformers" (Jadids) in the 1880s disrupts this story of cultural preservation and continuity.[5]

Such interpretations capture an important aspect of the controversies facing imperial and Muslim elites at the *fin de siècle* but obscure more complex patterns of interaction between Muslim communities and the tsarist regime in the long nineteenth century. From the reign of Catherine the Great, Muslims sometimes resisted or fled Russian military expansion under the banner of Islam. Many actors on both sides represented these clashes as essentially religious in nature. Yet resistance and flight to a neighboring Muslim land (the *hijra*) were not the only responses available to Muslims. Nor was the regime exclusively concerned with expelling or converting its Muslim subjects.[6] Even amid the brutal war waged for

[4] Ismail Bei Gasprinskii, *Russkoe musul'manstvo: Mysli, zametki i nabliudeniia musul'manina* (1881; rpt. edn., Oxford, 1985), 29.

[5] Accounts emphasizing unrelenting state hostility toward Muslims—and their resistance to the state—include J. G. Zäynullin, *XVIII yöz–XX yöz bashïnda tatar rukhani ädäbiyätï* (Kazan, 1998), 4–5; and Azade-Ayşe Rorlich, *The Volga Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience* (Stanford, Calif., 1986). For a valuable overview of Jadid ideology, see Edward J. Lazzerini, "Beyond Renewal: The Jadīd Response to Pressure for Change in the Modern Era," in *Muslims in Central Asia: Expressions of Identity and Change*, Jo-Ann Gross, ed. (Durham, N.C., 1992), 151–66. On the ideological concerns shared by reformers and their rivals, see the brilliant article by Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Qu'est-ce que la '*qadîmiya*'? Eléments pour une sociologie du traditionalisme musulman, en Islam de Russie et en Transoxiane (au tournant des XIX^{e} et XIX^{e} siècles)," *L'Islam de Russie: Conscience communautaire et autonomie politique chez les Tatars de la Volga et de l'Oural depuis le XVIII^{e} siècle*, Stéphane A. Dudoignon, Dämir Is'haqov, and Räfyq Möhämmätshin, eds. (Paris, 1997), 207–25.

[6] For a recent account of Russian military campaigns in the Caucasus that highlights the goal of mass expulsions, see Peter Holquist, "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial and Soviet Russia," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds. (Oxford, 2001), 111–44; on the Muslim resort to jihad, see Moshe Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar:*

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over a quarter century by tsarist forces against the mountain peoples of the north Caucasus, Russian administrators and Muslims frequently found themselves united against common foes.[7] Developed first, and most intensively, in the eastern provinces stretching from the Volga River and Ural Mountains into the steppe, these tactical alliances bound Muslims to tsarist institutions by offering protection to the defenders of "true religion" against "schismatics," "heretics," and others whose errors and innovations might corrupt the faithful. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the regime extended this patronage of Islamic orthodoxy to each newly conquered territory.

The tsarist regime achieved relative stability in managing these large Muslim populations on its southeastern frontiers not by repressing or ignoring Islam but by assuming responsibility for its policing. This article draws on court records, petitions, and denunciations from central and regional state archives as well as local Muslim accounts to show how the Russian state governed as patron and guardian of the faith of its Muslim subjects. Recent interpretations of the empire highlight the tensions between Russia's imperial and national identities, principally by exploring tsarist policy and educated Russians' images of non-Russians.[8] This article seeks to shift attention from questions of administration and representation to state-mediated conflicts among Muslims and other groups. The first part of this essay traces Russia's path to a confessional state committed to backing the construction and implementation of "orthodoxy" within each recognized religious community. Comparisons among Muslims, Protestants, Jews, Buddhists, and other groups suggest a broader pattern of interdependence between religious and state authorities. From the late eighteenth century, despite the close association between the Romanov dynasty and the Orthodox Church, these ties cut across confessional lines and endured into the early twentieth century, when they provided a crucial—but long overlooked—source of cohesion for a diverse polity confronted by divisive secular ideologies. The second part examines these developments more closely with respect to the Muslims of European and southeastern Russia, especially in the

Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan (London, 1994); and Anna Zelkina, *In Quest for God and Freedom: The Sufi Response to the Russian Advance in the North Caucasus* (New York, 2000); and, more generally, the classic study by Rudolph Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History* (The Hague, 1979).

[7] In the Caucasus, Muslims also joined ranks with the Russians, sometimes directing tsarist formations against their enemies. See Firouzeh Mostashari, "Colonial Dilemmas: Russian Policies in the Muslim Caucasus," *Of Religion and Empire: Missions, Conversion, and Tolerance in Tsarist Russia*, Robert P. Geraci and Michael Khodarkovsky, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001), 229–49; V. O. Bobrovnikov, *Musul'mane Severnogo Kavkaza: Obychai, pravo, nasilie* (Moscow, 2002), esp. 46–51; and V. Lapin, "Natsional'nye formirovaniia v kavkazskoi voine," *Rossiia i Kavkaz skvoz' dva stoletiia*, G. G. Lisitsyna and Ia. A. Gordin, eds. (St. Petersburg, 2001), 108–25. On precedents for alliances between Muslims and Russian authorities aimed at other Muslims, see Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), esp. 37–39.

[8] See the innovative studies by Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994); Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865* (Cambridge, 1999); Robert P. Geraci, *Window on the East: National and Imperial Identities in Late Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, 2001); Theodore Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914* (Dekalb, Ill., 1996); Austin Jersild, *Orientalism and Empire: North Caucasus Mountain Peoples and the Georgian Frontier, 1845–1917* (Montreal, 2002); and Andreas Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich: Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall*, 2d edn. (Munich, 1993).

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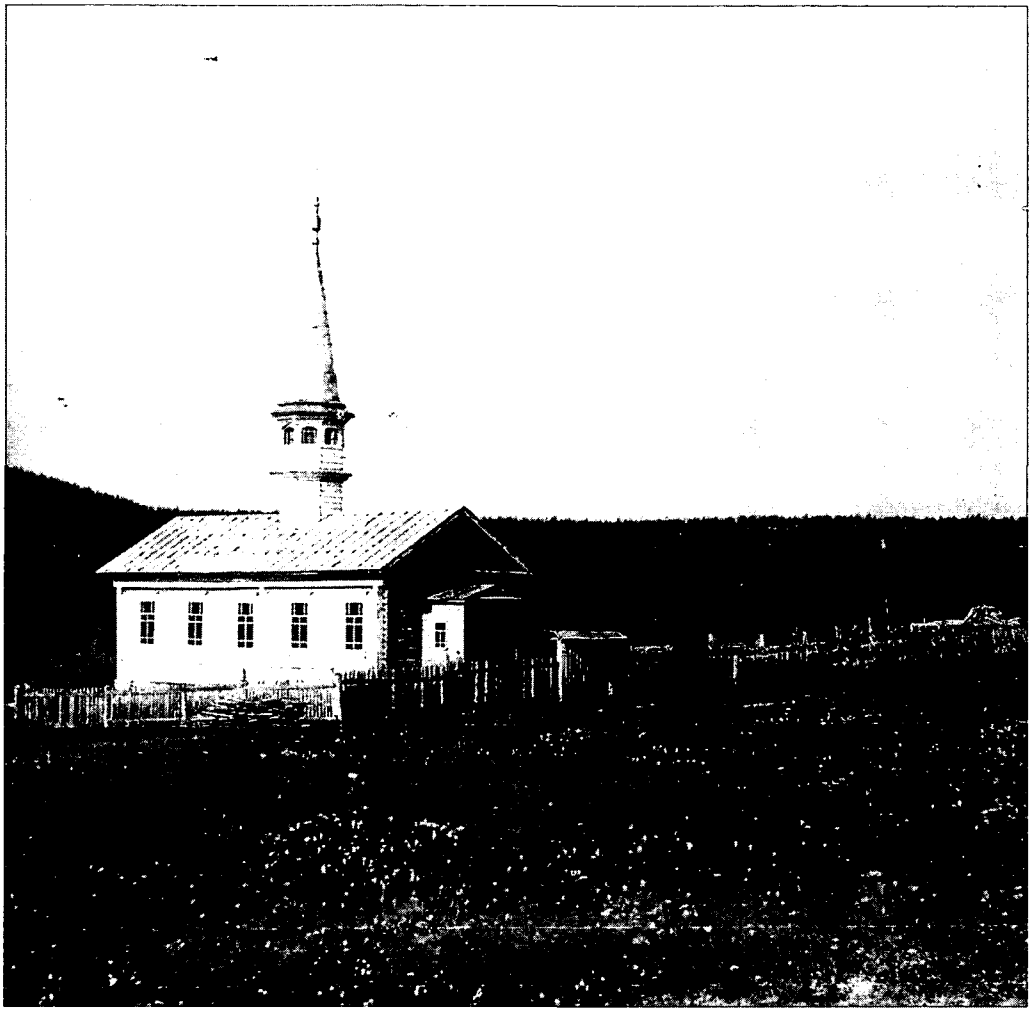


FIGURE 1: A mosque in the Bashkir village of Ekh'ia. Courtesy of the Prokudin-Gorskii Collection of the Library of Congress.

provinces straddling the Volga River and Ural Mountains.[9] It tells the story of how adherents of one religious tradition attempted to deploy the power of the state against their co-religionists to redefine the understanding of community and the content of religious orthodoxy. My aim is to illustrate how various actors understood—and competed to define—true religion and community in dynamic exchanges with the state, not prior to, or apart from, the imperial context but firmly within it.

Muslims seeking endorsement for their own views of religious orthodoxy found

[9] Valuable regional histories include Andreas Kappeler, *Russlands erste Nationalitäten: Das Zarenreich und die Völker der Mittleren Wolga vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1982); Allen J. Frank, *Islamic Historiography and "Bulghar" Identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia* (Leiden, 1998); Paul W. Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy: Mission, Governance, and Confessional Politics in Russia's Volga-Kama Region, 1827–1905* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002); and Christian Noack, *Muslimischer Nationalismus im Russischen Reich: Nationsbildung und Nationalbewegung bei Tataren und Baschkiren, 1861–1917* (Stuttgart, 2000).

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supporters in secular officials who valued Islam as a monotheistic source, albeit inferior to Orthodox Christianity, of stability, discipline, and order. Like the Muscovite litigation of honor disputes, the pursuit of religious struggles here forged a dynamic relationship between local communities and the judicial and policing institutions of the state.[10] But in the late eighteenth century, the state mediation of confessional differences formed a new instrumentality of imperial rule, not only over Muslims but over nearly all other non-Orthodox subjects.

While nationalist teleologies have tended to reduce imperial politics to a struggle between empire and the "nation," a closer examination of religious politics reveals a realm of imperial consciousness and state practice obscured by national frameworks and an anachronistic focus on "minorities." Diverse actors deployed police power to refashion non-Orthodox faiths as imperial traditions. Where non-Russians may have on occasion resisted tsarist taxation and conscription, the struggle for true religion established common interests between pious activists and the police. The faithful remade their communities by advancing new visions of religious orthodoxy and by deepening their integration in, and subordination to, the expanding institutions of the empire. Thus Muslims did not inhabit the static and isolated world depicted by Russian critics and reformers like Gasprinskii. Nor did they live within the confines of an unchanging Muslim tradition represented by clerics defending the faith against unlawful "innovation" (*bida*). The intense controversies that raged among Muslims over religious interpretation and identity extended beyond the elite circles that are so commonly the domain of Islamic history; indeed, as I will show, these conflicts not only engaged laypeople but also drew representatives of the tsarist regime into mediation of disputes over the meaning of Islamic tradition. The adjudication of intracommunal conflicts became a singularly important vehicle for the extension of state power into local life. Neither Islam nor any other religious tradition remained isolated or escaped entanglement with the regime, notwithstanding later nationalist claims that ethnicity served as a refuge against the incursions of the Russian government.

Tsarist religious politics took shape in the competitive international context of empire-building. Religious identities took on new meanings where states pursued imperial expansion as the extension of protection to co-religionists. Both the Orthodox tsar and Muslim sultan devised novel ways to accommodate subjects who shared the faith of their neighbors and European rivals. Ottoman attempts to counter European encroachment brought dramatic reforms in 1839 and 1856 designed to establish legal equality for Muslims and non-Muslims and to cultivate a supraconfessional loyalty to "Ottomanness" (*Osmanlılık*).[11] New European approaches to the utility of religion for state-building proved no less far-ranging in metropole and colony alike. Drawing on contemporary anthropology, many European elites shared the view that "religion" represented a universal determinant of human experience, which imposed certain moral constraints, to varying degrees, on its adherents everywhere. In the view of many late eighteenth and early nineteenth-

[10] Nancy Shields Kollmann, *By Honor Bound: State and Society in Early Modern Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999).

[11] See Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge, 2001); and Gülnihâl Bozkurt, *Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukukî Durumu (1839–1914)* (Ankara, 1989).

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FIGURE 2: A scene depicting the environs of the town of Kazan on the Volga River, with a mosque and Orthodox Christian cathedrals in the background. Karl von Rechberg und Rothenlöwen, *Les peuples de la Russie*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1812). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

century European officials, states could look to religious elites of diverse faiths as extensions of state authority, to instill moral behavior, social discipline, and submission to the general laws.[12]

Official backing for particular religious norms appeared to guarantee public order and personal morality, even while "superstitious" elements might simultaneously be selected for "reform." British Evangelicals sought out converts and the extirpation of "heathen" creeds in diverse imperial settings; however, many colonial administrators in India preferred to act as patrons of local shrines and mosques and undertook the scholarly study and codification of Hindu and Muslim legal traditions as the basis for personal status law.[13] Elsewhere, state recognition and incorporation of Jewish and Protestant consistories in France, the Jewish community in Habsburg Trieste, and the "four *millets*" in the Ottoman Empire provided these regimes with intermediary bodies that facilitated the expansion of centralizing regimes into local life and their colonization of the disciplinary functions of

[12] See Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, 1993), 27–54; and Lois C. Dubin, *The Port Jews of Habsburg Trieste: Absolutist Politics and Enlightenment Culture* (Stanford, Calif., 1999).

[13] The British remained implicated in the patronage of Muslim, Hindu, and other non-Christian religious institutions in India even *after* the colonial government responded to missionary pressure by affirming its policy of "non-interference" in law in 1863. See Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 21–23.

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religious institutions.[14] Although the local configuration of these arrangements varied from state to state in the nineteenth century, the official institutionalization of religious difference frequently formed a useful modality of both imperial rule and nation-state formation. In turn, elites within these communities looked to the state to acquire new means to police communal boundaries and compel conformity. Where such overtures achieved official intervention, new conceptions of religious identity advanced with the expansion of the state.[15] In place of the romantic ideals of communal preservation and solidarity that historians tend to impose on their subjects, emerging notions of orthodoxy frequently forged ties between pious activists and the state and redrew the boundaries of community.

In Russia, these strategies inspired official sponsorship of an Islamic hierarchy. Drawing on the model of both the Orthodox Church and the Islamic establishment in the Ottoman Empire, Russian officials envisioned a domestic organizational structure for Islam that would lend religious authority to imperial policy and break Muslim ties to co-religionists abroad.[16] In 1788, Catherine founded the Orenburg Muhammadan Ecclesiastical Assembly, headed by a mufti (Islamic jurisconsult), in Ufa to assume responsibility for the administration of mosque communities throughout the Volga and Urals regions, Siberia, the capitals, and the steppe.[17] Muslim marriage, divorce, inheritance, clerical appointments, and other matters relating to Islamic law became objects of bureaucratic regulation. The regime looked to the Orenburg Assembly to bind Muslims through their faith to the Russian fatherland and Romanov dynasty but soon discovered that this hierarchy exercised authority over other Muslims *only* with the support of the state.

[14] Paula E. Hyman, *The Jews of Modern France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 37–52; C. T. McIntire, "Changing Religious Establishments and Religious Liberty in France, Part I: 1787–1879," in *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*, Richard Helmstadter, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1997), 233–72; Dubin, *Port Jews*; Avigdor Levy, ed., *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); and Kurt Nowak, *Geschichte des Christentums in Deutschland: Religion, Politik und Gesellschaft vom Ende der Aufklärung bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1995), 64–93.

[15] See, for example, Bozkurt, *Gayrimüslim Osmanlı Vatandaşlarının Hukukî Durumu*, 24; David C. Itzkowitz, "The Jews of Europe and the Limits of Religious Freedom," in Helmstadter, *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*, 150–71; and Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on SATI in Colonial India," *Cultural Critique 7* (Fall 1987): 119–56. Such contests for patronage and legitimacy for competing interpretations of "tradition" also resemble the elaboration of "customary law" analyzed in Martin Chanock, *Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985); and Ronald Robinson, "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration," in *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds. (London, 1972), 117–42.

[16] Eighteenth-century Russian representations of Islam drew on Orthodox ecclesiology and, following European images, equated contemporary Ottoman institutions with Islamic norms. See F. A. Emin, *Kratkoe opisanie drevneishego i noveishogo sostoianiia Ottomanskoi Porty* (St. Petersburg, 1769); and an anonymous European work translated from Latin, *Sokrashchenie Magometanskoi very* (Moscow, 1784). Nineteenth-century Muslims also acknowledged the Ottoman model for the tsarist Islamic hierarchy. See Shihabetdin Märjani, *Möstäfadel-äkhbar fi äkhvali Kazan vä Bolgar (Kazan häm Bolgar khällëre turïnda faydalanïlgan khäbärler)*, Ä. N. Khäyrullin, ed. (Kazan, 1989), 209.

[17] For a thorough study of this institution, see D. D. Azamatov, *Orenburgskoe Magometanskoe Dukhovnoe Sobranie v kontse XVIII–XIX vv.* (Ufa, 1999). Known in Russian as the *Orenburgskoe Magometanskoe Dukhovnoe Sobranie*, Tatar sources referred to it variously as the *Orenburg idare-i shariyya* (Orenburg Shari'a Administration), *Orenburg mahkemesi* (Orenburg Court), or *Orenburg sobraniesi* (Orenburg Assembly). It later served as a model for a regional hierarchy for the Crimea in 1794 and two separate administrations for Sunnis and Shi'ites in the Caucasus in the nineteenth century. On the latter institutions, see Mostashari, "Colonial Dilemmas." However, the regime retreated from this policy in the conquest and administration of the Muslims of Turkestan after 1865.

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The formalization of these arrangements under Nicholas I yielded unintended consequences for Muslims and tsarist officials alike. Provisional alliances frequently rested on the imaginative translation of religious concepts from one tradition to another. Russians could see in Islam a familiar, if imperfect, faith that recognized "eight commandments" and the "Seven Deadly Sins," while Muslim petitioners could appeal to an image of a state that had offered them "protection" for 300 years and had always afforded them "freedom of religion, without the slightest constraint."[18] Muslim calls for state intervention in intracommunal disputes yielded a crucial mechanism for state expansion but also made Russian officials responsible for backing Islamic doctrine and propping up Muslim authorities whom they often mistrusted. Crossing confessional lines on behalf of true religion, Muslim activists drew the state deeper into local life. These exchanges among elites, laypeople, and state officials undermined and reconfigured the boundaries between state and society. Muslim subjects created novel forms of community not against but *with* the state. On occasion, Muslim villagers and townspeople warned that their Christian rulers threatened the survival of the faith by supporting Orthodox missions.[19] But more frequently, the threat to true religion came from within the camp of the believers themselves. Rather than disrupt imperial rule, the pursuit of Islamic orthodoxy formed an essential foundation of tsarist state-building on the southeastern frontiers of the empire.

FORMAL PROTECTIONS FOR ISLAM and other non-Orthodox faiths came only under Catherine II, who introduced a new paradigm of toleration designed to make religious discipline useful to the empire and to project imperial power on its frontiers. But this mode of toleration did not mean official indifference or neutrality toward non-Orthodox religious affairs. In the tradition of the "well-ordered police state" (*Polizeistaat*), the regime became directly involved in the regulation of central aspects of religious life in nearly every community.[20] For Catherine and her successors, the treatment of each faith depended on its utility to the state; its contribution to the maintenance of empire defined the scope of toleration. The tsars increasingly relied on Orthodoxy as a symbol of the national character of the monarchy, and some bureaucrats shared the church's view that conversion to the tsar's religion represented a testament of loyalty to the state.[21] But in the wake of

[18] *Sokrashchenie Magometanskoi very*; Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (hereafter, RGIA), f. 821, op. 8, d. 1078, ll. 445–445 ob. For similar language, see the petition reprinted in *Materialy po istorii Tatarii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka: Agrarnyi vopros i krest'ianskoe dvizhenie 50–70-kh godov XIX v.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1936), 166.

[19] See Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy*; and Geraci and Khodarkovsky, *Of Religion and Empire*.

[20] On this regulatory toleration, see Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1983), esp. 57; Karl Schwarz, "Vom Nutzen einer Christlichen Toleranz für den Staat: Bemerkungen zum Stellenwert der Religion bei den Spätkameralisten Justi und Sonnenfels," in *Im Zeichen der Toleranz: Aufsätze zur Toleranzgesetzgebung des 18. Jahrhunderts im Reiche Josephe II, ihren Voraussetzungen und ihren Folgen*, Peter F. Barton, ed. (Vienna, 1981), esp. 86–89; and Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, eds., *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2000).

[21] Tsarist law backed the monopoly of the Orthodox Church on proselytization and obliged its monarchs to profess Orthodoxy. It permitted only Protestants and Catholics to convert non-Christians under specific circumstances and with explicit state approval. See *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii,*

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revolutionary events in Europe, the regime looked to compulsory submission to state-regulated religious institutions, even in non-Orthodox forms, as a safeguard against revolution in Russia, viewing religious conformity as the cornerstone of morality and public order and as a measure of its subjects' political attitudes.[22] Unlike elsewhere in Europe, tsarist law never permitted its subjects to renounce confessional allegiance and declare themselves "without a confession" (*konfessionslos*). Obligatory enrollment in a religious community brought nearly all subjects under the bureaucratic supervision of an official hierarchy.[23] The policing of morality thus remained the responsibility both of officially recognized ecclesiastical authorities and of the state. As Mikhail Speranskii, the influential adviser to Alexander I, noted in 1803, in ancient Rome, and "everywhere in well-ordered states," "preventive police" concerned themselves with censorship, public decorum, the suppression of "rumors and interpretations harmful to the government," and "the safeguarding of the rites of religion and the curbing of schisms."[24]

Under Nicholas I, new legal codes declared Orthodox Christianity the "preeminent and predominant" faith of the empire but also systematically backed other religions on the premise that "all peoples inhabiting Russia praise Almighty God in different languages according to the creed and confession of their forefathers, blessing the reign of the Russian Monarchs, and praying to the Creator of the universe for the increase of the prosperity and strengthening of the power of the Empire."[25] Court records, petitions, and denunciations reveal how, in largely secret proceedings, the state became deeply enmeshed in intraconfessional disputes as the guardian and patron of religious "orthodoxy" for the tolerated faiths of Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Buddhism, and both branches of Armenian Christianity.[26] As Laura Engelstein has shown, Nicholas's government here acted as "the defender of absolute values in a world of revolutionary change." Like the regime's new efforts aimed at "disciplining the boundaries of true belief" among the

izdaniia 1857 goda, vol. 11, part 1 (St. Petersburg, 1857), 6. The state also backed Orthodox claims of church unity against the Uniate Church, which St. Petersburg absorbed into the state church in 1839; however, the Uniate Church in Poland was not affected until 1875. See Theodore R. Weeks, "Between Rome and Tsargrad: The Uniate Church in Imperial Russia," in Geraci and Khodarkovsky, *Of Religion and Empire*, 70–91.

[22] Paul I extended his patronage to the Jesuit order "to arrest the flood of impiety, illuminism, and . . . Jacobinism." Without a Jesuit education for his subjects, the tsar warned, "everything will collapse, and there will not remain either religion or government." Quoted in William A. James, "The Jesuits' Role in Founding Schools in Late Tsarist Russia," in *Religious and Secular Forces in Late Tsarist Russia: Essays in Honor of Donald W. Treadgold*, Charles E. Timberlake, ed. (Seattle, 1992), 59.

[23] Tsarist law recognized "paganism" (*iazychestvo*) as a tolerated faith but declined to lend institutional support to these communities or protect them from Orthodox proselytism. Dissenters from the Orthodox Church also formed an exception to this pattern, although officials proposed various schemes to subject them to hierarchical organization. See also Laura Engelstein, "The Dream of Civil Society in Tsarist Russia: Law, State, and Religion," in *Civil Society before Democracy: Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Nancy Bermeo and Philip Nord, eds. (Lanham, Md., 2000), 23–41.

[24] M. M. Speranskii, *Proekty i zapiski* (Moscow, 1961), 92–94.

[25] *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1832), xvii–xviii.

[26] *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, xvi; and *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, 1857 edn., vol. 11, part 1 (St. Petersburg, 1857), 5. By 1858, Muslims (with a population well over 4.1 million) likely outnumbered Catholics as the largest non-Orthodox community in the empire. This conservative estimate includes partial figures on Kazakh nomads but largely excudes the Muslim population of the Caucasus, based on V. M. Kabuzan, *Narody Rossii v pervoi polovine XIX v.: Chislennost' i ethnicheskii sostav* (Moscow, 1992).

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Orthodox, its adoption of regulatory measures to ensure conformity in other communities made up another dimension of the tsarist "project of administrative modernization."[27]

Officials endorsed other faiths' capacity to order the family, instill morality, and guarantee the overlap of religious and worldly sanction for transgressions against temporal authority.[28] Confessional communities that subjected followers to divine as well as monarchical judgment provided useful forms of social discipline to complement the will of the sovereign. Despite rebellion in 1830–1831 in Poland, for example, F. F. Berg, the governor-general of the Kingdom of Poland and a Protestant, continued to regard Catholicism as "sometimes very useful for the government, because it helps it keep the people in check."[29] The *Digest of Laws* made this connection between religious orthodoxy and political loyalty clear in its instruction to rabbis "to explain to Jews their law . . . and make them understand . . . [its] true meaning" and to "direct Jews to observe moral obligations [and] to obey the general state laws and established authorities."[30] Moreover, the state appointed mullahs, priests, pastors, and rabbis to attend to the spiritual needs (and obligations) of non-Orthodox soldiers, sailors, and prisoners.

In extending toleration, Russian bureaucrats nonetheless retained the authority to intervene in areas that they claimed in the name of the state, including questions of dogma, ritual, and ecclesiastical organization. *Polizeistaat* toleration supported

[27] Laura Engelstein, *Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom: A Russian Folktale* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 50–51. Even the architect of "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality," Sergei Uvarov, viewed the major non-Orthodox traditions as essential supports of the political order. In a key proposal, Uvarov did not refer to "Orthodoxy" but to "religion" or *religion nationale*. Andrei Zorin, "Ideologiia 'Pravoslaviia—samoderzhaviia—narodnosti': Opyt rekonstruktsii," *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie* 26 (1997): 71–104.

[28] The Orthodox leadership and some secular officials remained critical of state policy, but many Russians were inclined to stress the commonalities rather than the differences between Catholicism and Orthodoxy. The extent of rapprochement ranged from mixed marriages and the conversion of aristocratic men and women to Catholicism to proposals for union between the churches. A. I. Turgenev, the first director of the Department of Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions and a graduate of the Protestant university at Göttingen, harbored aspirations to make Orthodox and Protestants feel themselves "citizens of one world, one church." Such sentiments found expression in Alexander I's decree directing all Protestants to commemorate the Reformation on the tercentenary of Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses in 1817; as in Prussia, the occasion marked the ascendancy of those in favor of unifying the Protestant churches. See L. E. Gorizontov, *Paradoksy imperskoi politiki: Poliaki v Rossii i russkie v Pol'she* (Moscow, 1999); Albert M. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte* (Vienna, 1950); Igor Smolitsch, *Geschichte der russischen Kirche*, vol. 2, Gregory L. Freeze, ed., *Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte*, vol. 45 (1991); E. A. Vishlenkova, *Religioznaia politika: Ofitsial'nyi kurs i 'obshchee mnenie' Rossii aleksandrovskoi epokhi* (Kazan, 1997), 138; and Erik Amburger, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Russland* (Stuttgart, 1961), 68.

[29] Blaming the "disturbances" of 1848 in Europe on "the lack of religion," Nicholas I encouraged Catholic bishops to "work to instill the faith" against the evils of civil unrest and divorce. "Ecclesiastical authority is separate from temporal [authority]," he added, "but I do not want to limit [the former], on the contrary I desire that it function in all of its power." Gorizontov, *Paradoksy*, 81–82, 238–39. After the government implicated Catholic clergy in the rebellion of 1863, repressions focused primarily on the "Polish element"; the Ministry of the Interior took care to restaff this clergy, though with German seminary students. *Izvlechenie iz otcheta Ministra vnutrennikh del za 1861, 1862 i 1863* (St. Petersburg, 1865), 187–88.

[30] *Svod zakonov*, vol. 11, part 1, 201. The 1836 statute for the Armenian Gregorian Church instructed its archbishops to "monitor the religious behavior of their subordinates and parishioners to assure that it corresponds to the teachings of the gospels" and to "encourage good acts among their subjects, filling them with the spirit of Christ." *Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797–1889: A Documentary Record*, trans. and commentary by George A. Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1998), 359.

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religion only in its canonical and, where appropriate, "enlightened" forms. The law excluded sectarians, atheists, and "free-thinkers," as well as those who exceeded the boundaries of "moderation" in their piety.[31] The architects of the first Islamic hierarchy assigned it the task of monitoring the "Muhammadan law" so that "superstition and other abuses, which cannot be tolerated, do not creep into" its affairs.[32] The criminal code protected official non-Orthodox rites from interference, but religion that strayed beyond clerical direction and the approved canon of texts, prayers, and songs threatened the moral and social order.[33] Who determined the content of "orthodoxy" within each tradition and who figured as a "heretic" became a matter of critical importance for imperial officials, religious authorities, and laypeople.

Such policies of toleration figure prominently in analyses that attempt to account for the durability and relative strength of the empire. Andreas Kappeler argues that, from the Muscovite period well into the nineteenth century, the tsars maintained a pragmatic regard for the status quo by coopting indigenous elites into the ruling apparatus and accommodating local customs, beliefs, and laws.[34] Kappeler's influential view of the accommodationist imperial ethos reflects accurately the intentions of Russian authorities. But the perspective of the communities themselves suggests that the institutional and legal architecture for toleration did not simply confer and maintain the autonomy of established elites. Officials sought out for cooptation individuals whom they took to be the leaders of these communities; however, the search for cooperative elites embroiled them in questions of dogmatic, ritual, and legal interpretation. The prospect of support for particular positions initiated intense competition for patronage within these divided communities. Indigenous mediators between community and state who earned official backing often lacked legitimacy within their own communities. The state did not confirm religious notables in traditional roles as much as it created new elites. State backing confirmed some customary prerogatives, but many of the "traditional" rights for which clerics sought support were, in fact, novel. Patronage enabled Muhammadzhan Husainov, the first mufti, Stanislaus Siestrzeńcewicz, the Catholic metropolitan, and Iraklii Lisovskii and Joseph Semashko, metropolitans of the Uniate Church, as well as the Armenian primates Epʿrem and Hovhannēs to claim an unprecedented degree of power over their rivals and competing interpretations of their faiths. Confronted with the opposition of other clerics, laypeople, and

[31] In this vein, the state instructed official prelates to "avoid intolerance and undue strictness." See Bournoutian, *Russia and the Armenians*, 359. "Excessive" piety also met with police intervention elsewhere in Europe. See Ruth Harris, *Lourdes: Body and Spirit in the Secular Age* (New York, 1999); David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (Oxford, 1993); and, more generally, Werner Conze and Helga Reinhart, "Fanatismus," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historiches Lexicon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Kosseleck, eds., Band 2 (Stuttgart, 1975), 303–27.

[32] *Materialy po istorii Bashkirskoi ASSR*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1960), 563–66.

[33] Thus Protestants could gather for "private prayer assemblies," but only with the permission of ecclesiastical and civil authorities. They had to forego preaching and sacraments and confine themselves to "the reading of Holy Scripture without any commentary . . . and the singing of religious songs, or the saying of prayers, . . . approved by the Consistories" to avoid giving cause to "reprehensible schisms in Christian society." *Svod zakonov*, vol. 11, part 1, 34.

[34] Kappeler maintains that the "closed social- and value-systems [of non-Russians] remained largely intact into the nineteenth century even after centuries of Russian rule and despite close interactions with Russians." *Russland als Vielvölkerreich*, 137.

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superiors in Rome, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, the authority of these new elites rested less on clerical or lay consensus than on police power.[35]

The regime conferred new privileges on each confessional elite while subjecting it to more formal supervision. Following the consistorial model established in Napoleonic France, Russian officials sought to maximize the contribution of religion to morality and respect for authority by incorporating its leadership directly into the state. In 1810, Alexander I created the Main Administration of the Religious Affairs of Foreign Confessions. This office (later a department in the Ministry of the Interior) took on the arbitration of controversies within "foreign" faith communities and bolstered the authority of state-approved clerics as the guardians of morality, the presumed foundation of public order.[36] To this end, many members of these new "clergies" received exemption from corporal punishment. The state imposed financial obligations on them but also created new positions of power and cultural control, such as the censorship of religious literature.[37] It enlisted Jewish communal government, the *kahal*, in the enforcement of laws against the contraband, even permitting the imposition of the rabbinic ban (the *herem*, formally prohibited in 1804) against smugglers. In 1827, the government capitalized on religious and communal bonds by making the *kahal* responsible for the selection of recruits because, as Eli Lederhendler observes, the authorities assumed that Jews "could be expected to heed their own rabbis and leaders even when they disregarded the laws of the Christian state."[38] Like the Orthodox clergy, these clerics acted as adjuncts of state authority, discharging bureaucratic duties and performing the "useful" task of preaching submission to Russian law.

Under Nicholas I, the state consolidated a multiconfessional elite that shared significant resources and ambitious plans for amplifying the powers of central

[35] On the first mufti's efforts to overcome Muslim opposition to the authority of this new institution, see Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Orenburgskoi Oblasti (hereafter, GAOO), f. 6, op. 3, d. 4744, d. 2411, and d. 3277. See also Bournoutian, *Russia and the Armenians*, 74–77, 197–98, and 342–43; and N. Varadinov, *Istoriia Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, part 2, book 1 (St. Petersburg, 1859), 411–14. Albert M. Ammann places Lisovskii alongside Siestrzeńcewicz as representatives of "Gallican-Josephinist" thought. *Abriss*, 467.

[36] In 1817, this body merged with the Ministry of Education to form the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education; from 1832, it functioned as a department in the Ministry of the Interior. Erik Amburger, *Geschichte der Behördenorganisation Russlands von Peter dem Grossen bis 1917* (Leiden, 1966), 176–77; and Vishlenkova, *Religioznaia politika*. On challenges to established traditions, see Michael Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte in Tatarien und Baschkirien, 1789–1889: Der islamische Diskurs unter russischer Herrschaft* (Berlin, 1998); Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy*; Eli Lederhendler, *The Road to Modern Jewish Politics: Political Tradition and Political Reconstruction in the Jewish Community of Tsarist Russia* (New York, 1989); and Amburger, *Geschichte des Protestantismus*.

[37] The privilege of exemption for Muslim clerics was limited to the mufti and highest officials of the Islamic hierarchies. In 1835, Jewish rabbis who had fulfilled their duties "without reproach" for a three-year period were freed from corporal punishment; however, in the Crimea, only the head of the Karaim (Turkic-speaking Jews) was exempt. From 1853, the Buddhist "clergy" was also freed from the knout. Even though few non-military clerics received a state salary, the regime made their communities responsible for paying taxes and other obligations for them. *Svod zakonov*, vol. 11, part 1, 203, 206. On censorship, see A. G. Karimullin, *U istokov tatarskoi knigi (ot nachala vozniknoveniia do 60-kh godov XIX veka)* (Kazan, 1971); NART, f. 1, op. 2, d. 483; Lederhendler, *Road to Modern Jewish Politics*, 49; and N. Barsov, "Katolicheskaia tserkov' v sovremennoi Rossii," *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' Brokgauz-Efrona*, vol. 14 (1895), 740. Orthodox censors also monitored literature that polemicized with the Orthodox or supported proselytization. See A. Kotovich, *Dukhovnaia tsenzura v Rossii (1799–1855 gg.)* (St. Petersburg, 1909), 520–23.

[38] Lederhendler, *Road to Modern Jewish Politics*, 48–50; and Michael Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews: The Transformation of Jewish Society in Russia, 1825–1855* (Philadelphia, 1983).

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authorities to discipline religious life through bureaucratic and police controls. The regime acquiesced to the mufti's claim that his judicial opinions (*fatwas*) bound all Muslims.[39] When the state empowered Jewish lay and rabbinic elites to implement the conscription of Jews, many used their new power to advance the cause of piety, targeting vagrants, poor families, as well as violators of Jewish law for the draft.[40] State-sponsored reorganization tended toward the centralization of ecclesiastical authority, religious opinion, and wealth, paralleling the institutional transformation under way in the Russian Orthodox establishment and in other churches throughout Europe.[41]

The state benefited from internal contests for religious authority and local initiatives for state patronage against rivals. The regime found Catholics willing to reorganize the church to resemble the French and Habsburg churches, which enjoyed significant independence from the Holy See.[42] Rivalries for supremacy within the Armenian Church involved clerics in Russia, the Ottoman Empire, India, and Iran. In supporting candidates to the office of the patriarchate at Etchmiadzin, tsarist diplomats saw an opportunity not only to cultivate notables with pro-Russian sympathies but also to create an institution with authority over Armenians in neighboring states. St. Petersburg backed local claims to represent "the entire Armenian nation" against skeptical subordinates in Russia and competitors in Jerusalem and Istanbul.[43]

Similarly, the regime assembled the varied Protestant churches in the empire under an "Evangelical Church," although it favored the Lutheranism of the Baltic German nobles. The statute of 1832 created a general consistorial regime but only intensified local doctrinal and social conflicts. Its endorsement of Lutheran dogma

[39] In 1815 and 1818, the first mufti, Muhammadzhan Husainov, asserted in reports to Russian authorities that "whoever scorns the decision and *fatwa* of a mufti should not be considered a Muslim." GAOO, f. 6, op. 4, d. 8085, ll. 49–49 ob. and 69 ob. See also the exhortations from Muslim authorities in *Sbornik tsirkuliariov i inykh rukovodiashchikh rasporiazhenii po okrugu Orenburgskogo Magometanskogo Dukhovnogo Sobraniia 1836–1903 g.* (Ufa, 1905).

[40] Stanislawski, *Tsar Nicholas I and the Jews*, 29.

[41] See David W. Edwards, "The System of Nicholas I in Church-State Relations," *Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime*, Robert L. Nichols and Theofanis George Stavrou, eds. (Minneapolis, 1978); and Paraskevas Konortas, "From Tâ'ife to Millet: Ottoman Terms for the Ottoman Greek Orthodox Community," in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi, eds. (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 169–79.

[42] Without consulting Rome, Catherine elevated Stanislaus Siestrzeńcewicz to the post of "bishop of all Catholics in Russia." She also ignored the papal decree of 1773 dissolving the Jesuit Order, making Russia a refuge for Jesuits fleeing other lands. In 1815, St. Petersburg expelled the order from the capitals and banned them from the empire in 1820 (with the exception of the Kingdom of Poland) after Orthodox nobles converted to Catholicism under their direction. Catholics also differed over the printing and distribution of vernacular editions of the Bible by the supra-confessional Russian Bible Society. Pius VII not only declined the tsar's invitation to join the Holy Alliance but also rebuked Siestrzeńcewicz for permitting Bibles in Polish without annotations prescribed by the Council of Trent. Dmitrii A. Tolstoi, *Rimskii Katolitsizm v Rossii: Istoricheskoe izsledovanie*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1876), 157–60; Vishlenkova, *Religioznaia politika*, 156–58; Ammann, *Abriss*, 440–41, 457–58, and 461–66; Smolitsch, *Geschichte der russischen Kirche*, 365; and Judith Cohen Zacek, "The Russian Bible Society and the Catholic Church," *Canadian Slavic Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 35–50.

[43] Bournoutian, *Russia and the Armenians*, 76–77, 456–61. In Georgia, by contrast, the Holy Synod claimed jurisdiction over the Orthodox, despite Georgian efforts to defend the church as a self-governing body. In 1811, the synod oversaw the absorption of the Georgian Church into the Russian Orthodox establishment. Nikolas K. Gvozdev, "The Russian Empire and the Georgian Orthodox Church in the First Decades of Imperial Rule, 1801–1830," *Central Asian Survey* 14, no. 3 (1995): 407–23.

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sparked controversy in mixed Lutheran and Reformed communities on the Volga and in southern Russia, dividing congregations over the form of altars, crosses, and the singing of prayers.[44] Against this consistorial system and the standardizing texts and liturgy of the 1832 statute, charismatic preachers inspired movements that broke away in anticipation of Christ's imminent second coming and the end of the world. To counter these "separatists" and "superstitious sects," Nicholas backed the Protestant "orthodoxy" defined by the general consistory.[45]

And while the state supported Orthodox missions to dissenters, Muslims, and "pagans" from the late 1820s, conversionary efforts principally targeted apostates from Orthodoxy.[46] Buddhists, Muslims, and Jews who engaged in religious disputes with their co-religionists continued to seek—and receive—support for their views within the bureaucracy. In the case of Buddhism, alliances between officials searching for loyal authorities approximating a "church" and monastic elites seeking state backing transformed local hierarchies. In 1853, Nicholas I approved a centralized apparatus in Eastern Siberia to oversee these temples and their "clergy."[47]

The implications of such measures proved most dramatic for traditions that did not depend on an internally established hierarchical organization. For the Ministry of the Interior, determining what constituted "orthodox" opinion proved even more difficult when its officials could not look to an institution resembling a church structure. Judaism and Islam presented the state with very similar dilemmas. Officials scrutinized Jewish affairs with an eye to cultivating a form of Judaism that would be "useful" to both the Jews and the state. The Nicholaevan regime thus took steps to educate and institute an enlightened rabbinate. Reared in state institutions, "learned Jews" (*uchenye evrei*) and crown rabbis would supply officials with authoritative knowledge about Jewish law and perform some of the same disciplinary tasks as Muslim clerics. A Rabbinical Commission established in 1848 acted, like the Orenburg Assembly, as the highest authority on the religious law. In Muslim communities, legislation inspired by Orthodox ecclesiology set apart an ecclesiastical elite from lay society and extended the power of the former over the latter. In each "parish" (*prikhod*), the regime aimed at consolidating a formal "Muhammadan clergy" (*dukhovenstvo*) from among a group of men previously

[44] Amburger, *Geschichte des Protestantismus*, 88–89, 178–79.

[45] In the mid-1840s, the dependence of the Evangelical Church on the regime was demonstrated when the government broke from Lutheran opinion by accommodating separatists and by permitting the Orthodox archbishop of Riga to convert some 100,000 Latvian and Estonian peasants. Over the protests of the general consistory, the state recognized the Württembergers; it also confirmed toleration for Mennonites and extended it to the Baptists after 1879. Amburger, *Geschichte des Protestantismus*, 88–95; and *Izvlechenie iz otcheta Ministra vnutrennikh del za 1835 god* (St. Petersburg, 1836), 49–50.

[46] See the insightful Werth, *At the Margins of Orthodoxy*.

[47] In Transbaikal, the empress Anna had cultivated a church-like office, a "head" for Buriat lamas accountable to St. Petersburg rather than to Mongolia, Tibet, or China; the measure increased rivalries among local temples. See K. M. Gerasimova, *Lamaizm i natsional'no-kolonia'naia politika tsarizma v Zabaikal'e v XIX i nachale XX vekov* (Ulan-Ude, 1957); E. S. Safronova, *Buddizm v Rossii* (Moscow, 1998), 44; Dittmar Schorkowitz, *Staat und Nationalitäten in Russland: Der Integrationsprozess der Burjaten und Kalmücken, 1822–1925* (Stuttgart, 2001); and Varadinov, *Istoriia Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, part 3, book 2 (1862), 256–59. For criticism of state policy toward Buddhism, see Evstafii Voronets, *Russkim-li pravitel'stvom uzakoneno inozemnoe idolopoklonnicheskoe lamstvo v pravoslavnoi Rossii?* (Khar'kov, 1889).

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distinguished only by their learning and their standing in the eyes of local communities.[48] The state assigned monopolies over the performance of marriage and divorce, the rites of burial, and the administration of oaths for state service, legal transactions, and witness testimony. Prohibitions against involvement in trade and other activities formalized and professionalized the clerical status of mullahs and rabbis. Some of these newly appointed clerics evaded attempts to limit their livelihoods, while others welcomed assistance against laypeople (and lower clerics) who performed marriages, burials, or other duties outside of their legal purview.[49]

Non-Orthodox clerics likewise fulfilled a wide range of bureaucratic and social functions that complemented state undertakings in the realm of charity, welfare, and education, overseeing poorhouses, soup kitchens, orphanages, and hospitals.[50] Confessional schools and religious courts played a pivotal role in the imperial educational and judicial systems. Like Islamic courts, the Jewish *beth-din* dealt with marriage, divorce, inheritance, commerce, and contracts. Such institutions administered oaths to soldiers, witnesses, and litigants, demonstrating that the Orthodox creed was not the only pledge of political loyalty recognized by the state.[51] For criminal offenses, subjects answered to both state and ecclesiastical officials; they were subject not only to secular punishment but to "penitence," "admonition," and other sanctions administered by religious personnel.[52]

The non-Orthodox faiths played a critical role in disciplining the family. Just as the Orthodox Church regulated marriage to ensure domestic tranquility as a foundation of the political order, the Ministry of the Interior expected non-Orthodox leaders to exert similar controls.[53] Endowed with unprecedented police powers, the new clergies monitored compliance with statutes establishing minimum

[48] A system of licensing circumscribed membership in a male clerical estate. The hierarchy tested the qualifications of prayer-leaders, judges, teachers, and other mosque functionaries. Only clerics with a license (*ukaz*) from the assembly and the approval of Russian officials were permitted to perform these functions legally. Nonetheless, many itinerant prayer-leaders, preachers, and Sufi guides remained beyond the control of this system. In 1829, fewer than half of the imams in the 129 mosques of the district of Kazan had a license. Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte*, 43. Similar regulation came later to Jewish communities. From 1857, only graduates of government schools could be legally selected as rabbis, but unofficial rabbis continued to officiate.

[49] See Rizaeddin Fahreddinev, *Menasıb-ı diniye* (Orenburg, 1910), for an influential jurist's statement of the exclusive rights and duties of licensed Muslim clerics.

[50] Simon Dixon, "The Church's Social Role in St. Petersburg, 1880–1914," in *Church, Nation, and State in Russia and Ukraine*, Geoffrey A. Hosking, ed. (London, 1991), 167–92; Adele Lindenmeyr, *Poverty Is Not a Vice: Charity, Society, and the State in Imperial Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); Amburger, *Geschichte des Protestantismus*, 166–70; and Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, "Von 'Mildtätigkeit' zu 'Sozialpolitik': Jüdische Selbsthilfe in Russland 1860–1917," in *Aufbruch der Gesellschaft im verordneten Staat: Russland in der Spätphase des Zarenreiches*, Heiko Haumann and Stefan Plaggenborg, eds. (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), 98–118.

[51] Isaac Levitats, *The Jewish Community in Russia, 1772–1844* (New York, 1943), 200–04.

[52] See, for example, the treatment of a Muslim woman found guilty of adultery in 1849 in Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Respubliki Bashkortostan (hereafter, TsGIARB), f. I–295, op. 2, d. 43, ll. 755–56 ob. On the punishment of moral offenses in other communities, see Levitats, *Jewish Community in Russia*, 213–14; Gregory L. Freeze, "The Wages of Sin: The Decline of Public Penance in Imperial Russia," in Stephen K. Batalden, ed., *Seeking God: The Recovery of Religious Identity in Orthodox Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia* (Dekalb, Ill., 1993), 53–82; Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 17–55; and for a contemporary critique of state involvement, M. A. Reisner, *Gosudarstvo i veruiushchaia lichnost': Sbornik statei* (St. Petersburg, 1905).

[53] Gregory Freeze, "Bringing Order to the Russian Family: Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia, 1760–1860," *Journal of Modern History* 62, no. 4 (December 1990): 709–46. The 1857 edition

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ages for marriage, as well as questions of legitimacy, fidelity, incest, and the submission of children to parents. Far from autonomous actors, these authorities remained vulnerable to challenges from both the state and the laity. Officials intervened in marriage disputes at the request of dissatisfied litigants and overturned the rulings of these authorities.[54] Through these new instruments and the appellate mechanisms that linked them to central judicial organs, religious and secular authorities expanded their power to regulate family life. At the same time, this mediating role increased their knowledge about, and access to, local communities, enabling them to police many contacts between confessional groups and proscribe most kinds of intermarriage.[55]

While the administration provided new mechanisms of social control, the law reinforced clerical dependence on secular power by prohibiting existing mechanisms for compelling conformity, such as the rabbinic resort to punishment "by fines, curses, and expulsion from the community."[56] Similarly, the state denied Muslim clerics the use of corporal punishment, abrogating a range of Qur'anic punishments for theft, adultery, alcohol, and other offenses against religion.[57] Thus a basic tension marked sponsorship of non-Orthodox hierarchies and their disciplinary powers: the law forged interdependence between clerics and state officials by expanding clerical authority in some areas and limiting it in others.

While Russian officials thus sought to establish a clear chain of command running from St. Petersburg into the local parish, mosque, or synagogue community, they also remained responsive to challenges from below. Officials looked to lay initiative to keep clerical abuses in check. They proved sympathetic to lay reformers who admonished mullahs who drank wine or priests who seduced parishioners. Charges of "false teaching" and the exercise of miraculous powers suggested subversion and prompted police investigations.[58] Despite the many shortcomings of the tsarist legal system and threats from co-religionists ranging from social ostracism to murder, laypeople continued to look to the tsar's justice to overturn religious judgments. Clerical sanction alone remained insufficient to maintain the absolute power of informal religious courts, which relied on state authorities to implement controversial rulings.

Successful overtures to Russian officials depended on the litigants' ability to translate internal disputes into tsarist political categories. In constructing their

of the *Digest of Laws* compiled legislation on the organization of familial relations within each non-Orthodox confession.

[54] See, for example, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 951. ChaeRan Y. Freeze has richly documented this pattern of intervention in "The Litigious *Gerusha*: Jewish Women and Divorce in Imperial Russia," *Nationalities Papers* 25, no. 1 (1997): 89–101.

[55] See, for example, the intervention of the Ministry of the Interior in preventing marriages between Muslims and Christians in Orenburg province in 1821 in GAOO, f. 6, op. 4, d. 7601.

[56] *Svod zakonov*, vol. 11, part 1, 203.

[57] The practice continued in some communities in secret. See, for example, the accusations against a village imam in 1871 in TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 2, d. 122, ll. 59 ob.–60.

[58] The first mufti solicited multiple police investigations of rival Sufis. See GAOO, f. 6, op. 2, d. 724 and d. 1026. For Jews, "complaints from the community" served as grounds for investigating rabbis charged with violating the prerogatives of their office. *Svod zakonov*, vol. 11, part 1, 203. Communal leaders in Minsk took on this challenge by discouraging appeals to outside powers: "No Jew is to testify in favor of a recalcitrant who brought his case to a non-Jewish court, but everyone is bound to testify all he knows in favor of his opponent." Levitats, *Jewish Community in Russia*, 202–03.

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complaints and denunciations, contestants confronted the challenge of casting their opponents' views and actions as "heresy"—and thus beyond the scope of official toleration. Heresy in any community constituted a political issue in tsarist Russia: to the police, religious dissent and heterodoxy almost invariably involved a broader challenge to the existing order. When a new "rationalist" hymnal appeared among reformist Protestants in 1819, the tsar condemned the book, vowing to "protect" the Evangelical Church from "rules deviating from Christian morality."[59] In 1823, the Ministry of the Interior acquiesced to the Catholic hierarchy's request to suppress the champions of heterodox doctrine such as Ignace Lindl (who rejected the pope, the cult of the saints, and the Virgin Mary) by expelling the German mystic.[60] Jews, too, looked to tsarist police to aid them against opponents and often represented religious differences as political crimes. From the late eighteenth century, the Talmudic elite in Lithuania drew Russian police into conflicts between them and the *hasidim*, adherents of a new pietistic movement. Based on Jewish denunciations, police arrested some prominent Hasidic leaders and placed others under surveillance.[61] *Hasidim* such as the Jews of Rogachev of Mogilev province responded by warning the minister of the interior that their antagonists, such as the "learned Jew" Moisei Berlin, "not only did not come up to the goals and expectations of the government, but SERVED AS AN EXAMPLE OF DEPRAVITY and the slackening of the fulfillment of God's law and the dogma of our religion for youth."[62]

Concern for policing orthodoxy was not limited to the Ministry of the Interior or even to clerical elites. Laypeople also calculated that heresy left unchecked would undermine the community from within.[63] Spokesmen for the Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah) turned to the regime, seeking patronage for their vision of a religion compatible with "civic responsibilities to the tsar and motherland" as well as "respectable and useful labor in all branches of the crafts, commerce, and

[59] When the tsar appointed Count Karl von Lieven to draw up plans for a Protestant consistory and bishopric, local constituencies petitioned to voice fears that the proposal would impose Orthodox and Catholic institutions and rites. However, the appearance of separatist movements, like the Württemberg Confession, persuaded Protestant elites in the 1820s to cooperate with plans for a hierarchy to combat such "sects." See Varadinov, *Istoriia Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, part 2, book 1, 627–31, part 2, book 2, 149–50, and part 3, book 3, 110, 276.

[60] André Arvaldis Brumanis, *Aux origines de la hiérarchie latine en Russie: Mgr Stanislas Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz, Premier archevêque-metropolitain de Mohilev (1731–1826)* (Louvain, 1968), 333–36; and Vishlenkova, *Religioznaia politika*, 161–62.

[61] See Iulii Gessen, *Istoriia evreiskogo naroda v Rossii*, vol. 1, 2d rev. edn. (Leningrad, 1925), 103–13; and the denunciations and official correspondence on the "Hasidic sect" in G. Deich, *Tsarskoe pravitel'stvo i khasidskoe dvizhenie v Rossii: Arkhivnye dokumenty* (New York, 1994). The opponents of Hasidism invoked traditional Talmudic authority in calling on the tsar to intervene on their behalf, but officials eventually concluded that the *hasidim* formed a harmless "sect" that should be tolerated. See "Evreiskie religioznye sekty v Rossii," in *Zhurnal Ministerstva vnutrennikh del*, part 15 (1846): 3–49, 282–309, and part 16 (1846): 500–80. Nonetheless, official investigations continued into the late 1850s. On other overtures to the bureaucracy, see also Benjamin Nathans, "Conflict, Community, and the Jews of Late Nineteenth-Century St. Petersburg," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 44, no. 2 (1996): 178–215.

[62] Deich, *Tsarskoe pravitel'stvo*, 9.

[63] Some activists may have feared that such scandals would also endanger the reputation of the community and the privilege of toleration. On this fear in Europe, see Elisheva Carlebach, *The Pursuit of Heresy: Rabbi Moses Hagiz and the Sabbatian Controversies* (New York, 1990); and in Russia, Deich, *Tsarskoe pravitel'stvo*, esp. 20–21.

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agriculture."[64] Like the *hasidim* and their foes, proponents and critics of the Haskalah did not shy away from denouncing their opponents.[65]

For Jews and Muslims, toleration circumscribed religious autonomy while linking confessional disputes to state patronage and policing. Despite the conservative aims of officials, support for novel forms of bureaucratic organization and doctrinal emphasis brought change to every community. Ceremonies and liturgies integrated tsar and fatherland, while the rites of marriage, divorce, and death became the business of new hierarchies as well as of the Ministry of the Interior. Religious authorities adopted statistics, archives, examinations, and inspections as measures of internal social control. The recording of marriages, births, divorces, and deaths facilitated a more systematic and uniform application of canon law in Christian confessions, aided in establishing religious norms to govern the inner life of the family and community in others, and assisted the government in the levying of taxes and recruits. Police intervention became a dynamic agent of communal transformation, suppressing particular interpretations of the faith and advancing others. However, this kind of intervention did not emerge as a result of a concerted policy of "divide and rule" or a grand integrative strategy from above. Legislation and institutions governing the non-Orthodox often took shape as ad hoc responses to initiatives from members of these groups. Muslims, Jews, and others themselves shaped this process by initiating and placing limits on contacts with tsarist authorities.

A CLOSER EXAMINATION of the expansion of the state into the lives of Muslim men and women on the southeastern frontier reveals how the interdependence of Muslim communities and the regime grew out of the practice of *Polizeistaat* toleration and the collective pursuit of religious orthodoxy. From the fifteenth century, when Russia first acquired Muslim-populated lands, Muscovite rulers accommodated Muslims informally. In the next century, Russian expansion into the Volga and Urals regions put an end to local Muslim dynasties. Islamic institutions continued to exist beyond the purview of the state but remained subject to periodic assault at the hands of Orthodox militants, who leveled mosques and schools. As in other Muslim societies, learned men and women assumed positions of religious leadership outside the auspices of formal hierarchies. No single authority either defined or enforced a particular interpretation of Islamic orthodoxy, and Muslims

[64] Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, 2d edn. (New York, 1995), 385. For Judah Leib Gordon, the Enlightenment educator and Hebrew poet, the government appeared as an ally of the Jews, who in turn had "the duty to obey in all sincerity . . . [the tsar's] orders and desire, and to be faithful and eager servants, so that the friends of the Jews will not be swayed from their course." Quoted in Michael Stanislawski, *For Whom Do I Toil? Judah Leib Gordon and the Crisis of Russian Jewry* (New York, 1988), 30. The pivotal role of the local administration in supporting the Haskalah is highlighted in Steven J. Zipperstein, *The Jews of Odessa: A Cultural History, 1794–1881* (Stanford, Calif., 1985), 41–69.

[65] In 1870, Moshe Rosensohn defended "upholders of the Torah of Moses" against reformist rivals who, he claimed, sinned "against justice, against God, against his king, against the Torah and his own faith." Lederhendler, *Road to Modern Jewish Politics*, 90–91, 95–100, 195.

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engaged in debate largely without recourse to enforcement beyond the pressures of local, close-knit communal life.[66]

However, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the regime transformed the foundations of Islamic culture in the empire by extending its patronage to Islamic institutions, including generous state subsidies for mosques, the printing of the Qur'an and other religious texts, and, most important, the creation of a centralized hierarchy.[67] The Orenburg Assembly used its regulatory and investigative authority to oversee religious life in each mosque community by administering clerical examinations, licenses, visitations, and the archival recording of judicial decisions.[68] Through these new instruments, state-appointed Islamic authorities advanced novel understandings of the *shari'a*, which encompassed the norms, obligations, and rights enjoined by God's will for all the faithful. While following the directives of St. Petersburg, the mufti and judges (*kadis*) of the assembly capitalized on official support to pursue their own agenda. They relied on the police to secure the uniform application of a more narrow and, in their view, more "orthodox" range of opinions of the Hanafi school of law (one of the four established Sunni legal traditions) and Naqshbandi Sufi order.[69] Under Mufti Abdulvakhid Suleimanov, for example, the assembly utilized the Saratov provincial administration to pursue a disputed issue within Sufism about the legality of performing the rite of remembrance of the name of God (*zikr*) silently or vocally. In 1862, it ordered Muslims in the village of Tatarskie Kanadi to desist from "pronouncing prayers aloud," declaring that those who did not refrain from vocal *zikr* would be barred from the mosque as "apostates from the *shari'a*" (*otstupniki ot Sharigata*).[70] Armed with the tools of a modernizing regime, they combated similar departures from Naqshbandi positions and other regional variations in Islamic legal interpretation arising from the varied customs and social conditions of local

[66] On this pattern elsewhere, see Roy P. Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton, N.J., 1980); Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967); and Richard W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York, 1994). On Islam in eighteenth-century Russia, see Frank, *Islamic Historiography*, 21–46.

[67] Karimullin, *U istokov tatarskoi knigi*; İsmail Türkoğlu, *Rusya Türkleri Arasındaki Yenileşme Hareketinin Öncülerinden Rızaeddin Fahreddin (1858–1936)* (Istanbul, 2000), 83–84. Much of the relevant legislation appears in D. Iu. Arapov, ed., *Islam v Rossiiskoi imperii: Zakonodatel'nye akty, opisaniia, statistika* (Moscow, 2001).

[68] By 1835, the Orenburg Assembly administered 3,036 mosque communities and 4,781 licensed clerics serving a population of 1,034,976 Muslims in sixteen provinces. *Izvlechenie iz otcheta Ministra vnutrennikh del za 1835 god*, n.p. By 1849, these figures had increased to 3,255 mosques with 5,397 licensed clerics, and by 1858, 3,750 mosques, 1,569 schools, and more than 2 million Muslims. RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 999, ll. 5 ob.–6; and Märjani, *Möstäfadel-äkhbar*, 210.

[69] Here, my interpretation differs from the excellent studies by Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia: The Islamic World of Novouzensk District and the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780–1910* (Leiden, 2001); and Noack, *Muslimischer Nationalismus*, which tend to understand the Orenburg Assembly as a more autonomous institution and the expression of "toleration" in the modern liberal sense. One of its most controversial functions included the arbitration of conflicts about the timing of dawn, dusk, and nighttime prayers and holidays in the short winter days and white nights of the northern latitudes of Eurasia. In 1802, the assembly removed an imam for beginning holiday prayers before the time it had appointed. He nonetheless went on to become the second mufti. See Danil' Azamatov, "Gabdrakhimov, Gabdessaliam," in *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii: Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1998), 27. His name also appears in some sources as "Abdusalam Abdrakhimov," which I will use hereafter.

[70] TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 5048, ll. 9–9 ob.

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communities, broad clerical discretion, and the circulation of diverse texts with a plurality of accepted opinions on particular issues.

In sponsoring the mufti, the state gained a voice who recognized the empire as the "House of Islam" (*dar al-Islam*), a territory where Muslims could fulfill their religious duties.[71] Muslim authorities represented such a potentially valuable resource for the government because they claimed guardianship of an array of legal matters that European jurisprudence would elsewhere break up into "civil," "criminal," "ecclesiastical," or "commercial" law. In determining the religious legality of personal behavior, the men of learning and piety (ulama) interpreted a vast body of sources, including the Qur'an, the sayings and acts of the Prophet, and various legal commentaries. The ulama claimed textual authority in the name of protecting the community against error and irreligion. Prayer-leaders exhorted villagers and townspeople who neglected communal prayer. They reconciled quarreling husbands and wives, educated the youth, and guided Muslims to live pious lives according to the *shari'a*. At the same time, the muftis cooperated with provincial officials who requested *fatwas* defining the instructions of secular officials as sacred obligations. *Fatwas* penned by the second mufti, Abdusalam Abdrakhimov, directed Muslims to send their children to Kazan University for medical training in 1831 and, wielding citations from the Qur'an and other sources, exhorted peasants in 1832 to labor diligently in the fields, sowing and harvesting at the appropriate times, as a defense against poverty and the pleasures of sin. Recognized by the tsar with the award of a gold medal, Abdrakhimov demonstrated his value again in 1836 when he reminded his charges that "each orthodox Muslim is obliged to obey the authorities and the laws" and to avoid sin, which invokes "God's anger and punishment."[72] In sermons, treatises, oaths, and prayers for the imperial family, official ulama enjoined obedience, loyalty, and patriotism. They aided the state in carrying out conscription and other administrative functions and preached the submission of children to their parents—and of Muslims to the regime.

Although officials expected the ulama to assist the insertion of the political order into each locale, these Muslim scholars did not necessarily enjoy unbounded authority in their own communities. Even after the introduction of the official hierarchy, their powers still depended on the opinion of the local lay community who elected them and could later petition the state for their removal. Contemporary biographical literature compiled by Muslim scholars celebrated the exemplary lives of those whose reputations for learning and piety empowered them to correct the religion of the people. Notable scholars gained renown for study in cosmopolitan centers of Islamic scholarship such as Bukhara, Kabul, Baghdad, Cairo, and Istanbul, or, closer to home, in the village of Tatarskaia Kargala on the steppe frontier of Orenburg province, and many imams earned (or inherited from their

[71] The first mufti actively campaigned in the borderlands to persuade his co-religionists to seek the protection of the empress. See his letters of 1801 to Kazakhs on the southeastern frontier in GAOO, f. 6, op. 2, d. 724; and on his activities on behalf of the empire in the north Caucasus, *V pamiat' stoletiia Orenburgskogo magometanskogo dukhovnogo sobraniia, uchrezhdennogo v gorode Ufe* (Ufa, 1891), 40–41.

[72] Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte*, 70–73; and *Sbornik tsirkuliarov*, 3–4.

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fathers) a name for being "gentle and gracious" in their relations with members of the mosque community.[73] Still others were remembered for their acerbic wit. Gabbas b. Gabderräshid äl-Küshäri once confronted the prayer-leader of the village of Shashï, who had placed the niche marking the direction for prayer on the wrong side of the mosque. When the prayer-leader defended his mistake by citing a text of foreign origin (*A Collection of Signs*) pointing to Mecca in the West, Küshäri retorted, "Hey, stupid, was *A Collection of Signs* written in your Shashï?"[74] Clerics like the unfortunate imam of Shashï became increasingly exposed in the nineteenth century to ridicule and other challenges from scholars and laypeople who could now turn to state institutions to "correct" what they held to be unorthodox practices.

In turn, the fragile position of Muslim clerics forced them to seek out closer association with officials to back their authority. Village prayer-leaders combating debauchery, the refusal to attend prayers, the celebration of "un-Islamic" holidays, and competition from unlicensed rivals frequently had to resort to denouncing their parishioners not only to the Islamic hierarchy but to local police. As the imam Mukhamet'zhan Kuziakhmetov warned his flock in 1871, "for insubordination and non-fulfillment" of the *shariʿa*, "[you] may be punished by God and the civil court."[75] The instruments of the modern state became essential to "orthodox" claims about the fulfillment of God's will.

Recent research has pointed to the intense debates among Muslim scholars in Russia about interpretation of the *shariʿa*, or divine law. By tracing the contours of these conflicts among Muslim elites, these studies challenge the image of a monolithic and timeless Islam.[76] But the dynamism of these conflicts owed much to the fact that the contest for religious authority extended beyond the elites. Reformist Muslim scholars such as Rizaeddin Fahreddinev wrote numerous treatises defending clerical authority over lay Muslims and the power of men over women who stood to receive a "terrible punishment" in the afterlife for disobeying their husbands.[77] But the licensed keepers of Islamic knowledge were not the only ones committed to correcting those who had ostensibly strayed from the true path. Lay and clerical opponents of the interpretive monopoly of elites relied on a tradition in which interpretation of the *shariʿa* potentially produced multiple solutions to a wide array of specific problems, ranging from divorce to commercial

[73] See the praise offered by one community for its imam in TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 5567, ll. 113 ob.–15 ob.; and on the biographies of regional scholars, Märjani, *Möstäfadel-äkhbar*.

[74] Märjani, *Möstäfadel-äkhbar*, 309–10.

[75] TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 122, l. 431 ob. See this file for further clerical denunciations of unruly parishes, including charges that parishioners regularly threatened the imam, became drunk, and refused to attend communal prayers. See also f. I–295, op. 3, d. 1830; and on a cleric's denunciation of an unlicensed preacher, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 5698.

[76] These conflicts pitted proponents of the exercise of independent reason (*ijtihad*) against defenders of the imitation (*taqlid*) of the sources of the law. See the learned studies by Stéphane A. Dudoignon, "Djadidisme, mirasisme, islamisme," *Cahiers du monde russe* 37, nos. 1–2 (1996): 13–40; and Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte*. Elsewhere, Wael B. Hallaq has questioned the tendency to treat *taqlid* and *ijtihad* as antithetical practices by identifying a wide range of interpretive activity in the exercise of *taqlid*, especially among Hanafis, the dominant legal school in the Russian Empire. Hallaq, *Authority, Continuity, and Change in Islamic Law* (Cambridge, 2001).

[77] Fahreddinev, *Menasıb-ı diniye*; and *Terbiyeli khatun* (Kazan, 1899), 6. See also the defense of clerics against the "slander" of laypeople in Märjani, *Möstäfadel-äkhbar*, 312–14.

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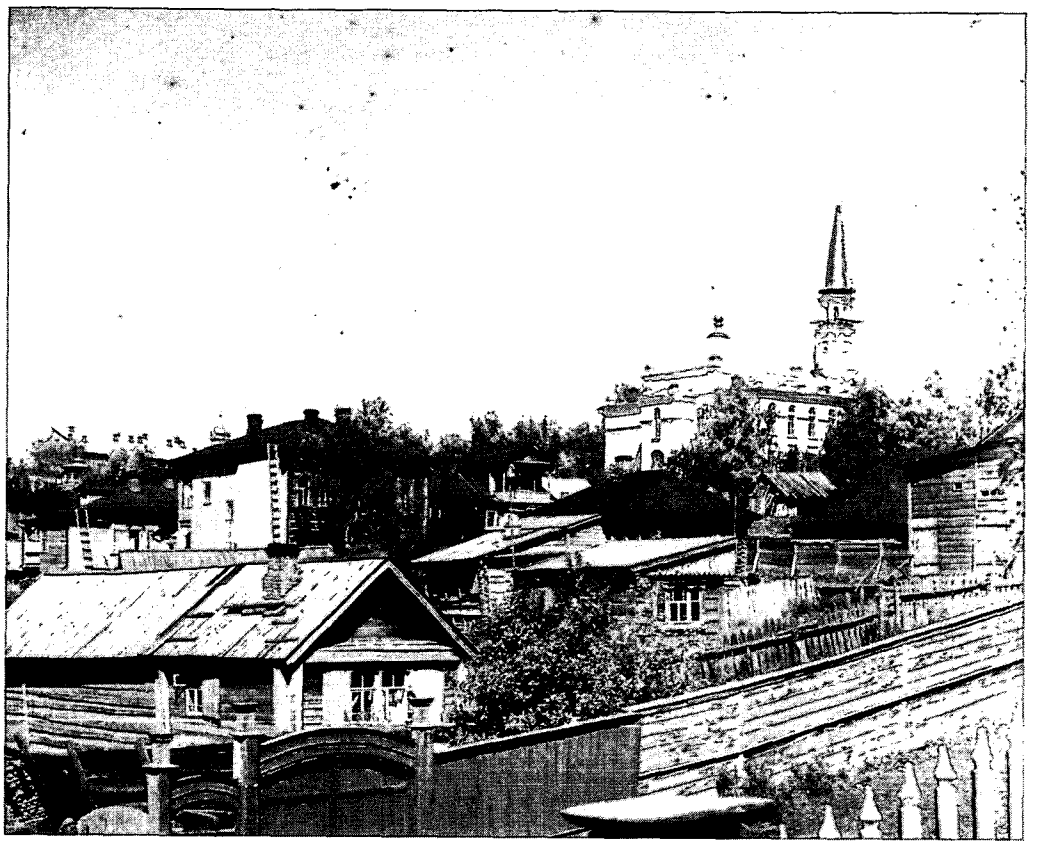


FIGURE 3: The main mosque and the seat of the Orenburg mufti in the town of Ufa, constructed in 1830. Courtesy of the Prokudin-Gorskii Collection of the Library of Congress.

transactions.[78] Until the modern era of nation-states and legal codification, Islamic law did not reside in a single text or authority. Indeed, most Muslim scholars regarded *fatwas* as mere opinions—not binding rulings, except where temporal authorities backed their writ. In a legal tradition that relied on numerous authoritative sources and entertained the possibility of varied outcomes depending on the local social context, determining a *single*, uniform "orthodoxy" for police enforcement unleashed intense conflicts.

Official endorsement of orthodoxy meant that, in practice, the police became responsible for enforcing Islamic judicial decisions. In an influential study of Islamic law, Lawrence Rosen has highlighted the role of the Islamic judge as a mediator, a facilitator of "social bargaining," whose aim "is to put people back in the position of being able to negotiate their own permissible relationships without predetermining just what the outcome of those negotiations ought to be."[79] Under the Orenburg Assembly, prayer-leaders and judges assumed this role in formal legal proceedings and informally outside the mosque courtyard. Many of their decisions

[78] On criticism by regional ulama of the Orenburg Assembly and some of its muftis, see Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte*, 50–61, 66–70, 290–99; and TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 2, d. 43.

[79] Lawrence Rosen, *The Anthropology of Justice: Law as Culture in Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 1989), 17.

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FIGURE 4: A senior Tatar Muslim cleric (*akhund*). Karl von Rechberg und Rothenlöwen, *Les peuples de la Russie*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1812). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

fitted with "the cultural concepts and social relations to which they were inextricably tied."[80] But, equally important, parties to disputes often eschewed mediation and opted for direct state intervention instead. When litigants turned to the police, debates over the *shari'a* shifted from the local social environment, where neighbors

[80] Rosen, *Anthropology of Justice*, 18.

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and spouses might bargain and reconcile, toward coercive settlement of intractable differences under state control. Police involvement in returning wives who had fled their husbands, removing children from divorced spouses, or restraining controversial preachers did not facilitate negotiation but brought a bureaucratic finality to contested cases.

Lay Muslims thus looked to the institutions of the empire to insist on their own interpretations of God's law. Armed with knowledge acquired in a vast network of Qur'anic schools as well as through poetry, pilgrimage, sermons, and the circulation of printed and manuscript tracts, men and women pointed out the errors of clerics, relatives, and neighbors who avoided the mosque, drank wine, sang prayers, beat their wives, or committed adultery.[81] They even attacked prayer-leaders who failed to perform the rites, such as communal prayer, burial of the dead, and the celebration of holidays, that dramatized the bonds of community. Mediated by translators, scribes, and bilingual informants, calls for state involvement made explicit references to imperial statutes and decrees. Muslims developed novel rhetorical strategies to press their cases, integrating tsarist law codes, decrees, and procedure alongside appeals to the tsar and imperial family, the Qur'an, the sayings and acts of the Prophet, and other Islamic legal literature.[82] Denunciations that translated local conflicts over spiritual authority and theological interpretation into the vocabulary of tsarist law and the Orthodox Church proved most successful in launching police investigations. The criminal code became a valuable tool in the hands of Muslims who learned to cast their opponents as self-styled "saints," "pretenders," and "schismatics" (*raskol'niki*) or to connect them with inciting conversion to Islam.[83]

For the seekers of true religion, like the villagers of Bazitamak in Orenburg province who denounced their imam to Tsar Nicholas in 1849, intervention became a catalyst for strengthening the community and a guarantor of Islamic orthodoxy. They argued that the state, too, benefited from true religion and suffered from its neglect; in the absence of prayers led by the imam, "the Muhammadan people [had] almost begun to forget its faith," and youth strayed toward criminality "without reproach from the imam about fear of God."[84] In Kazan, Muslims tried to solicit police intervention "in accordance with both the *shari'a* and the civil law" against

[81] From the earliest period of Islamic history, Muslim scholars have identified the moral obligation to "command right and forbid wrong" as a duty incumbent on every Muslim. On the development of this doctrine, see Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000).

[82] See, for example, petitions that cited volume 11 of the *Digest of Laws* and other official texts in NART, f. 1, op. 3, d. 7615, ll. 12–12 ob.; RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 775, ll. 1–8, d. 1078, ll. 445–47, and d. 614, ll. 15–82. On similar strategies among Russian peasants, see David Moon, *Russian Peasants and Tsarist Legislation on the Eve of Reform: Interaction between Peasants and Officialdom, 1825–1855* (Basingstoke, 1992).

[83] Mufti Husainov artfully employed this language in the early nineteenth century. GAOO, f. 6, op. 2, d. 724, ll. 135–135 ob. See also a representative case from the late 1850s; RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 995. Articles 1159–64 of the criminal code defined such acts as offenses in *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. 20, no. 19,283 (August 15, 1845) (St. Petersburg, 1846), 817–18. Tsarist officials also commented on Jewish knowledge of criminal law in making their accusations against co-religionists. See, for example, Deich, *Tsarskoe pravitel'stvo*, 46.

[84] TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 2, d. 43, ll. 1215 ob.–1216.

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Muslim women who appeared in public with "open faces" and engaged in prostitution.[85]

When Muslim peasants in Orenburg province addressed a petition to Nicholas I in 1833 to seek his help in ridding the village of their prayer-leader, they were motivated not by feelings of ethnic solidarity but by the conviction that the state would serve the cause of piety by punishing their imam, Sharafutdin Rakhimov. For these peasants, the conflict with Rakhimov represented a struggle to live according to God's law and to remove the polluting influence of an imam who refused to lead the community in worship, tormented the souls of the dead by neglecting their burial, and even beat one of his denouncers to a state of "great ill-health." Acting on their denunciation, the local police removed the imam from his position for "deeds carried out not only against the Muhammadan religion and its rules but also imperial statutes" and thereby affirmed these petitioners' vision of the regime as the disciplinary instrument of a community governed by the sacred law.[86]

Similarly, in February 1832, peasants in the district of Kazan gathered to condemn their mullah for provoking God's punishment, but they did not confine themselves to the rough justice of the village. The men of the community turned against Mullah Lupman Fatkullin to the township administration, seeking his removal and expulsion from the village. They informed local authorities that Fatkullin violated the *shari'a* by ignoring the five daily prayers, disregarding his obligation to instruct the children, and subjecting especially pious men—and even women—to "foul insults." The villagers echoed many Muslims who complained that the failings of their prayer-leaders had led to the decline of morals and the corruption of youth. Their denunciations drew on established anti-clerical tropes about greedy and self-interested mullahs. But pious concern for the collective obligations of the divine law may also have reflected local adaptation of new forms of Sufi thought transmitted orally by scholars and in manuscripts that circulated throughout the empire.[87] By appealing to authorities outside of their own village, and beyond the Muslim community, these locals effectively challenged the licensed ulama; they looked to the regime to restore "collective prayer" and spare the community from "the shudder of divine punishment," which the villagers saw in "the recent [outbreak of] the dangerous disease of cholera near our village."[88]

Notwithstanding the ambiguous status of appeal in the Islamic tradition, Muslims embraced the practice in Russia as a means to challenge the outcome of Islamic law court cases and safeguard the rights and obligations that they understood as essential components of the *shari'a*.[89] Laypeople challenged prayer-

[85] NART, f. 1, op. 3, d. 7615, l. 12 ob.

[86] TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 625, ll. 5–15. For further examples of tensions between prayer-leaders and parishioners, see RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 615; TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 910, d. 5185, and d. 5698; and Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions*, chap. 4.

[87] Dudoignon, "Djadidisme, mirasisme, islamisme"; and Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte*.

[88] TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 910, ll. 12 ob.–13.

[89] Evidence of appeal in other Muslim societies has emerged in a number of recent studies. See David S. Powers, "On Judicial Review in Islamic Law," *Law and Society Review* 26, no. 2 (1992): 315–41; and on women, Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Ottoman Women and the Tradition of Seeking Justice," in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, Madeline C. Zilfi, ed. (Leiden, 1997), 253–63. First introduced to Islamic law courts in the north Caucasus under Shamil's imamate, the principle of appeal became a central aspect of tsarist administration through "customary law" in the region as well as in Turkestan from the 1860s. Bobrovnikov, *Musul'mane*

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leaders and judges by looking beyond the village or town mosque community to the police, the Orenburg Assembly, and the minister of the interior, whom a petition from mullahs in Orenburg province in 1863 styled the "Minister of Interior and Muslim Religious Affairs [*sic*]."[90] Similar appellate mechanisms appeared in other empires, but tsarist officials defended "orthodox" interpretation of the *shari'a* more consistently than their British or French counterparts. Where European judges incorporated considerations of "equity" and Roman legal principles, Russians looked almost exclusively to authoritative interpretation of the Islamic tradition.[91] In the tsarist setting, Muslims had access to two interrelated modes of appeal. In the first, aggrieved parties, as individuals or as kin groups, contested the resolution of divorce, inheritance, and other disputes by asking the Orenburg Assembly to review the case. In the second, litigants petitioned Russian officials ranging from the local bailiff to the emperor to overturn the rulings of local ulama, to compel husbands to refrain from beating their wives, or otherwise commit themselves to live "in accordance with the *shari'a*." In both types of appeal, the process began with the composition of a petition or complaint (usually on the basis of oral testimony) at the offices of the local police; the police investigated claims about the violation of the *shari'a*, gathered evidence, and then oversaw the execution of the final judgment. Litigants might simultaneously pursue both strategies or, after exhausting the first option, turn to the tsar with confidence that the laws of the empire supported God's law.

Both state archival records and Muslim historical sources show how contests over religious authority quietly transformed these small, face-to-face communities and their relationship to the state, as men and women adopted the practice of soliciting intervention to contest the outcomes of divorce, inheritance, and other cases involving the *shari'a*. In 1820, Bibi Kiz Bike petitioned the mufti to secure maintenance (*nafaqa*) from her husband.[92] In the same year, a villager named Sayyid from the Volga province of Simbirsk abrogated a marriage contract with his future son-in-law, Mecid, by refusing to permit his daughter Bibi Habibe to marry her fiancé. Mecid charged Sayyid with violating an agreement sanctioned by the *shari'a* and turned to the district police chief, who organized an investigation and gathered testimony from the villagers. After consulting the Orenburg Assembly, the police instructed local mullahs to assist in determining the legality of the contract on the basis of Islamic law. The mullahs apparently tried to reconcile the families of the betrothed, but, when mediation failed, the mufti Husainov put an end to the case by ruling that Sayyid was obliged to turn his daughter over to Mecid—a judgment to be delivered to the litigants and carried out jointly by the mullahs and the police. By the second quarter of the century, Muslims in over a dozen provinces had learned to act on the social and religious obligation to discipline co-religionists

Severnogo Kavkaza, 154–66; and Robert D. Crews, "Allies in God's Command: Muslim Communities and the State in Imperial Russia" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1999), chap. 5.

[90] *Materialy po istorii Tatarii*, 166.

[91] See, for example, Michael R. Anderson, "Legal Scholarship and the Politics of Islam in British India," in R. S. Khare, ed., *Perspectives on Islamic Law, Justice, and Society* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 65–91.

[92] This paragraph is based on a reprint of the original correspondence of the mufti in Tatar and Persian in Rizaeddin Fahreddinev, *Asar*, vol. 4 (Orenburg, 1903), 190–91. The document refers to the official by his first name and patronymic, Nikolai Fedorovich.

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by turning to the regime and its Islamic institutions to restore the communal religious standards and the purity of the faith commanded by God's law.

While recourse to tsarist law became an essential tool in the hands of Muslims whose competing visions of the *shari'a* animated clerical rivalries and village feuds, men and women also looked to the state to compel their spouses to live "according to the *shari'a*." As in other Muslim societies, women emerged as particularly active litigants. Often assisted by guardians and kin, they utilized courts and appeals to restrain abusive husbands, defend their honor, and even initiate divorce based on the claim that the *shari'a* accorded them these rights.[93] Women such as Khamida Salikhova, from the village of Novoe-Baltachevo in Orenburg province, turned to Nicholas I to protest the brutality of their husbands, asserting in petitions that physical abuse justified the awarding of a divorce "in accordance with the Muhammadan faith."[94] Invoking the protection of imperial law and officials, appeals from disgruntled wives, disappointed husbands, and frustrated prayer-leaders seeking justice and fulfillment of the divine will made the tsarist police arbiters of the most intimate of religious and familial disputes.

AT MID-CENTURY, the crisis of the Crimean War and fighting against the Ottomans provoked doubt in the minds of provincial officials and many Muslim peasants and townspeople about the continued convergence of interests between Muslims and their Christian rulers. Rumors of forced conversion on the Volga led some Muslim villagers to conclude, according to a local investigation of Muslim attitudes in Samara province, that the war with the Ottomans would endanger toleration, reckoning that, since "Christians suffer oppression in Turkey," then "our government, too, will do the same with the followers of Islam [*islamizm*]." Increasingly anxious about "fanaticism," provincial officials were also disconcerted by reports that Muslims collected money and offered prayers for the victory of the sultan, in addition to proselytizing among their non-Muslim neighbors and storing gunpowder for a rebellion.[95] But whereas the regime resorted to mass expulsions and encouraged flight from the militarily sensitive borderlands of the Caucasus and the Crimea in the wake of the war, it discouraged emigration from other regions and

[93] Allen Frank reconstructs the story of a communal defense of a woman's honor in *Muslim Religious Institutions*, 141–42. The criminal code also prohibited husbands' "cruel treatment" of their wives but left "injury," "blows," and "abuse" ill-defined. Mufti Suleimanov affirmed this representation of rights within the *shari'a* in his instructions to judges in 1840: "according to Islamic law, men are not permitted to subject their wives to beatings leading to the drawing of blood and the breaking of bones and pull their hair." TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 1096, ll. 29–29 ob. Women frequently initiated divorce by *khul'*, whereby they received the husband's permission to dissolve the marriage, often in exchange for the payment of a compensation. Of 3,836 recorded Muslim divorces in Ufa province between 1866 and 1868, 81 percent were by *khul'*. A. Z. Asfandiarov, *Bashkirskaia sem'ia v proshlom (XVIII–pervaia polovina XIX v.)* (Ufa, 1997), 72–73. On similar strategies in Ottoman courts, see Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records—The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18 (1975): 53–114.

[94] TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 1749. Of the roughly 1,200 cases that the Orenburg Assembly handled annually in the 1880s, the largest number (200–250) involved inheritance disputes, followed by divorce cases (up to 150). *V pamiat'*, 36.

[95] *Materialy po istorii Tatarii*, 156–64.

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attempted to dispel rumors that agitated mullahs and Orthodox priests alike.[96] Officials in St. Petersburg remained committed to the common moral language of sin and divine punishment that continued to make Islam useful in administering these provinces, despite warnings of "fanaticism" from local governors and bishops.

In the postwar reform era, the central government accommodated these protests by imposing more restrictions on the autonomy of Muslim authorities. The Ministry of the Interior increasingly subjected local appeals to the scrutiny of non-Muslim scholars trained in the newly established disciplines of Oriental studies. The regime took these figures to be not only more trustworthy in their devotion to the state but truer to the "correct" meaning of the Islamic tradition that they derived from their study of texts. Russian officials thus assumed greater responsibility for defining and enforcing Islamic "orthodoxy," even as they registered growing skepticism about the competence and reliability of its traditional spokesmen.[97] In reviewing appeals for the ministry, scholars such as the St. Petersburg University professor Alexander Kazem-Bek frequently called the decisions of the Orenburg Assembly into question. In 1865, the appointment of Selim-Girei Tevkelev to the post of Orenburg mufti bolstered the authority of Orientalist "experts." A retired staff cavalry captain, nobleman, and decorated veteran of campaigns against both the Ottomans and the rebellious Poles, Tevkelev lacked systematic training in the Islamic tradition. Through consultation on specific cases, Orientalists interpreted the *shari'a* in new ways. Removing the process of disputation and discretionary interpretation from the social environment of the mosque community, they established binding precedents and limited the range and flexibility of Islamic interpretation by privileging a handful of legal texts that summarized major opinions of the Hanafi school of law. Scholars built on the "orthodox" agenda of the Orenburg Assembly by narrowing the latitude of Islamic jurisprudence but simultaneously undermined its authority by shifting final control over Islamic law judgments to the upper echelons of the appellate hierarchy in St. Petersburg. Kazem-Bek in particular contributed to the official redefinition of the *shari'a* as a species of positive law, reducing the range of outcomes to a single judgment on a uniform basis.[98]

While Russian nationalists, Orthodox bishops, and Orientalists threatened the

[96] According to Bedri Habiçoğlu, between 1855 and 1907, some 600,000 emigrants from the Caucasus region reached Ottoman lands, and many hundreds of thousands more may have died on the way. Relocations and expulsions had been a strategy of Shamil's forces and, on a broader scale, those of the tsarist army in the northwest Caucasus. Like the Russian forces, Ottoman diplomats (including those whose families traced their origins to the region) encouraged the migrations, promising assistance in resettlement. The Ottoman press cast this development as the religious obligation of *hijra* to a Muslim land (*hicret etmiş*), a characterization that remains alive in popular memory. On the varied motivations of the migrants, or *muhacirs*, see Habiçoğlu, *Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler ve İskanlar* (Istanbul, 1993), esp. 67–73. On Muslim expulsions and transfers of other Muslims in the region, see Rukiya Š. Šarafutdinova, "Zwei wiederentdeckte arabische Dokumente aus der Zeit des Kaukasuskrieges," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia*, vol. 3, Anke von Kügelgen, Aširbek Muminov, and Michael Kemper, eds. (Berlin, 2000), 525–26; and Bobrovnikov, *Musul'mane Severnogo Kavkaza*, 17–19, 22–23.

[97] The position of Islamic clerics came to resemble that of Brahmin pundits in colonial India. Their authority, Lata Mani argues, "was problematic: the fact of being native simultaneously privileged and devalued them as reliable sources. The pundits were essential to 'unlocking' the scriptures for officials. But they were also believed by officials to be the 'devious minority' against which it was the mission of colonization to protect the 'simple majority.'" Mani, "Contentious Traditions," 135.

[98] *V pamiat'*, 43–45; and Danil' D. Azamatov, "The Muftis of the Orenburg Spiritual Assembly in the 18th and 19th Centuries: The Struggle for Power in Russia's Muslim Institution," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2, Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, and Allen J. Frank, eds. (Berlin, 1998), 355–84. See also M. Kazem-Bek, *Izbrannye*

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power of the ulama, they did not displace Islamic law from its pivotal position at the nexus of state administration and the life of the local mosque community. Indeed, the rise of Orientalist scholarship gave laypeople new venues—and new languages—for advancing their understandings of the *shari'a*. Despite the change in tone of many provincial officials, laypeople continued to look to the state as a force for salvation. In 1862, the peasant Khasan Ishmukhametev of Kazan province turned to the emperor "Alexander Nikolaevich" for justice. He sought his intervention in a bitter conflict with the local mullah, who refused to confer a name on his newly born son and pray for his sick daughter, who was also then absent at her burial, and, finally, who snubbed Ishmukhametev before the entire community at the celebration ending Ramadan.[99] Similarly, in 1865, the family of a Bashkir woman named Shagimardanova pursued a case against local ulama and the Orenburg Assembly all the way to the minister of the interior. In a petition to Peter Valuev, her father complained that his son-in-law had abused his daughter, accusing her of leading a "dissolute life" and cursing her mother with "impermissibly foul language." He argued that the "words of the Holy Law on the insulting [things said] in relation to my wife and daughter give me the boldness to ask Your Excellency to order the investigation of this case and to give my daughter a divorce according to our religion." Challenged by the scholar Kazem-Bek, who backed the ruling of the assembly, Shagimardanova and her father failed to win state backing for their views about the role of Islamic tradition in sanctifying the honor of their family.[100] Nonetheless, such appeals continued, guaranteeing the implication of the regime in the mediation of some of the most fundamental conflicts regarding religious authority and interpretation in Muslim communities.

The Muslim expectation that the tsarist police functioned as guardians of Islamic orthodoxy persisted despite challenges from provincial and church officials who sought to confine police support to the Orthodox faith alone as the pillar of the empire. In 1869, the governor-general of Orenburg province, N. A. Kryzhanovskii, protested a request to the police from the Orenburg mufti Tevkelev. The mufti had instructed the police in provinces inhabited by Muslims to distribute a circular requiring clerics to sign pledges that they would lead moral lives according to the *shari'a*, root out sin, and "serve as an example [to parishioners] in their lives," inspiring them to fulfill "the obligations of a citizen, not only with respect to religion but in relation to obligations toward the authorities [*nachal'stvo*]."[101] Kryzhanovskii refused Tevkelev's request, claiming that none of the "foreign confessions" had this right, adding that "to compel the Russian police to affirm and spread the *shari'a* in Russia, to drive the people into the mosques and invite parishioners to make monetary payments for the benefit of fanaticism [*izuverstvo*], in truth, may be taken for mockery of the Russian authorities." While Kryzhanovskii balked in the name of safeguarding the "state interest in relation to the Muhammadan religion," the governors of Astrakhan, Samara, Simbirsk, Viatka, Perm, Semipalatinsk, Nizhnyi Novgorod, and Tobol'sk provinces had already complied with Tevkelev's request, apparently in agreement with the mufti's representation of the mandate of his

proizvedeniia (Baku, 1985); and on his activities within the Ministry of the Interior, RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 951, 964, 969.

[99] TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 3, d. 5185.

[100] RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 964, ll. 1 and 18–ob. 19.

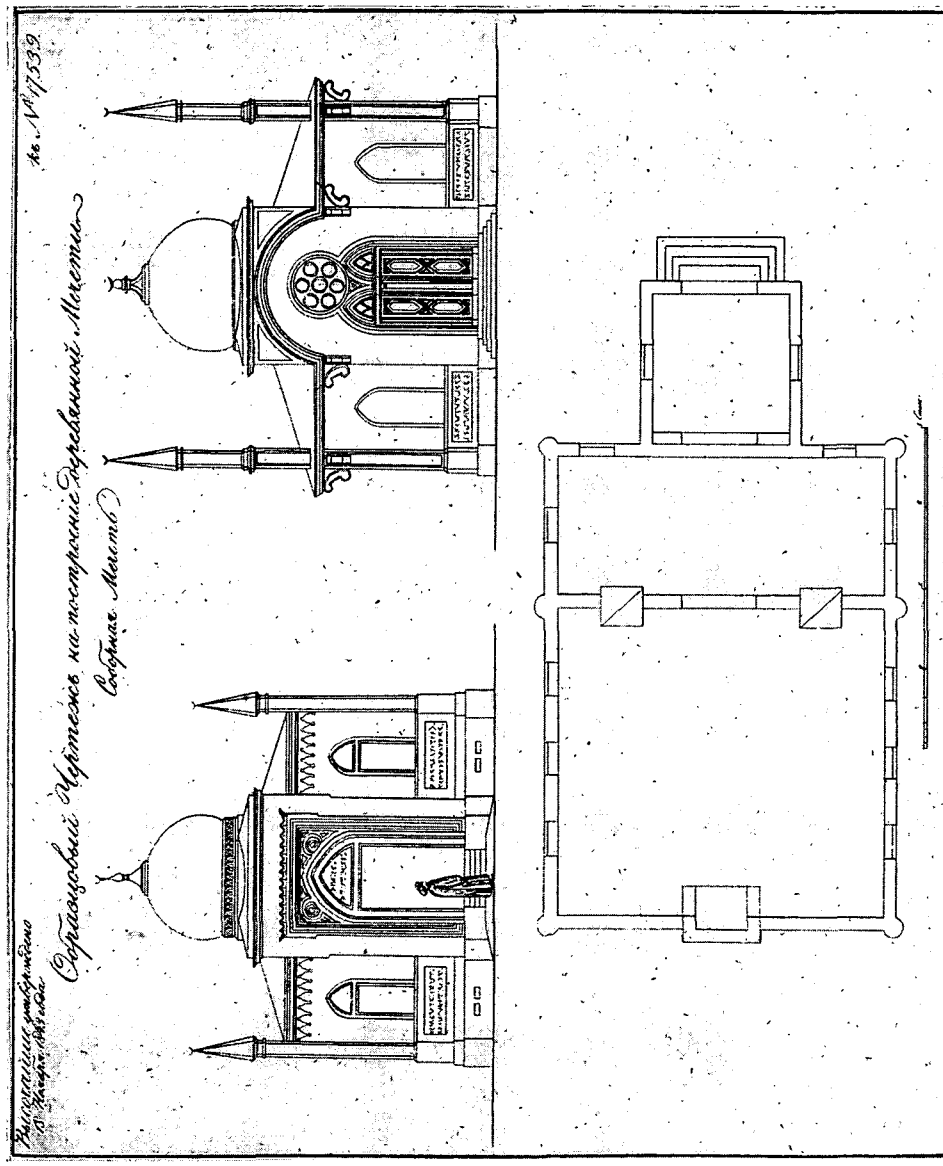
[101] RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 609, l. 7.

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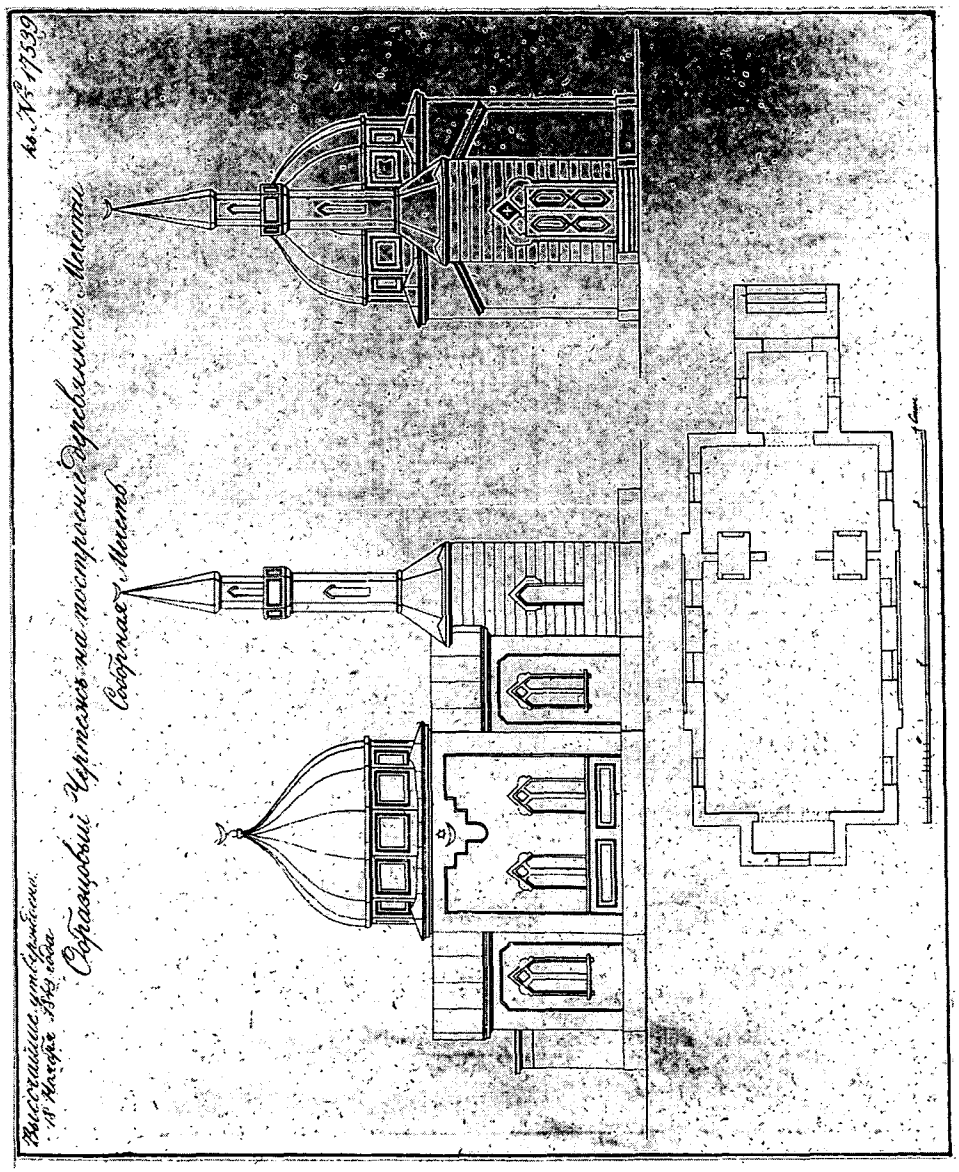
FIGURE 5: A lithograph representing the Tatars of Kazan. F. K. Pauli, *Description ethnographique des peuples de la Russe* (St. Petersburg, 1862). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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FIGURES 6 and 7: A decree of 1844 established model mosque designs inspired by contemporary church architecture. However, this attempt to manage and contain the symbolic expression of Islam and impose a uniform imperial aesthetic on mosque construction proved impractical. In 1862, the government abandoned the obligatory model plans shown here but still required that drawings for mosque plans be approved in advance by Russian provincial officials. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. 19 (St. Petersburg, 1845). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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institution: "Strictly prosecuting the sins and constantly caring for the moral education of the people, it fufills its religious and civil duty, always with the view that good morality, following the path of the law, and irreproachable behavior serve as a pledge of the best civic virtues."[102]

The minister of the interior admonished Tevkelev to use "moral influence, and not police measures," but the assembly's own archival records show that resort to police intervention remained a basic component of its procedure.[103] Indeed, dependence on state institutions endured as a fundamental aspect of Islamic legal practice in the empire, even among Muslims who were divided on other questions of interpretation. In 1891, the same year that the critic of state policy E. N. Voronets charged Muslims with acting as a "state within a state," the reformer Gasprinskii published an editorial in his newspaper defending a recent decision by the Senate confirming Muslims' right to litigate inheritance disputes in state courts according to the *shari'a*. Responding to critics of the Senate's interpretation of the law, Gasprinskii argued against permitting Muslims to opt out of their religious law in state courts: "To grant Muslims the right to divide inheritance according to both civil and *shari'a* laws would mean purposefully to introduce discord into the Muslim family, and to make mandatory division only according to civil laws would be a restriction in the use and fulfillment of religion, and this is completely alien to the spirit and letter of Russian state laws."[104] Like their opponents, Gasprinskii and other reformers assimilated the legal language and bureaucratic practices of the state within their own competing interpretations of the faith, pressing the regime to stay true to its promise of toleration by safeguarding the divine law against its enemies both outside and within the Muslim community.

LIKE ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE'S *ancien régime*, the tsarist state assumed an indispensable role in the minds of its Muslim subjects.[105] In turn, the adjudication of Islamic disputes shaped the basic legal and institutional structures of the state by linking the struggle for the *shari'a* to the expanding power of local policing and judicial institutions. The Islamic hierarchy experienced only relative success in mobilizing religious authority in support of empire. But a broader, and largely unintended, pattern of integration emerged from below: through the everyday mediation of Islamic legal disputes, Muslim litigants incorporated tsarist law and institutions into their pursuit of the obligation to "enjoin good and prohibit evil."

For Muslims and tsarist officials alike, imperial politics retained a critical confessional dimension into the early twentieth century. The "Muslim question" divided government ministers on the question of continued state patronage of Islam while supplying local Muslim factions with new labels such as "Pan-Islam" to castigate their foes before tsarist officials. But the state confronted in Islam neither a "minority" nor a "nationality" problem.[106] These concepts entered the vocabulary

[102] RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 609, ll. 2 ob.–3, 6, and 13 ob.–15. See also ChaeRan Y. Freeze's discussion of like-minded Orthodox Jewish leaders, *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia* (Hanover, N.H., 2002), esp. 247–55.

[103] RGIA, f. 821, op. 8, d. 609, l. 9 ob. But see also TsGIARB, f. I–295, op. 2, d. 122, l. 432 ob.

[104] *Tercüman/Perevodchik*, August 21, 1891. The Tatar version of this text is even more explicit, calling on Russian courts to guarantee "shares according to Islamic law" (*şer'î hisseleri*).

[105] Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, Stuart Gilbert, trans. (New York, 1955).

[106] Concern with "minorities" and "minority rights" became a central constitutional issue in

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of officialdom only in the last years of the regime and had a very limited impact on state policies and popular politics.[107] As in other communities, some educated Muslim elites imagined their co-religionists as a "nation" (*millet*). But relatively few Muslims adopted the language of nationality. From the perspective of the regime, too, religious affiliation endured, alongside "estate" (*soslovie*), as the most basic official social category.[108]

The story of Islam and other non-Orthodox faiths in nineteenth-century Russia suggests the extent to which the tsarist regime and empire rested on confessional foundations. Muslims and Jews shared more than legal disabilities such as restrictions on admission to the legal profession in the last decades of the old regime.[109] Religious institutions and personnel performed essential tasks on behalf of the local organs of government, administering justice, welfare, and education. In regulating the family and moral lives of the tsars' subjects and linking religious rituals to imperial themes, state-sponsored clerics constructed the moral order that underpinned the empire. A supraconfessional elite cultivated an imperial consciousness that cannot be reduced to "some other history," that of the "nation" or even of "ethnicity."[110] Imperial confessional identities were reshaped through the pursuit of religious goals within the framework of tsarist laws and institutions. By assuming the role of a confessional state and deploying police power on behalf of orthodoxy in each of the tolerated faiths, the regime deepened its regulatory and disciplinary reach into non-Orthodox communities. Religious controversies molded the local contours of the state, and pious activists succeeded in building the state from below. Police intervention on behalf of the state and true religion bound Muslims and other non-Orthodox to the tsarist political order, transforming both Islam and the empire.

European law only at the conclusion of World War I. On the incompatibility of "minorities" and imperial conceptual frameworks, see Aron Rodrigue, "Difference and Tolerance in the Ottoman Empire, Interview by Nancy Reynolds," *Stanford Humanities Review* 5, no. 1 (1995): 81–90. In Russia, Muslim elites first deployed the results of the census of 1897 in debates about representation in the Duma and the use of language in localities where Muslims formed the "predominant people" (*galip kavim*, also translated into Russian in a footnote as *preobladaiushchaia narodnost'*). See Musi Bigiief, *Rusya müslümanları ittifağının programı* (St. Petersburg, 1906), 18.

[107] On the persistent ambiguity of the categories of nationality and ethnicity in this context, see the excellent studies by Theodore R. Weeks, "Defending Our Own: Government and the Russian Minority in the Kingdom of Poland, 1905–1914," *Russian Review* 54, no. 4 (October 1995): 539–51; Charles Steinwedel, "To Make a Difference: The Category of Ethnicity in Late Imperial Russian Politics, 1861–1917," *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices*, David L. Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis, eds. (New York, 2000), 67–86; and Noack, *Muslimischer Nationalismus*. For the broader intellectual context, see John W. Slocum, "Who, and When, Were the *Inorodtsy*? The Evolution of the Category of 'Aliens' in Imperial Russia," *Russian Review* 57 (April 1998): 173–90; and Nathaniel Knight, "Ethnicity, Nationality and the Masses: *Narodnost'* and Modernity in Imperial Russia," in Hoffmann and Kotsonis, *Russian Modernity*, 41–64.

[108] On "confession" as a primary category of nineteenth-century European censuses, see Brigitte Roth, "Religionen/Konfessionen," in *Die Nationalitäten des Russischen Reiches in der Volkszahlung von 1897*, Henning Bauer, Andreas Kappeler, and Brigitte Roth, eds., vol. A (Stuttgart, 1991), 285–323.

[109] S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1918), 352–53.

[110] Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham, N.C., 1999), 4.

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The Mercurial Nature and Abiding Power of Race: A Transnational Family Story

MARTHA HODES

THERE ARE MANY WAYS to expose the mercurial nature of racial classification. Scholars of U.S. history might note, for example, that the category of "mulatto" first appeared in the federal census of 1850 and then disappeared in 1930, or they might discover that immigrants who had not thought of themselves as "black" at home in the Caribbean found themselves classified as such upon passage to the United States. Such episodes serve to unmask the instability of racial systems, yet simply marshaling evidence to prove taxonomies fickle tells only a partial story. In an effort to tell a fuller story about the workings of "race"—by which I mean principally the endeavors of racial categorization and stratification—I focus here on historical actors who crossed geographical boundaries and lived their lives within different racial systems. A vision that accounts for the experiences of sojourners and migrants illuminates the ways in which racial classification shifts across borders and thus deepens arguments about racial construction and malleability.[1]

At the same time, however, the principal argument of this essay moves in a

I thank members of the Connolly-Conolly family and of the Cushman family; Linda McCurdy and the Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library; Jan Liebaers, Tammi Selzer, and the Cayman Islands National Archive; Martha Mayo and the University of Massachusetts Center for Lowell History; Thomas Bender and his Project on Internationalizing the Study of American History; Jeanne Masters of North Side, Grand Cayman; and Carolyn Brown, Thomas Dublin, Ada Ferrer, Cheryl Fish, Leslie Harris, Debra Walker King, Paul Kramer, Zita Nunes, Colin Palmer, Jeffrey Stewart, Margaret Vendryes, Jeffrey Wasserstrom, Craig Wilder, the anonymous reviewers, and especially Bruce Dorsey. I thank commenters and audiences at the many institutions and conferences where I have presented these ideas, and for funding, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and New York University.

[1] I use quotation marks for racial descriptors for the sake of clarity only, with an overall understanding of the social construction of such terminology; I employ the overly reified term "race" only at particular rhetorical junctures. Following Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29 (February 2000): 1–47, I have refrained from overuse of the slippery term "identity." On changing categories in the U.S. federal census, see David Theo Goldberg, "Taking Stock: Counting by Race," in *Racial Subjects: Writing on Race in America* (New York, 1997), 27–58. For a fine theoretical discussion, see Gayle Wald, *Crossing the Line: Racial Passing in Twentieth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture* (Durham, N.C., 2000), 1–24. On mobility among racial categories within a single lifetime, see Marilyn Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860–1965* (Urbana, Ill., 1993); Clara E. Rodríguez, "Challenging Racial Hegemony: Puerto Ricans in the United States," in *Race*, Steven Gregory and Roger Sanjek, eds. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), 131–45; Jorge Duany, "Reconstructing Racial Identity: Ethnicity, Color, and Class among Dominicans in the United States and Puerto Rico," *Latin American Perspectives* 25 (May 1998): 147–72; Benjamin Bailey, "Dominican-American Ethnic/Racial Identities and United States Social Categories," *International Migration Review* 35 (Fall 2001): 677–708.

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different direction. We tend to think of the fluid and the mutable as less powerful than the rigid and the immutable, thereby equating the exposure of unstable racial categories with an assault on the very construct of race itself. In a pioneering essay in which Barbara J. Fields took a historical analysis of the concept of race as her starting point, she contended that ideologies of race are continually created and verified in daily life. More recently, Ann Laura Stoler has challenged the assumption that an understanding of racial instability can serve to undermine racism, and Thomas C. Holt has called attention to scholars' "general failure to probe beyond the mantra of social constructedness, to ask what that really might mean in shaping lived experience." Hilary McD. Beckles affirms that "the analysis of 'real experience' and the theorising of 'constructed representation' constitute part of the same intellectual project." Drawing together these theoretical strands, I argue that the scrutiny of day-to-day lives demonstrates not only the mutability of race but also, and with equal force, the abiding power of race in local settings. Neither malleability nor instability, then, necessarily diminishes the potency of race to circumscribe people's daily lives.[2]

On one level, people who hold authority (courtroom judges, employers, even neighborhood gossips) impose classification on subordinates. They determine who can marry whom and how to label the children, whom to hire for which jobs and whom to deny work, with whom to socialize and whom to ostracize. But the assignment of individuals to lesser categories can be ambiguous or transitory, and part of the abiding power of racial classification lies precisely, I argue, within this mercurial quality. To put it more concretely, that power lies within the ability of legal, economic, and social authorities to assign and reassign racial categories to oppressive ends; as Nell Irvin Painter has written, the purpose of such categorization is "to rank people and keep them in place." On another level, though, communities, families, and individuals seek to resist such authority by naming and defining themselves, an endeavor that entails the assignment of others to various racial categories. To name and define others is also to establish one's own superior station, and so these efforts on the part of rulers and subjugated alike work to create, reshape, and reinforce ideologies of race: who is worthy or superior, who is depraved or inferior. Together, these endeavors work continually to determine, destabilize, and ultimately to sustain racial hierarchies. No matter how chimerical we prove "race" to be, that wisdom alone remains inadequate to diminish the might of racism, for the power of race lies within the very fact of malleability.[3]

The nature of the power that lies within the capricious exercise of racial categorization in everyday life can best be illustrated by exploring the experiences

[2] Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, eds. (New York, 1982), 143–77; see also "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America," *New Left Review* 181 (May/June 1990): 95–118. Ann Laura Stoler, "Racial Histories and Their Regimes of Truth," *Political Power and Social Theory* 11 (1997): 183–206; Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Race in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 10; and see Holt, "Marking: Race, Race-making, and the Writing of History," *AHR* 100 (February 1995): 1–20; Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering Woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Kingston, 1999), xxiii. Peter Wade urges us to understand "how both flexibility and racism co-exist," in *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (London, 1997), 68.

[3] Nell Irvin Painter, "'Social Equality,' Miscegenation, Labor, and Power," in *The Evolution of Southern Culture*, Numan V. Bartley, ed. (Athens, Ga., 1988), 48.

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of particular historical actors in particular geographical settings. The transnational family story to be told here centers on a journey across racial lines and national borders. Such travels, metaphorical and literal, expose both the volatility and the potency of racial classification. The geographical and temporal markers are New England and the British Caribbean in the nineteenth century, although the questions are transportable to other places and times. The protagonist is an Anglo-American working-class woman named Eunice Connolly. Born in 1831 to a struggling Massachusetts family, Eunice married a local carpenter at seventeen, just before her alcoholic father deserted her mother. Marriage offered no respite from labor, and, like other wage-earning women, Eunice would work in a mill, take in washing, clean other people's houses, and sell hats she fashioned out of palm leaves. In the late 1850s, Eunice's husband set out to try his luck in the booming Gulf port city of Mobile, Alabama. In 1860, Eunice joined him there, but the couple's aspirations collided with the Civil War, and, with luck running low, Eunice's husband joined the Confederate Army. Seven months pregnant, Eunice and her young son boarded a train for the arduous journey back to New England. Through four years of war, she eked out a living in New Hampshire, barely able to support herself and two children; she had little knowledge of her husband's whereabouts, and wartime Confederate aid did not extend to Northern wives. Soon after Union victory, word arrived that Eunice's husband had died fighting for the South.[4]

Years of poverty and despair abated only with her marriage to William Smiley Connolly, the story's second protagonist. Smiley (as he was called) was born on Grand Cayman Island in 1833, just before the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies. Of mixed African and European descent, his family settled with other freedpeople on the unclaimed acres of the island's eastern end. Over the next decades, Connolly men accumulated land and became successful mariners. Smiley built and captained his own schooners, engaging in the turtle, coffee, and cattle trades. He married a Caymanian woman, but at some point that union dissolved. Documents remain silent as to where or how the widow Eunice met the sea captain Smiley, but the couple wed in 1869 just outside of Lowell, Massachusetts, and swiftly sailed for Grand Cayman. For eight years, Eunice made her home there, keeping house and caring for her children, attending church and sailing on the bay, all the while sending reassuring letters back to New England. In 1877, on a voyage to the Bay Islands of Honduras, Eunice, Smiley, and their children were struck by a hurricane and drowned off the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua.[5]

The two Atlantic World sites that provide the principal settings for this story could hardly appear more dissimilar. If northern New England stood at the center of much of nineteenth-century history-in-the-making—transatlantic capitalist ex-

[4] The story can be traced in the 500 or so letters in the Lois Wright Richardson Davis Papers, Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C. (hereafter, LWRD); some punctuation has been added for readability. The full story will be told in a forthcoming book, to be published by W.W. Norton.

[5] Massachusetts Vital Records, Dracut, 1869, vol. 218, p. 166, Massachusetts State Archives, Boston, Mass. (hereafter, MSA). Genealogy in family Bible in possession of William Warren Conolly, and author's conversation with William Warren Conolly (b. 1920), East End, Grand Cayman, July 22, 1998. Tapes and transcripts of all conversations cited are in the possession of the author, unless otherwise noted. On former slaves settling in East End, see Dispatch no. 33, June 27, 1835, Public Record Office, London, England (hereafter, PRO): CO 137/199, p. 274.

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pansion and industrialization, the creation of a powerful nation in the American Civil War—the Cayman Islands occupied a space on the margins of history, peripheral to the British Empire. Measuring about twenty miles long and less than a hundred miles square, Grand Cayman is the largest of three islands (with Little Cayman and Cayman Brac) situated south of Cuba and northwest of Jamaica. The islands remained under the administrative rule of Jamaica in the nineteenth century, and Caymanian men sailed to Kingston to buy and sell goods, even to collect their mail. With soil too poor to nourish a staple crop, Cayman (like Bermuda, the Bahamas, and British Honduras, among others) never supported a plantation economy. At emancipation, the thousand or so slaves who had worked on farms and as domestics constituted a majority of the population. Turtle-fishing and wrecking (the liberation of goods from shipwrecked vessels) continued as the islands' major industries, and all residents, including former slavemasters who chose to stay, worked the land without benefit of imported indentured labor. There are no records or traces of indigenous people.[6]

To nineteenth-century visitors, Cayman seemed remarkably secluded. One Scottish missionary, who arrived the same year as Eunice Connolly, described the "sequestered" islands as a "lonely" place of "extreme isolation." Yet at the same time, Cayman provides a revealing example of the ways in which one small place could be connected to a more expansive geographical arena. Many of the men were mariners who traveled not only to Jamaica and Honduras but also to Cuba, the Florida Keys, New Orleans, Mobile, New York, and Boston. In 1872, this same missionary found his church services filled with women whose husbands, fathers, and sons were "at sea or in foreign countries." Moreover, because the land was surrounded by coral reefs, frequent shipwrecks brought in both foreign goods and forever-stranded outsiders. From the seventeenth century onward, the islands witnessed an amalgam of cultures, with a flow of European pirates, settlers, and sailors, enslaved and free people of African descent, and its own seafaring population. A woman born in 1899 told how one of her grandfathers was a slave from Africa, while the other was a shipwrecked seaman from Ireland. According to one linguistic analysis, natives spoke a "mixture of an archaic form of English with fragments of Negro dialect, Spanish forms, and expressions common to the Southern United States, as well as a remarkable number of nautical words." Caymanians, an elderly resident recently agreed, have been "traveling the world from the beginning."[7]

[6] On the marginal non-sugar colonies (which also included Anguilla, Barbuda, and the Turks and Caicos), see B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Baltimore, 1984), 43–44, 64–70; and Michael Craton, *Empire, Enslavement and Freedom in the Caribbean* (Kingston, 1997), 150. In the 1830s, two-thirds of Cayman's population were enslaved, almost a quarter were white, a tenth were free people of color, and most holdings of slaves were small; Higman, *Slave Populations*, 77, 102–03, 159, 584; Classified Statement, Cayman Islands, PRO: T 71/683, fol. 16; Return of Slaves, Grand Cayman, 1823–30, PRO: T 71/243, pp. 130–31A; Dispatch no. 131, October 20, 1858, PRO: CO 137/339, p. 216. On the economy, see George S. S. Hirst, *Notes on the History of the Cayman Islands* (1910; rpt. edn., Kingston, 1967), 264–76; Neville Williams, *A History of the Cayman Islands* (1970; rpt. edn., Grand Cayman, 1992), pp. 11–12, 20–21, 35–36, 42–45, 52–53, 56–57; Roger C. Smith, *The Maritime Heritage of the Cayman Islands* (Gainesville, Fla., 2000).

[7] *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, June 2, 1873, p. 530; May 1, 1872, p. 149; June 2, 1879, p. 537; June 1, 1872, p. 176; interview with Geneva Range no. 1 (b. 1899), by Heather McLaughlin, August 27, 1990, Memory Bank (hereafter, MB), Cayman Islands National Archive, George Town, Grand

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Lives that raise questions about the day-to-day workings of racial classification and stratification across national bounds, coupled with a small body of direct evidence, warrant a certain willingness to embrace speculation. The six surviving letters that Eunice wrote from the West Indies include evidence that other communications never arrived in New England, and none of the mail that Eunice received in the Caribbean outlasted the tropical climate. Six much shorter letters survive from Smiley Connolly, including two penned in North America. But both Eunice and Smiley, along with most of their correspondents, kept ideas about race largely to themselves, and other evidence has proven scarce as well. Like hundreds of thousands of working-class women in the nineteenth century, Eunice and her family seldom appear in the historical record beyond the most commonplace documents (a birth or marriage certificate, a census listing, a muster roll). In Cayman, members of the Connolly family can be found in vital records that begin only in the 1880s, as well as in the memories of islanders born in the early twentieth century who have participated in the Memory Bank project of the Cayman Islands National Archive.

In trying to discern the lived experiences of my protagonists, then, some of my analysis necessarily relies more on context and extrapolation than on the evidence of conventional historical documentation. In particular, my own conversations with Connolly and Conolly descendants (the name is spelled both ways) have yielded scattered fragments about Smiley (a few recall hearing that he and an American woman drowned in the terrible hurricane of 1877) but have proven more fruitful concerning Smiley's father, brothers, and three sons from his first marriage. From childhood, these descendants, most of whom still reside in East End, where Eunice disembarked in 1869, listened to narratives of family, local, and island history, absorbing the ways in which parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents described themselves and others in terms of ancestry or color or local status. Thus do I at times rely openly on their language and reflections in efforts to speculate about the nineteenth-century lives of Eunice and Smiley Connolly, about the ways in which they were classified by others and endeavored to embody categories to their own satisfaction.

Ancestry, color and appearance, class status, gender, and behavior: all of these perceptions and assessments intertwined in the lives to be investigated here. Scholars of race most often contend that ancestry was the principal determinant of racial categorization in the nineteenth-century United States. In this view, the U.S. system was largely a binary one, built on the polar categories of "black" and "white," with American Indians and Asian immigrants occupying a place outside of that central duality. A system that placed all people of mixed African and European ancestry into the category of "black" worked to deny separate classifications for people of mixed descent. This feature worked also, theoretically, to erase sex across the color line and to preclude any fluidity of racial identification, since intermediate categories were subsumed within a monolithic blackness. Whiteness in nineteenth-

Cayman, British West Indies (hereafter, CINA), 2–4; Edwin Doran, Jr., "Notes on an Archaic Island Dialect," *American Speech* 29 (February 1954), 82; interview with Daniel Montague Tatum no. 2 (b. 1900) by Heather McLaughlin, October 12, 1993, MB, CINA, p. 16. On traveling Caymanians, see also Smith, *Maritime Heritage*, 112–46.

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century North America, then, was not intended to be a description of color but rather an unfragmentable quality that marked a person off from African lineage. In 1860, a Connecticut court maintained that the phrase "persons of color" in its "common, ordinary and popular meaning" included "those who have descended in part" from African ancestors, and that African ancestry and whiteness were mutually exclusive. In turn, scholars have contrasted this binary structure with the non-binary system of the nineteenth-century British Caribbean that recognized categories in between "black" and "white." With greater fluidity (though with no less prejudice against darkness), class and complexion openly counted in the pursuit of racial stratification in the West Indies, and individuals of known African ancestry could move closer to the category of "white" precisely because color and especially class status were deeply bound up with racial rankings.[8]

Yet by drawing the distinction between the United States and the Caribbean too sharply, we miss an opportunity to understand the ways in which the largely binary North American system offered a margin of latitude: not only for those who were able to reject an imposed subordinate ranking by means of "passing" but also for authorities (whether courtroom judges or neighborhood gossips) who aimed to enforce oppression by imposing rankings that did not depend on a person's ancestry. The "one-drop rule" in North America was never legally firm in the nineteenth century, and although it often prevailed informally, the experiences of Eunice and Smiley Connolly in New England make clear that racial classification could be challenged by factors other than genealogy. As in the British Caribbean, class status and personal associations could affect the shadings of one's racial classification and subsequent treatment in local, daily life.[9]

Eunice's journey across racial boundaries was not simply a metaphorical crossing of the color line, rendering her a white woman married to a black man. Rather, the courtship and marriage to Smiley Connolly set in motion circumstances

[8] *Johnson v. Norwich*, 29 Conn. 407 (1860), 408–09. On different racial systems, see the enduring Winthrop D. Jordan, "American Chiaroscuro: The Status and Definition of Mulattoes in the British Colonies," *William and Mary Quarterly* 19 (April 1962): 183–200; and the more recent Werner Sollors, *Neither Black nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (New York, 1997), 112–41. Much cited on the one-drop rule is F. James Davis, *Who Is Black? One Nation's Definition* (University Park, Pa., 1991); see also Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York, 1980), 1–2, 62, 73–75, 109. Eunice's brother, who prospered as a mill agent, traced his ancestry to seventeenth-century English colonists; see Courier-Citizen Company, *Illustrated History of Lowell and Vicinity, Massachusetts* (Lowell, Mass., 1897), 253.

[9] Gayle Wald writes, "The one-drop rule is not the only standard of racial definition, yet it has disproportionately shaped the U.S. social and cultural imagination of race"; see *Crossing the Line*, 13. Randall Kennedy notes that "the one-drop rule has by no means exercised easy or uncontested dominance"; see "The Enforcement of Anti-Miscegenation Laws," in *Interracialism: Black-White Intermarriage in American History, Literature, and Law*, Werner Sollors, ed. (New York, 2000), 147. For important challenges to the conventional divide between the United States and British Caribbean, see Stephen Small, "Racial Group Boundaries and Identities: People of 'Mixed-Race' in Slavery across the Americas," *Slavery and Abolition* 15 (December 1994): 17–37; and *The Matrix of Miscegenation: People of Mixed Race under Slavery in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, forthcoming). On racial malleability in the U.S. South, see Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, Conn., 1997), 96–122; Ariela J. Gross, "Litigating Whiteness: Trials of Racial Determination in the Nineteenth-Century South," *Yale Law Journal* 108 (October 1998): 109–88; Walter Johnson, "The Slave Trader, the White Slave, and the Politics of Racial Determination in the 1850s," *Journal of American History* 87 (June 2000): 13–38; Joshua D. Rothman, *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861* (Chapel Hill, N.C., forthcoming), chap. 6.

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that, as shall become apparent, at first denied Eunice the privileges of white womanhood in her New England neighborhood and then, as she came to be part of a community of former Caribbean slaves, brought her closer—though in a surprising way—to the embodiment of white womanhood than she had ever been before. It was the crossing of national borders that made possible this contradictory sequence of events. This essay investigates, in turn, Eunice's status in Civil War New England, Smiley's status in the West Indies and the ways he was perceived in post–Civil War New England, and finally, Eunice Connolly's transformative experiences upon marriage to an African Caribbean captain, both in New England and the British Caribbean. Each of these episodes reveals how the malleability of racial classification could work to fortify and invigorate the workings of racial hierarchy.

EUNICE STONE LIVED IN MANCHESTER, New Hampshire, in the 1850s, a thriving mill city on the banks of the Merrimack River, where capital and cotton converged with looms and labor to build the nation's industry in cloth. Exploited and protesting wage workers in antebellum New England likened themselves to southern slaves ("Slave-driverism at the South and Overseerism at the North is one and the same thing"); northern white families like Eunice's, who found themselves slipping down the slope of industrial capitalism—landless and struggling to find what was inevitably low-wage employment—consequently emphasized their identity as free and white. Slavery was a useful theoretical invocation, but that institution was far distant from upper New England, and native-born Protestants measured themselves most immediately against a different degraded population: foreign-born Irish Catholics. Like other mill cities, Manchester hosted an influx of Irish immigrants during the 1850s (by 1860, one-quarter of the city's 20,000 residents were Irish), and native-born Americans reacted with hostility, creating a pattern of nativist violence across northeastern cities. Over the past decade, scholars have asserted that certain historical actors of no African ancestry, most notably Irish immigrants, were nonetheless excluded from the category of "white" in the nineteenth-century United States. More recently, historians have questioned this formulation, calling for greater precision in the form of attention to "lived experience" to augment the evidence of image and representation. One scholar has suggested as well that attention to transnational contexts can better situate the workings of whiteness in U.S. history. Eunice's experiences are instructive in both of these efforts.[10]

[10] *Voice of Industry*, October 23, 1846 ("slave-driverism"). On Manchester, see Tamara K. Hareven and Randolph Langenbach, *Amoskeag: Life and Work in an American Factory-City* (New York, 1978), 9–18; James P. Hanlan, *The Working Population of Manchester, New Hampshire, 1840–1886* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981); *Manchester: A Brief Record of Its Past and a Picture of Its Present* (Manchester, N.H., 1875), 267–306; Peter Haebler, "Nativist Riots in Manchester: An Episode of Know-Nothingism in New Hampshire," and "Nativism, Liquor, and Riots: Manchester Politics, 1858–1859," *Historical New Hampshire* 39 (Fall/Winter 1984): 122–28, and 46 (Summer 1991): 66–91.

Two of the finest works in the whiteness literature are David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York, 1991); and Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). Also important are Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race* (London, 1994); and Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York, 1995). For the reassessments, see Eric Arnesen, *et*

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When Eunice registered to work at Manchester's Amoskeag Mills just before she joined her husband in Mobile, she became part of an ongoing shift within New England's workplaces. During the 1830s, nearly all mill workers had been young, native-born, white women recruited from farm families, sojourning to river-bank cities like Lowell and Manchester in order to earn extra money prior to marriage. As waves of Irish families fleeing the potato famine disembarked in Boston beginning in the 1840s, the ethnic composition of that work force began to change. As industrial expansion kept pace, mill agents set out to enlist this new labor. Irish families were poor and willing to work for lower wages. Irish women and girls preferred the mills to the degradation of domestic service, just as the men and boys were satisfied to refuse hard outdoor labor such as canal digging. These same years also brought new opportunities for middling Yankee women, who began to take teaching positions or move west with their fathers or husbands. Accordingly, poorer native-born women like Eunice, who entered the mills in the 1850s and 1860s, were motivated more by economic necessity than were the earliest "mill girls." Eunice's decision to sign the employee register of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in March 1860, and the consequent boarding out of her young son, reflected her dire circumstances; she lived apart from her husband (he was down south) and had no father to lend interim support, nowhere even to take up residence without imposing on other straitened family members. The first generation of Yankee operatives, those who worked prior to marriage, defined themselves against women like Eunice, calling them "low class New England girls" and lumping them together with Irish immigrants, blaming them all for decreasing wages.[11]

Across the urban northeast, tensions continued to mount between native-born and newcomer. The first naturalization law in the United States, enacted in 1790, extended citizenship to all "free white persons" in the new nation. Beginning with the Irish influx of the 1840s, the unexamined inclusiveness of that phrasing began to unsettle white Americans of British descent. While the concept of the "Anglo-Saxon" gained popularity, Anglo-Americans also began to rank different nationalities. "Celts," for example, were white, but they might also be savages. As pseudo-scientific racism found a popular audience, white Americans came to parse other white people into various subcategories, only some of which they considered fit for citizenship. In this scheme, Irish Catholics were eligible (unlike people of African descent), but native-born Americans hardly welcomed such immigrants as their equals. Beginning in the 1850s, Anglo-Americans pointed to the Celtic physique as proof of innate inferiority and immutable difference. Irish people were

al., "Scholarly Controversy: Whiteness and the Historians' Imagination," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (Fall 2001): 3–92; Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89 (June 2002): 154–73, including the call for transnational visions.

[11] Amoskeag Manufacturing Company Employee Register, March 21, 1860, p. 47, Manchester Historic Association, Manchester, N.H.; "Rights and Duties of Mill Girls," *New England Offering* 7 (July 1849), 156 ("low class"). On Irish labor, see Thomas Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 77–118; and *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York, 1979), 132–64; Caroline F. Ware, *The Early New England Cotton Manufacture: A Study in Industrial Beginnings* (Boston, 1931), 228–32; Peter Way, *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780–1860* (New York, 1993), 76–104.

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depicted as slothful and sensual, brutish and coarse, dark-skinned, diseased, four-legged, low-browed, and wild.[12]

Such stereotypes overlapped with racist ideas about Africans and African Americans, with political cartoons apt to depict Irish people as more simian than human. One prominent antebellum New Yorker described Irish men as bearing "prehensile paws" and likened a group of mourning Irish women to "wailing as a score of daylight Banshees." A Congregational minister in Boston referred to Irish and Negroes (along with Indians and Mexicans) as "savage, barbarous, half-civilized" populations, and another observer described "the black tint of skin" in "Celtic physiognomy." According to one Manchester newspaper in 1858, the Irish were "the offals of Europe, as little qualified to go to the ballot box as the veriest Hottentot." In 1850, the census taker for Manchester listed one Elias Haskall living in the almshouse; his place of birth was recorded as Ireland, his color as black. A faint parenthetical jotting in another hand reads, "Error no doubt," but on the bottom of the page, the clerk who totaled the numbers added the comment, "Irish 'nigger!'" Certainly the marshal may have recorded the wrong birthplace or color, or maybe Haskall had been born in Ireland of African descent. On the other hand, the enumerator may have considered this poverty-stricken Irishman no better than a black person. If so, then class status, nationality, and religion acted as the determinants of race, with little attention to proof or disproof of African descent.[13]

Eunice's family, too, defined themselves against New England's latest immigrants. "I think Manchester has altered a good deal," a sister reported of the city's landscape in a letter to Eunice and their mother. "It seems to me the morals of the place are much corrupted," she worried, explaining that "the St[reet]'s in the center of the City seem filthy and mostly inhabited by Irish." In the face of such disturbing changes, she continued, "the American families all seem to have moved to the outskirts of the city." There were probably "just as many good people here as ever, but the low Irish have increased fast and remain in the old tenaments while our people have erected new buildings and taken themselves out from amongst them, leaving rather a rough set." The sister's insistence on her own American nationality ("our people") likely stemmed from the fact that her family too closely resembled the stereotypes of Irish families. For one thing, their father drank and deserted his wife and children. For another, the women of these Irish families, so disdained by the sister, worked in the Amoskeag Mills, if not alongside Eunice in the weaving and dressing rooms, then nearby in the carding and spinning rooms. Living without a husband, working in the mills, boarding out her son, standing on the edge of poverty: in 1860, Eunice was inching steadily toward a social status difficult to

[12] Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 15–90; see also Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness*, 133–63; Allen, *Invention of the White Race*, 184–99; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, 34–59. And see L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington, D.C., 1971); Dale T. Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America* (Middletown, Conn., 1986), 68–128, 192–93.

[13] Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas, eds., *The Diary of George Templeton Strong: Young Man in New York, 1835–1849*, 4 vols. (New York, 1952), 1: 318, 2: 348; *Collected Works of Theodore Parker*, Frances Power Cobbe, ed. (London, 1864), 64; "A Scene from Irish Life," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 3 (November 1851): 833; Manchester (N.H.) *Daily American*, January 26, 1858, quoted in Haebler, "Nativism," 74; U.S. federal census, Hillsborough County, N.H., 1850, p. 60, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, NA).

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distinguish from that of Irish immigrant women. The sister's anxious reiteration of the family's "American" character was meant to separate them from the immorality, filth, poverty, overbreeding, and crudeness that she defined as "Irish."[14]

These kinds of deprecatory images are related to, though cannot be simply equated with, prejudice against people of African descent. Anglo-American racial thinking is illustrated by Thomas C. Holt's reading of the British writer Thomas Carlyle, who believed black and Irish people alike to be savage and indolent, although the light skin of the Irish, he maintained, made it harder to segregate them. In Holt's analysis of Carlyle on this point, the two outcast populations were not equal; rather, black people were the "emblem of degradation, of the level to which whites could sink." Importing this astute formulation to mid-century New England casts light on Eunice's experiences there. Certainly no one could claim Eunice to be an immigrant from Ireland, and yet she was descending steadily, just as the Irish in Carlyle's estimate remained white but had declined to a level of civilization equivalent to that of black people.[15]

Such classificatory blurrings were made manifest in lived experience. Eunice's fall resulted from her status as a married woman with children but without a husband to provide an adequate home for the family. In northeastern cities, the positions of servant, washerwoman, and cook were reserved for Irish girls and women, or alternatively for free black daughters and wives. (As one white woman wrote from Maine, "My colored girl has gone and I am without a servant and doing my own work.") In this way, the lives of Irish and black women intersected. In one of New York City's poorest neighborhoods, eight black women and eight Irish women worked together as laundresses, and the girls and women of Manchester's small black population who worked for wages likewise had little choice but to take jobs as domestic laborers. For their part, unskilled Yankee women like Eunice preferred the mills to domestic service, since the latter paid less for more demeaning labor. But since mills often required their workers to live on the premises, married women in need of money turned their homes into boarding-houses; Eunice had no such option, however, as she lacked a husband to buy land and build a home, or even to pay rent, and hence had no rooms to let. Next down the ladder were domestic jobs that provided room and board, but Eunice now had two children. "If I could go into the Mill this summer, I could get a long," Eunice reasoned upon her return from the South. "But if my baby lives, I cannot do much in the Mill *this* summer, and I dont know as any one would want me to do house work with so young a child." Live-in maids with children of their own would have to send their offspring away, and so working mothers often settled for live-out

[14] Hattie Harvey to Lois Davis and Eunice Stone [her first husband's name], Manchester, N.H., August 5, 1865, LWRD; Dublin, *Women at Work*, 148.

[15] Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, 1992), 280–82, 319; of the 1849 assertion in *Punch* magazine that the Irish were "the missing link between the gorilla and the Negro," Holt notes the "striking similarities between Irish and Afro-Jamaican caricatures" (319, 463 n.); and see 318–36. See also Carlyle to Emerson, August 13, 1849, in *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834–1872*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1883), 2: 184; and Hilary McD. Beckles, "A 'Riotous and Unruly Lot': Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644–1713," in *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World*, Verene A. Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles, eds. (Kingston, 2000), noting that African slaves and Irish servants, both perceived as dangerous and lazy, could be "interchangeable" in the view of planters (p. 230).

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domestic labor, positions largely filled by Irish and black women. It was an especially bleak scenario, since day wages were no better, but they did not include shelter and meals, and it was this scenario that came to describe Eunice's circumstances as a husbandless mother of two children during the Civil War. Of course, the cotton mills stood idle for parts of the war, and Claremont, New Hampshire, where Eunice settled to be near her in-laws upon her return from Mobile, was home to few immigrants or African Americans. Still, even more than in Manchester in 1860, Eunice now slipped to near the lowest possible status a white woman could know: unskilled and without family support, caring for her children in between housecleaning and laundering for hire, vigilantly but barely keeping destitution at arm's length. All in all, it was a lowly, lonely, and onerous existence. Only prostitution or the poorhouse would have felt more degraded.[16]

Eunice's circumstances did not make her either Irish or black in the eyes of other white people; her economic and social degradation did, however, make it harder for her to define herself against either of those categories, and permitted other white people to define themselves against people like her. To families whose husbands provided for their wives and children, to Yankee women who deserted the factories when the immigrants arrived, to mistresses who were able to assign the drudgery of domestic labor to those unlike themselves, Eunice's poverty and plebeian occupations crowded her into circumstances closely resembling those of Irish immigrant and black women. As one New Hampshire newspaper put it, "Our native-born citizens hate to work by the side of an Irishman," for that aroused "the same feeling which makes it impossible for a respectable white man to labor by the side of slaves in the South." The same could be said about native-born white women, for working the same jobs as Irish and black women made it yet harder to claim the privileges of white womanhood.[17]

[16] Charlotte Vance Morrill to Emma J. Page, Augusta, Me., January 27, 1870, Page Collection, Center for Lowell History, Lowell, Mass.; Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, Claremont, N.H., March 19, 1862, LWRD. On the contours of domestic labor, see David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York, 1978); Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York, 1982), 162–79; Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1983), 80–94; Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn., 1983), esp. 44–76; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (New York, 1986), 155–68; Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work*, 157–65, 193–204; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860* (New York, 1997), 114–15. On domestic labor outside big cities, see Catherine E. Kelly, *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999), 27–35.

U.S. federal census, Hillsborough County, N.H., 1850, p. 99, NA; *Manchester City Directory*, 1850, p. 77 (black domestic); Graham Hodges, "'Desirable Companions and Lovers': Irish and African Americans in the Sixth Ward, 1830–1870," in *The New York Irish*, Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher, eds. (Baltimore, 1996), 121. On preferring mill work to domestic labor, see, for example, L. B. Demick to Clarissa Demick, Manchester, N.H., December 26, 1872, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord; Hanlan, *Working Population*, 60. On the efforts of fiction writers to preserve the privileges of white womanhood for impoverished working women, see Mari Jo Buhle, "Needlewomen and the Vicissitudes of Modern Life: A Study of Middle-Class Construction in the Antebellum Northeast," in *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock, eds. (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 145–65; Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender in the Antebellum City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 85–89.

[17] Concord (N.H.) *Independent Democrat*, in Johnstown (Pa.) *Cambria Tribune*, April 14, 1855, quoted in Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York, 1992), 109.

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THAT IS WHERE EUNICE STOOD just before she began to be courted by the African Caribbean sea captain. To understand the ways in which the malleability and attendant power of racial classification would transform Eunice's life, it is imperative to account for the experiences of Smiley Connolly and to consider Eunice's perceptions of her new husband. At home on Grand Cayman Island, Smiley took his place in a three-part hierarchy. The categories in Jamaica's nineteenth-century population tables were "white," "brown," and "black," and the 1855 Cayman census similarly divided the islands' population into "white," "coloured," and "black." Travelers, too, noticed these distinctions. Just as the British novelist Anthony Trollope, sojourning in the late 1850s, divided the residents of Jamaica into "black," "colored," and "white," so a shipwrecked Scottish missionary on Grand Cayman in the mid-nineteenth century described the inhabitants there as "white, black, and brown." But this three-part configuration often proved insufficient, and British Caribbean residents and visitors alike employed a wider spectrum of appellations in efforts to make sense of more informal categories in between. An observer in Jamaica during the 1840s named "sambos, mulattoes, quadroons, mestees, and mestiphinoes." According to a white Englishwoman in Antigua, also in the 1840s, "there are as many gradations in *tint* as there are in *rank*." Her inventory included "mongrel," "mulatto," "mustee," "fustee," and "dustee." Caymanians, too, contributed to this multihued taxonomy; a slave-sale record in 1829 described "a Sambo Girl," one Conolly descendant born in 1903 described her mother as "mustee," and two Conolly siblings invoked the term "quadroon" to describe their grandmother. According to an anthropologist who studied folk racial categories in Cayman in the mid-twentieth century, Europeans tended to divide the population into a dual system of "black" and "white," whereas those of African descent laid out a system bracketed by "black" and "white" but containing various grades in between, including "mulatto," "quadroon," "musty," "sambo," "half sambo," and "musty-feno." Blue or grey eyes and brown hair moved one toward whiteness, whereas darker eyes and hair, or curls, shaded a person toward blackness.[18]

Class and race in the nineteenth-century West Indies were, as one scholar has phrased it, "impossibly entangled," and this description applied to the Cayman Islands as well. Yet Cayman's social structure differed from that of plantation colonies. Relations among Caymanian classes and colors were less violent during slavery, and so the transition to freedom also proved less explosive. It is equally true that few if any Caymanians had attained the kind of wealth known to plantation societies. One missionary described the islands' white people as "a plain, hardwork-

[18] Blue Book, Jamaica, 1869 (Spanish Town, 1870), PRO: CO 142/83; *Missionary Record*, November 1, 1855, p. 190; Anthony Trollope, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (London, 1860), 55–100; Hope Masterton Waddell, *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A Review of Missionary Work and Adventure, 1829–1858* (London, 1863), 215–16; James M. Phillippo, *Jamaica: Its Past and Present State* (London, 1843), 144; *Antigua and the Antiguans: A Full Account of the Colony and Its Inhabitants*, 2 vols. (London, 1844), 2: 164–65; Public Recorder's Records, November 18, 1829, XH/5/2, p. 59, CINA (sambo); interview with Aurellia Conolly (b. 1903), by Heather McLaughlin, February 12, 1990, MB, CINA, p. 8 (mustee); William Warren Conolly conversation, July 22, 1998, and author's conversation with Theoline Conolly McCoy (b. 1919), Bodden Town, Grand Cayman, July 13, 1999 (quadroon); see also Hirst, *Notes*, 147, 156, 157, 169 (sambo, quadroon, quarteroon); I. R. Buchler, "Caymanian Folk Racial Categories," *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science* 290 (December 1962): 185–86. For a multi-tiered scheme on which later observers drew, see Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 3 vols. (London, 1774), 2: 260–61.

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ing class of men" dependent on "manual labor for their daily bread"; another observed, "Since abolition, white people have either to do the work in plantation themselves" (meaning farm labor), "or hire others to do it for them, and black men are sailors as well as white." At the same time, however, Cayman's closest economic and political ties remained with Jamaica, and Smiley Connolly and his mariner brothers derived their status in part from their dealings in that major sugar colony. There, as elsewhere in the British Caribbean, the colored (or brown or mulatto) classes occupied an ambiguous middle position. In general, wealth and color were correlated, with whites benefiting the most from connections to an Atlantic market economy and blacks surviving as exploited laborers. White people treated colored people better than they treated black people, since it was in their interest as a numerical minority to keep colored people on their side. But whereas a well-to-do, educated, and mostly light-skinned faction among the colored classes allied itself with whites and was permitted entry into white society, for the most part whites did not consider colored people their equals. Tensions between the colored and black classes continued through emancipation, and caste lines persisted despite legal equality.[19]

In nineteenth-century Jamaica, where Smiley and his brothers sailed their vessels, respectable middling occupations for colored men included shopkeeping, teaching, and the ministry, and Connolly men could be found in each of these sectors. A half-brother was a mariner and a preaching church elder; three brothers were mariners; sons became mariners and shopkeepers, and one became a teacher and an island officer. At the same time, Smiley stood above the middling artisanal trades such as carpentry (he hired carpenters to build his house for him), and, as a mariner, he (and other Connolly men) belonged to the small class of Caymanians who owned land and prospered through participation in the Atlantic economy, thus drawing closer to the colored elite. In Cayman, then, Smiley Connolly was a man of color whose economic standing and partial European ancestry shaded him toward whiteness.[20]

[19] Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 237; E. A. Wallbridge, Kingston, September 13, 1839, Section E1/1, Mss. Brit. Emp. s. 16–24, Anti-Slavery Society Papers, Jamaica and Cayman Islands, Rhodes House Library, Oxford University, Oxford, England (hereafter, RH); *Missionary Record*, June 2, 1873, p. 531. On West Indian racial systems in the nineteenth century, see Stanley L. Engerman and B. W. Higman, "The Demographic Structure of the Caribbean Slave Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," and Gad Heuman, "The Social Structure of the Slave Societies in the Caribbean," both in *The Slave Societies of the Caribbean*, Franklin W. Knight, ed. (London, 1997), 45–104, 138–68; Kevin D. Smith, "A Fragmented Freedom: The Historiography of Emancipation and Its Aftermath in the British West Indies," *Slavery and Abolition* 16 (April 1995): 113–22; Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "The Inconvenience of Freedom: Free People of Color and the Political Aftermath of Slavery in Dominica and Saint-Domingue/Haiti," in *The Meaning of Freedom: Economics, Politics, and Culture after Slavery*, Frank McGlynn and Seymour Drescher, eds. (Pittsburgh, 1992), 147–82; Patrick Bryan, *The Jamaican People, 1880–1902* (London, 1991), 67–91; Arnold A. Sío, "Marginality and Free Coloured Identity in Caribbean Slave Society," *Slavery and Abolition* 8 (September 1987): 166–82; Gad J. Heuman, "White over Brown over Black: The Free Coloureds in Jamaican Society during Slavery and after Emancipation," *Journal of Caribbean History* 14 (1981): 46–69; B. W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807–1834* (Cambridge, 1976), 139–53; Douglas Hall, "Jamaica," in *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*, David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds. (Baltimore, 1972), 193–213. David Lowenthal categorized Cayman as a society "differentiated by colour but not by class," also stating incorrectly that whites and non-whites do not marry; *West Indian Societies* (London, 1972), 77, 80.

[20] Patrick Bryan, "The Black Middle Class in Nineteenth-Century Jamaica," in *Caribbean Freedom:*

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In the United States, by contrast, African ancestry carried enough weight in the exercise of racial designation that North Americans who knew of Smiley's lineage could have called him "black." Certainly there is evidence that Eunice and her northern compatriots ascribed to a one-drop rule that would have placed Smiley in that personally unfamiliar category. When William G. Allen, a man who described himself as of "one-fourth African blood," was violently assaulted by white people upon his engagement to a white woman in New York in the 1850s, he observed, "Whatever a man may be, though, in personal appearance, he should be as fair as the fairest Anglo-Saxon, yet, if he have but one drop of the blood of the African flowing in his veins," no white woman was permitted to marry him. The African-American novelist Frank J. Webb likewise captured this axiom in his 1857 work, *The Garies and Their Friends*, which portrayed the virulent enforcement of a one-drop rule in antebellum Philadelphia. As one northern character informed the son of a slaveowner and a slave: "if you should settle down here, you'll have to be either one thing or other—white or coloured." Should the man choose to live as a white person in the North, he was advised that "it must never be known that you have a drop of African blood in your veins . . . no matter how fair in complexion or how white you may be."[21]

Yet at the same time, the term "mulatto" was familiar to nineteenth-century North Americans, and Smiley could have fit into that category as well, thereby destabilizing the black-white binary. Historians plotting the racial systems of the United States have situated the lower South, and especially cities such as New Orleans, Charleston, and Mobile, as closest to a tri-racial West Indian system.[22] Such tidy regional divisions, however, obscure apertures in the dominant binary system, beyond the well-trodden path of passing from black to white. In the face of antebellum legal rulings in the U.S. North that asserted a one-drop formulation

Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present, Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd, eds. (Kingston, 1993), 284–95; Smith, *Maritime Heritage*, 76–77; interview with Phoebe Watler Spence no. 4 (b. 1907), by Heather McLaughlin, December 4, 1990, MB, CINA, pp. 28–29; will of John Jarrett Conolly, Public Recorder's Records, March 21, 1878, XH/5/5, pp. 187–89, CINA; will of Thomas Dighton Conolly, Public Recorder's Records, September 28, 1906 (orig. January 17, 1894), XH/121/1, pp. 12–18, CINA; family Bible in possession of William Warren Conolly, East End, Grand Cayman. Also on Connolly professions, see East End Births, no. 28, November 4, 1885, XH/16/1/D7; no. 103, October 13, 1887, XH/16/1/M8; no. 129, July 25, 1888, XH/16/2/B6; no. 220, February 11, 1891, XH/16/2/I5; no. 301, August 28, 1893, XH/16/3/E1; no. 275, October 5, 1892, XH/16/9/F5; and East End Deaths, no. 230, October 21, 1912, XH/203/2/O5; all CINA; author's conversation with Lou Connolly Coleman (b. 1928), West Medford, Mass., March 11, 2000; Hirst, *Notes*, 143, 311, 313, 400. One observer wrote of the "formation of a middle class of inhabitants, chiefly coloured, independent of manual labour, and occupied in various branches of commercial industry" in the British West Indies; see Herman Merivale, *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (1861; rpt. edn., London, 1928), 337.

[21] William G. Allen, *The American Prejudice against Color: An Authentic Narrative* (London, 1853), 2, 7; Frank J. Webb, *The Garies and Their Friends* (1857; rpt. edn., Baltimore, 1997), 44.

[22] On a three-tier system in North America, see Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York, 1984); Williamson, *New People*; Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1974), 108–32, 162–65. On the use of "mulatto" in the colonial and antebellum North, see Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620–1776* (New York, 1942), 150, 207–10; James Oliver Horton, *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 122–45. Theodore Hershberg and Henry Williams found that those recorded as "mulatto" in 1850 but as "black" in 1860 had often experienced downward mobility; see "Mulattoes and Blacks: Intra-Group Color Differences and Social Stratification in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," in *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century*, Hershberg, ed. (New York, 1981), 397.

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comes contrary evidence that fractions of African ancestry could be overlooked, or even erased. In 1810, the Massachusetts Supreme Court defined "mulatto" as strictly one-half black and one-half white, ruling that the child of one mulatto parent and one white parent could not be classified as such. Although the judges offered no alternative (say, "white" or "quadroon"), the verdict nonetheless defied a one-drop system. "Who can tell the proportions and trace the mixtures of blood?" wondered a Connecticut lawyer in 1834. "Shall one half, one quarter, one twentieth, or at the least possible taint of negro blood, be sufficient to take from its possessor the citizen character?" As Massachusetts debated legalizing marriage between blacks and whites in the 1830s and 40s, one lawmaker queried, "How *far*, through how many generations, must African or Indian blood be diluted, before it can attain to respectability?" adding, "The truth is, it is extremely arbitrary."[23]

A series of court cases in antebellum Ohio affirmed that "all nearer white than black, or of the grade between the mulattoes and the whites" were entitled to the privileges of citizenship. In one suit, the court declared that ancestry ("blood"), rather than color, should be the determining factor in racial designation, yet simultaneously ruled that remote African ancestry could not dilute whiteness. Indeed, according to the justices in an 1852 inheritance case in Maine, the same laws that counted "any proportion of African blood" as nullifying whiteness, could still (however contradictorily) count people with one-eighth or less African ancestry as white—thus paralleling Jamaican law, which granted the privileges of whiteness to anyone removed a certain number of generations from African descent. The U.S. federal census of 1850 had been the first to enumerate "mulattoes," and census takers in 1870 were instructed to record as "mulatto" (as opposed to "black") all those possessing "any perceptible trace of African blood." The word "perceptible" made clear that the marshals were to rely on appearance rather than ancestry. If "African blood" was visible, it counted; otherwise, it disappeared. A system predicated on the duality of black and white, then, did not preclude an intermediate category. Nor was it possible for such a system to be based solely on genealogy. Rather, a black-white binary based on a one-drop definition of blackness coexisted with a middle category defined as much by visibility as by ancestry.[24]

[23] *Medway v. Natick*, 7 Mass. 88 (1810); *Crandall v. Connecticut*, 10 Conn. 339 (1834), 349; *Liberator*, March 10, 1843.

[24] *Parker Jeffries v. John Ankeny*, 11 Ohio 372 (1842), 375; *Williams v. School District*, Ohio Unreported Cases 1, 578 (1831); see also *Polly Gray v. Ohio*, 4 Ohio 353 (1829), 353–54; *Edwill Thacker v. John Hawk*, 11 Ohio 376 (1842); *Bailey v. Fiske*, 34 Maine 77 (1852); Carroll D. Wright, *History and Growth of the United States Census* (Washington, D.C., 1900), 147, 157. The Massachusetts state census of 1865 required a choice among white, black, mulatto, and Indian, with a presumably similar definition of "mulatto"; Oliver Warner, *Abstract of the Census of Massachusetts, 1865* (Boston, 1867), 235.

Sources disagree about the exact degree that conferred white privilege; see Long, *History of Jamaica*, 2: 261, 231, 321, 332; Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, 2 vols. (London, 1794), 2: 17; Matthew Gregory Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor, Kept during a Residence in the Island of Jamaica* (London, 1834), 106; R. R. Madden, *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1835), 1: 89; Matthew Gregory Lewis, *Journal of a Residence among the Negroes in the West Indies* (London, 1845), 55; Phillippo, *Jamaica*, 144. Southern state laws through the early twentieth century also varied as to the number of "generations removed" necessary to confer white privilege; see Charles S. Mangum, Jr., *The Legal Status of the Negro* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1940), 4–17. This could render individuals legally white but socially black; see Berlin, *Slaves without Masters*, 97–99, 365–66; Williamson, *New People*, 13–14, 65, 97–98.

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Not just in law but in daily life, too, North Americans created discourses about complexion, recognizing a range of skin colors beyond black and white. For one thing, North Americans who stepped ashore on Caribbean islands in the nineteenth century were adept at rejecting a two-category system that consisted of white people and undifferentiated people of African descent. Within their own communities, African Americans often spoke in terms beyond a black-white binary, and the antislavery activist and missionary Henry Highland Garnet likewise noted the "various hues of complexion" in his Jamaica congregation in the 1850s. But white people, too, could employ a wider vocabulary. A white New England woman traveling in the West Indies during the 1860s wrote of the "mixing of black, white and yellow," describing one servant as "mahogany." A white Philadelphian on St. Thomas in the 1860s wrote of "a great concourse of people" extending "from white to ebony," and a white northerner who sailed to the Spanish and British West Indies in the 1870s described women who were "blackest ebony, orange tawney, or café-au-lait."[25]

The spectrum of complexions was no narrower in North America, and it is possible as well to find similar enumerations of color at home. Abolitionists in New York offered examples of enslaved people who were shockingly white in appearance, describing "ruddy" or (echoing a common West Indian term) "clear" complexions. A lecturer before the Boston Society of Natural History in 1860 told of "a colored pic-nic party . . . of all hues, from the darkest black to a color approaching white." When the District of Columbia abolished slavery in 1862, masters filled out forms that required an identifying description of each former bondperson, and the notations there ranged from dark black, dark brown, and chestnut, to copper-colored and bright yellow, to pale yellow and "nearly white." When African-American men from Massachusetts volunteered to fight in the Civil War, the enlistment rolls included a column for "complexion" that carried notations of black, mulatto, colored, and dark, with occasional invocations of ebony, brown, medium, coffee, yellow, and light. Moreover, it was not only African-American soldiers whose color was evaluated and recorded, but the same officers filled in the column marked "complexion" for every man. The two most common terms for white recruits were "dark" and "light," invoked about equally, but other white men were sandy, florid, ruddy, muddy, medium, sallow, pale, swarthy, fair, and fresh. The term "dark" (and, less often, "light") notably was employed for black and white soldiers alike, and there were instances in which a volunteer for the black Fifty-fourth Massachusetts was described as "dark," followed immediately by a volunteer for a white regiment, also described as "dark."[26]

[25] Henry Highland Garnet quoted in John McKerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh, 1867), 341; Mary Gardiner Davis Journal, 1861–1863, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, pp. 28, 228; George Truman, *Journal of Rachel Wilson Moore, Kept during a Tour to the West Indies and South America, in 1863–64* (Philadelphia, 1867), 214; W. P. Talboys, *West India Pickles: Diary of a Cruise through the West Indies in the Yacht Josephine* (New York, 1876), 45.

[26] "White Slavery in the United States," Anti-Slavery Tracts, no. 2 (New York, 1855), 6, 7; J. L. Baker, *Slavery* (Philadelphia, 1860), 9; Emancipation Papers Resulting from the Act of April 16, 1862, M433, Records of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia Relating to Slaves, Record Group 21, NA; Descriptive Lists of Recruits for Massachusetts Volunteers, 1863–64, Middlesex County and Suffolk County, 477X, MSA.

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The attention to complexion in these kinds of inventories parallels the slave registration returns of the British Caribbean. Far from uniform, and rarely dependent on any precise knowledge of individual lineage, these returns recorded an array of colors, including black, brown, red, copper, yellow, light, and clear (sometimes modified by "dark," "very," "rather," or simply "-ish"), accompanied by terms such as Negro, mulatto, quadroon, sambo, mustee, mestizo, and griffe. True, the U.S. federal census at mid-century narrowed all individuals to white, black, and mulatto, but so, too, did British Caribbean censuses in the nineteenth century. The Jamaican census of 1844 pressed residents into the categories of white, brown, and black, just as Cayman's 1855 tables permitted only white, colored, and black. Scholars have most often contrasted the limited categories of the U.S. federal census with the continuum of colors found in Caribbean slave returns, but such a comparison is mismatched. A census offers a legal count, and both U.S. and British West Indian censuses during parts of the nineteenth century restricted individuals to three categories. Caribbean slave returns, with their more complicated scale of colors, are more properly compared to similar kinds of descriptive lists generated in the United States (of former slaves or Civil War soldiers, for example) that were intended, like the Caribbean slave returns, to identify particular individuals.[27]

By comparing descriptive lists from both regions, the finer gradations of U.S. color perceptions and discourses come to light. Indeed, when Eunice and her New England family exchanged information about their own coloring, they invoked vocabulary that mirrored the common West Indian descriptions of "fair" and "dark." One sister described her own son as "fair and white"; the sister's daughter, according to Eunice, had "eyes like two black coals," "hair like the ravens wing," and "skin neither to[o] dark or to[o] fair"; and Eunice's daughter from her first marriage had "very white fair skin." As for Eunice herself, a lone photograph (only as reliable as any image captured on film) portrays her as a dark-haired, perhaps olive-skinned woman. (See Figure 1.) Maybe Eunice made a point of describing her newborn daughter's "very white fair skin" because she thought of herself, by contrast, as dark. Discussion of newborns' coloring might have been innocent news, but it might also point to the anxieties of white women who toiled in the same realm as Irish factory operatives and Irish and black domestics.[28]

When Smiley Connolly arrived in New England in the 1860s, then, he might have been described as "black," "mulatto," or some variation thereof, but it is also likely that in certain venues he passed for white. The column asking for "color of groom and bride" on the couple's Massachusetts marriage license remained blank, the same as for the vast majority of those on the roster, indicating that the clerk assumed both parties to be white, and that no corrections were offered. Perhaps the Irish last name helped, too. Whether Eunice believed the sea captain to be a white

[27] Higman, *Slave Populations*, 154–56, and for an extensive list of slaves' colors in St. Lucia and Berbice, see 527, 529. Holt, *Problem of Freedom*, 215; *Missionary Record*, November 1, 1855, p. 190 (censuses). As one scholar writes of Trinidad's slave registration records, "the detailed colour scale does not seem to have been employed in everyday life, but chiefly when it was necessary to describe someone with particular accuracy"; Carl Campbell, "Trinidad's Free Coloureds in Comparative Perspectives," in Shepherd and Beckles, *Caribbean Slavery*, 601.

[28] Ellen Merrill to Lois Davis, Manchester, N.H., January 30, 1857; Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, Mobile, Ala., March 3, 1861; Eunice Stone to Charles Henry Richardson and Lois Davis, Claremont, N.H., December 7, 1862, all in LWRD. The photograph is also in LWRD; see Figure 1.

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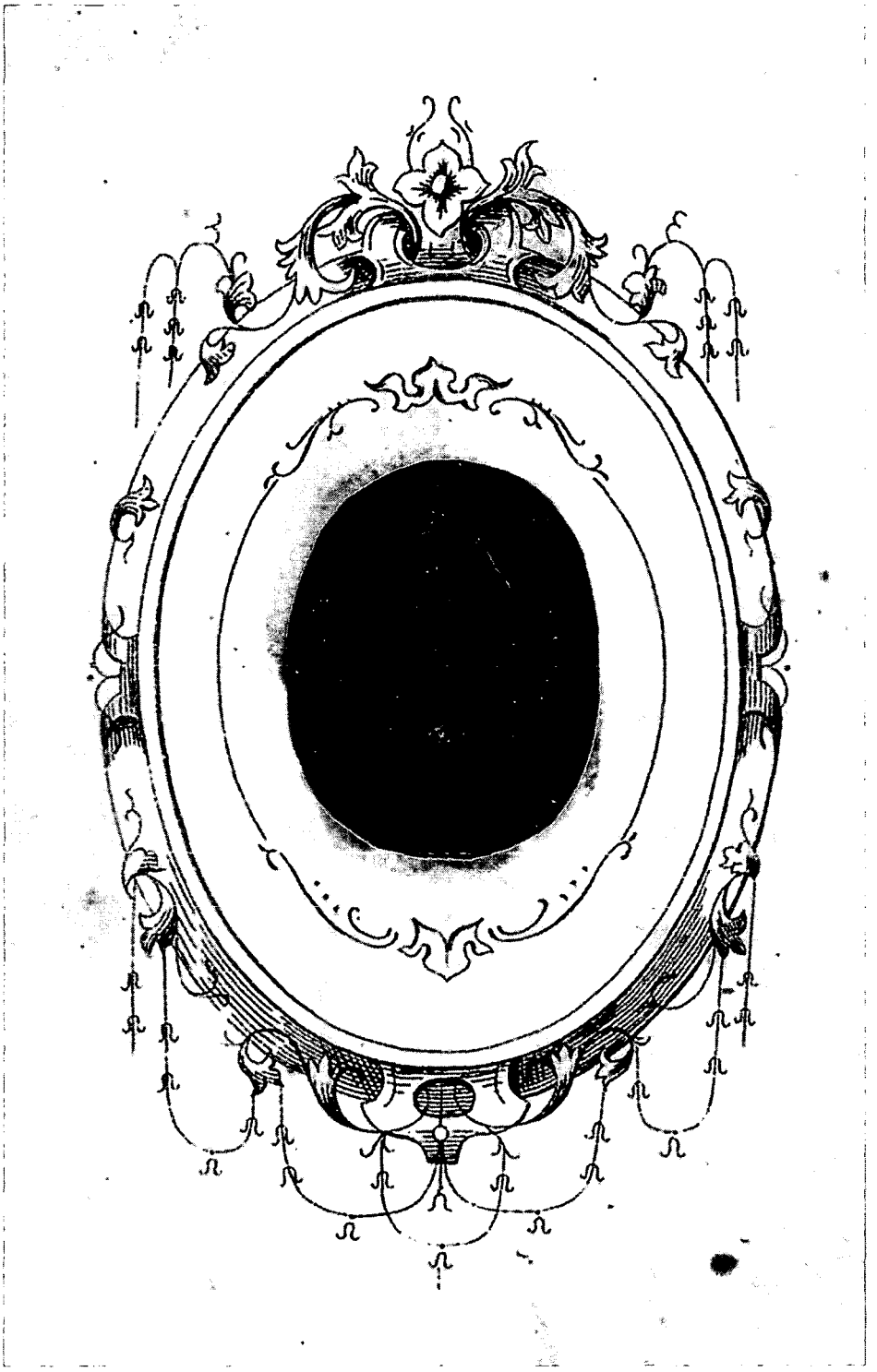


FIGURE 1: This photograph is labeled "Eunice Stone? ca. 1863," employing the surname of her first husband. No image exists of William Smiley Connolly. Courtesy of the Lois Wright Richardson Davis Papers, Duke University Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Durham, North Carolina.

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man when she first encountered him remains unknown, but as she stated unequivocally when commenting on the happy marriage of a sister some years later, "I would not change Husbands with her, if hers has got a white skin. I know mine has not." And that is precisely the point. Smiley may have passed on his wedding day, thereby illuminating the ways in which mutable perceptions can diminish the power of racial classification to circumscribe a person's life. Yet within the confines of the neighborhood, it was well understood that Eunice had (to put it in U.S. terms) married across the color line. Recalling a local gossip who disapproved, Eunice wrote, "I can't quite get over some of her slurs," and to her mother Eunice explained that she could not have given up Smiley "even though public opinion was against *him* and against *me* on *his* account." Some members of Eunice's family shared in that opinion. Though ardent supporters of the Union during the Civil War, the family (like most white Northerners) did not oppose slavery on moral grounds, nor did they champion racial equality. Eunice's brother Henry, who had returned to New England a celebrated Union veteran, offered the harshest condemnation. As Eunice confessed to her mother just before she sailed for Grand Cayman, "I wanted to tell Brother Henry how much I had always loved him and how his treatment had pained me." It is not difficult to imagine Henry wondering angrily why he had fought to free the "darkies" (his word), only to find one marrying his sister.[29]

Other family members, though, were more accommodating. "I have the kindest regard for your husband," another sibling told Eunice, "hope he will think of me as a sister for as such I esteam him." That kind of affection might reflect nothing more than garden-variety racism, in which a friend is set apart from all other, unknown, people of color. As one immigrant to nineteenth-century Lowell from the Caribbean island of Nevis put it, "After all the obstacles had been overcome—the obstacles of race and color, paramount objectives in the eyes of prejudice—I became very popular amongst my neighbors." Eunice's family may also have kept their fondness for Smiley confined to a private sphere. The antislavery activist Charlotte Forten noted of her Salem, Massachusetts, schoolmates in the 1850s: "I have met girls in the schoolroom—they have been thoroughly kind and cordial to me—perhaps the next day met them in the street—they feared to recognize me." Or the family's accommodation might have stemmed in part from Smiley's complexion. The division between "black" and "mulatto" codified in the U.S. (and Massachusetts) censuses also operated informally, with lighter-skinned people of African descent suffering comparatively less racial discrimination. In Boston in the 1860s and 1870s, those of mixed descent were more likely to be literate, skilled, and better off than their darker neighbors. In Smiley's case, class status likely mattered, too. Because the majority of African Americans in northern cities were poor, Eunice's family may have perceived him, with his impressive schooners and trade goods, less as a man of color than as a well-to-do foreigner with a British accent. Indeed, foreigners did not always readily divide into established racial categories, thereby

[29] Massachusetts Vital Records, Dracut, 1869, vol. 218, p. 166, MSA; Eunice Connolly to Lois Davis, East End, Grand Cayman, March 7, 1870; Eunice Connolly to Lois Davis, Provincetown, Mass., November 13, 1869 (part of William S. Connolly to Lois Davis), LWRD. See also Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 163–237.

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working to destabilize the binary in another way. In the slave South, for example, a claim of Spanish or Portuguese nationality could erase counter-claims of blackness. For Smiley in New England, British nationality may have accomplished the same end.[30]

Mulatto, white, rich, British, foreign: just as in the Caribbean, malleable perceptions of Smiley Connolly's status and complexion could move him away from blackness. But that mutability worked just as often to oppress as to liberate, and that, again, is the point. If one day white people welcomed Smiley as a British captain conducting important business in the port, another day they scorned him as a lowly black man scandalizing the neighborhood. Within the most local terrain, Smiley suffered the slurs of neighbors and the wrath of in-laws. That treatment in the neighborhood, and even in the very home of the woman he was to marry, made palpable to him, and in turn to Eunice, the often-unyielding power of racial classification, no matter how fluid or mutable those classifications might be. Surely there were days in post–Civil War Massachusetts when Captain Connolly was startled that a man such as he should be treated so poorly, for that treatment contrasted sharply with the ways in which he had always categorized and ranked himself. In order to maintain that ranking, Smiley and his new bride had little choice but to depart North America, and in fact they set sail just one week after the wedding.

When Smiley returned to the Cayman Islands with Eunice, he again embodied the more familiar status of a West Indian colored man. Most especially within East End, Grand Cayman's darker and poorer side, the Connolly family enjoyed considerable standing. Educated and literate, they were "better" than others; they were "the important people," descendants recall. According to a great-granddaughter of one of Smiley's brothers, the Connollys "always had a big sway over here," and the couple's nineteenth-century letters bear out such memories. Upon his return with Eunice, Smiley began to build "a large House in American style," as he wrote to New England, much fancier than the common wattle-and-daub cottages, and with "an American Carpenter to do the work." (Descendants still recall that "big house" with its "big veranda," since destroyed in a hurricane.) As one East Ender recently explained, "it didn't matter what colour you were" if you were a sea captain, since discrimination took the form "more like a little class prejudice than colour prejudice." In Eunice's new West Indian home, components of class—connections to the maritime economy, the hiring of others to perform manual labor—formed key elements in the assignment of racial categories. And by bringing home a white wife (whose lowly origins likely never needed to be known), Smiley edged still closer to whiteness himself.[31]

[30] Ann McCoy to Eunice Connolly, Dracut, Mass., February 16, 1870 (unsent), LWRD; Rachel Frances Levy, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Levy* (Lawrence, Mass., 1871), 73; *The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimké*, Brenda Stevenson, ed. (New York, 1988), 140; Horton, *Free People of Color*, 122–45; Elizabeth Hafkin Pleck, *Black Migration and Poverty: Boston, 1865–1900* (New York, 1979); Horton and Horton, *In Hope of Liberty*, 101–24. Willard B. Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880–1920* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990), 149–81, writes that post–Civil War elite African Americans based status on a combination of ancestry, color, wealth, education, occupation, and gentility, both distancing themselves from other blacks and championing civil rights. On foreigners, see Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*; Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 97, 100, 105, 119.

[31] Author's telephone conversation with James T. Conolly, Brooklyn, N.Y., November 11, 1996

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An illuminating shard of evidence emerges from Eunice's descriptions of her domestic life on Grand Cayman, where she was entitled to household help. "I have always had a woman do my washing and ironing and washing out my house," she wrote to her mother. Eunice explained that her servant did "all that and my other work too," describing her as "a good respectable trusty girl," before adding, "I think much of her although she is a black girl." Those words expose Eunice's own racism, expressed freely to her New England relatives, but they also reveal Smiley's place in a non-binary hierarchy of color that Eunice would have learned from her West Indian neighbors. If Eunice did not think of Smiley as white in New England, neither did she think of him as black in the West Indies. Although both her husband and her servant were of African descent, her servant was "black," while her husband, the ship captain, belonged to the more elite category of "colored." None of Smiley's letters offers a hint of his own ideas, but certainly he agreed with his wife's assessment of their servant as trustworthy despite her blackness. A white New Yorker in Jamaica in 1850 observed that, whereas relations between "the whites and the colored people" were growing ever more cordial, "a very different state of feeling exists between the negroes or Africans, and the browns." This traveler elaborated, "The latter shun all connection by marriage with the former, and can experience no more unpardonable insult, than to be classified with them in any way." A Scotsman in Jamaica likewise found that many of the colored population would "scarcely stoop to shake hands with the blacks, whom they regard with disdain." The "browns," this man noted, "deem their half Saxon descent and partial whiteness reasonable grounds for treating haughtily their Ethiopian fellow-subjects." Or in the words of another observer, "the antagonism between the brown and the black is greater than that of either against the white."[32]

Smiley Connolly's respective classifications in New England and Grand Cayman set in relief the mutability of racial denomination and gradation across national borders, as well as the differences between the two systems. Speculating about Smiley, William Warren Conolly, a great-grandson of Smiley's half-brother, put it this way: "If he wasn't white, he could pass for white." That phrasing proves illuminating, coming from a man who grew up in East End, traveled the world in the American Merchant Marine, lived in New York City, and returned to Cayman, for it combines the workings of different racial systems. The rumination that Smiley's complexion permitted him to "pass for white" applied to his status in North America. As for Smiley's status in the West Indies, the phrasing implies that Smiley might have been *accepted as* white, despite the fact that one of his parents was

(untaped); interview with Cecily Pierson no. 2 (b. 1916), by Heather McLaughlin, April 3, 1991, pp. 6–7, MB, CINA; Cleopathra Conolly to author, East End, Grand Cayman, August 9, 2001; Hirst, *Notes*, 136 (on literacy). On the house, see William S. Connolly to Lois Davis, East End, Grand Cayman, October 16, 1872, LWRD; Theoline Conolly McCoy conversation, July 13, 1999. Interview with Phoebe Watler Spence no. 3, by Heather McLaughlin, December 4, 1990, MB, CINA, p. 30 (class/color).

[32] Eunice Connolly to Lois Davis, East End, Grand Cayman, August 25, 1870 (part of May 16 letter), LWRD; John Bigelow, *Jamaica in 1850: or, The Effects of Sixteen Years of Freedom on a Slave Colony* (New York, 1851), 25–27; David King, *The State and Prospects of Jamaica* (London, 1850), 59–60, 65; Madden, *Twelvemonth's Residence*, 1: 145. See also Trollope, *West Indies*, 74, 81, 97; Mrs. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured, and Negro Population of the West Indies* (London, 1833), 70; Edward Bean Underhill, *The West Indies: Their Social and Religious Condition* (London, 1862), 192, 225.

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known to be of African descent. (In this light, Smiley may not have believed himself to be deceiving the marriage clerk at all.)[33]

The descendant's formulation indicates less an emphasis on lineage than on class and color, and perceptions of other descendants shed further light. Family members recall Smiley's much younger brother Laban as a "white man" and one son from Smiley's first marriage as a "big white man." Memories of Smiley's son Cornelius (he died in 1932, a prominent mariner and East End shopkeeper) range from "darkish brown" to "quadroon" to "very white." As for Smiley himself, a descendant born in 1903 thought he was one of five "brown-skin" children. Vagaries of time and memory must be taken into account, but it is also important to understand that such descriptions could rest on class status, so that a man might be understood (or remembered) as light or white precisely because he was a successful sea captain. If Eunice's family back in New England strived to claim and prove respectability, Smiley's family in East End did the same. If Eunice's labor alongside Irish and black women made it difficult for her family to distinguish themselves from those they hoped to keep beneath them, then the upward mobility of Smiley and his brothers allowed the Connolly family to realize those same kinds of distinctions.[34]

Moreover, in all of these perceptions, "brown" and "white" could be as closely allied for West Indians as were "mulatto" and "black" for North Americans. Smiley Connolly's experiences in New England and the British Caribbean illuminate an important difference: in Massachusetts, if Smiley did not formally belong to the *category* of white, he might still pass for the *color* white. In Cayman, by contrast, he may not have been the *color* white, but that was understood to be so ambiguous a designation that he could still belong to the *category* of white. The more significant distinction between the two systems, then, lay not in a binary versus a ternary configuration but in the placement of the middle category. Whereas in the United States, "mulatto" lay closer to "black," in the British West Indies, those labeled "colored" could be counted as closer to "white." Indeed, missionary census takers on Grand Cayman in 1855 had formulated one category for "black" inhabitants and another, separate category for "white and coloured" inhabitants. No doubt unable to sort islanders' descriptions of themselves (and their neighbors) with any uniformity, the missionaries plainly noted that it was "impracticable to distinguish between the white and coloured population." (See Figure 2.) As another missionary discovered, black people in Cayman were buried in segregated cemetery plots, while white and colored residents shared a final resting place. Such an arrangement stemmed as much or more from class as from complexion, evident in the observed divisions set down by a *New York Times* correspondent that beneath the planter aristocracy in the British West Indies stood "the middle class, composed alike of white and colored mechanics, and the lower orders, which are the black laborers." If within the U.S. system, generations of one family could openly shift between

[33] William Warren Conolly conversation, July 22, 1998.

[34] Interview with Elderly Residents of East End no. 1, by Anita Ebanks, 1982, MB, CINA, p. 15; author's conversation with Dorothy McLean Welcome (b. 1917, a Conolly on her mother's side), East End, Grand Cayman, July 15, 1999; Theoline Conolly McCoy conversation, July 13, 1999; author's conversation with Lou Connolly Coleman, East End, Grand Cayman, August 27, 2000; Aurellia Conolly interview, p. 4.

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Districts.	Number of Houses.	Upwards of 20 years.		Between 10 and 20.		Under 10.		Total Inhabitants.	White and Coloured.	Black.	Natives.	Not Natives.	Can read and write.	Can read only.	Cannot read.	Married.	Living in Concubinage or Fornication.	Houses in which there are Bibles or Testaments.
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.									Cpls.	Pers.	
George Town,.....	117	113	122	50	50	110	114	559	247	312	533	26	88	141	330	85	12	72
West Bay,.....	36	36	40	39	11	42	24	192	142	50	175	17	6	45	141	25	1	15
Prospect and S. W. Sound,...	75	91	103	29	26	56	90	395	264	131	379	16	109	66	220	59	12	52
Bodden Town & neighbourhood	85	93	102	46	48	95	99	483	219	264	474	9	75	122	286	62	5	56
North side, ...	18	20	20	2	8	14	10	74	60	14	74	—	—	8	66	12	2	2
East end,.....	54	56	64	29	20	67	50	286	165	121	284	2	20	32	234	46	4	50
Total,.....	385	512	451	195	163	384	387	1989	1097	892	1919	70	298	414	1277	289	36	247
		963		358		771												

On the preceding table of statistics, we have to make the following explanatory remarks:—

1. It was found impracticable to distinguish between the white and coloured population; and they are, therefore, set down in one column—their total number being 1097. The greater proportion of these, however, are persons of colour, but, of course, of various shades of complexion.

2. To account for the comparatively small number of "blacks," it is worthy of notice, that a considerable *emigration* has, during the last fourteen years, taken place—

FIGURE 2: The 1855 census of Grand Cayman Island included one column for "Black" residents and another single column for "White and Coloured" residents. Missionary census takers explained that it was "impracticable to distinguish between" the last two categories. *United Presbyterian Missionary Record*, November 1, 1855. Courtesy of the Cayman Islands National Archive, George Town, Grand Cayman.

black and mulatto, then in the British West Indies, generations could shift between colored and white. In New England, Smiley Connolly's ancestry ultimately—that is, in a particular local neighborhood and within his new wife's family—placed him closer to blackness. In East End, Grand Cayman, his status and color ultimately placed him closer to whiteness. There, he was a respected mariner who lived in a big house, employed a black servant, and brought home a white wife.[35]

[35] *Missionary Record*, November 1, 1855, p. 190; "A Wesleyan Missionary in Grand Cayman, 1837," acc. no. 177, CINA; William G. Sewell, *The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies* (New York, 1861), 37. In Dominica in 1845, residents protested a census that would enforce "distinctions between the whites and coloured"; *Dominica: Copies or Extracts of Despatches Relating to the Disturbances in the Island of Dominica* (London, 1845), 115. In the nineteenth-century Bahamas, "some locally acknowledged whites were of mixed descent"; Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People*, 2 vols. (Athens, Ga., 1998), 2: 90. Ann Twinam's study of legitimation petitions in colonial Spanish America concludes that a classification of "white" could be "achieved" if not ascribed at birth; see *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, Calif., 1999), 25–26, 130–31, 306–11.

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BUT WAS EUNICE CONNOLLY A WHITE WIFE? Here we arrive at the part of the story in which Eunice's life intersects most starkly with the mercurial nature and abiding power of racial classification. Just as Smiley Connolly's racial designation proved mutable, so, too, did Eunice live with ambiguities of categorization following her marriage to a man of African descent. Just as Smiley experienced tensions between the ways in which others sought to label him and the ways in which he thought of himself, so, too, did Eunice resist the racialized judgments of others and seek to claim a racial status of her own. That resistance would succeed only with departure, not just from the neighborhood but from the United States altogether.

Again, much as ancestry was most often the legal and social determinant of whiteness in the nineteenth-century United States, a certain porousness nonetheless prevailed in daily life. Ideologies about class and gender came into play, since poverty could intervene to cloud the supposed or ideal immaculacy of white womanhood. A woman's behavior mattered, too. In New England, as Eunice's sinking class standing pushed her to the margins of white womanhood, that precarious status became more fragile still upon marriage to a man of color. In the words of Rainier Spencer, "What was it about blackness that allowed it to be mixed with whiteness and yet stay black? And conversely, what was it about whiteness that caused it to be corrupted irretrievably by one drop of black blood?" Such asymmetry, where it operated, rested on the ideological equation of whiteness and purity, but the notion of "purity" did not rest solely on ancestry. The idea of pure ("Anglo-Saxon") bloodlines could shade over into another, gendered meaning of purity: the idea of sexual chastity for white women, determined by those who held power to define and to sanction, whether as magistrates or as rumormongers. In tandem came the idea of blackness (or, more literally, African ancestry) as a product that tarnished purity, not only of "blood" but also of morals.[36]

In one sense, Eunice's poverty and her marriage across the U.S. color line went hand in hand: white women who married black men in the nineteenth-century North tended to be poor, indeed, often Irish. Mid-nineteenth-century visitors to one of New York City's poorest enclaves were offended by intimacy between Irish women and black men, whose liaisons and marriages can also be documented in census returns. During the New York City draft riots of 1863, an Irishman himself led a mob targeting "a nigger living here with two white women" (perhaps his wife and light-skinned daughter), threatening to "burn him" and "hang him on the lamppost." In mid-century Philadelphia, Irish rioters likewise attacked a tavern whose black proprietor had married an Irish woman. When northern Democrats coined the pejorative term "miscegenation" in 1864 (from the Latin *miscere*, "to mix" and *genus*, "race"), they caricatured such liaisons by claiming that "the white Irishwoman loves the black man," despite the fact that the Irish were "a more brutal race and lower in civilization than the negro." (See Figure 3.) If Eunice's Anglo lineage did not match this stereotype, her economic circumstances placed her close enough. The outcast white woman Mag Smith (perhaps she was Irish?) who married

[36] Rainier Spencer, "Race and Mixed-Race: A Personal Tour," in *As We Are Now: Mixblood Essays on Race and Identity*, William S. Penn, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 135. On the idea of white purity, see Virginia R. Domínguez, "Exporting U.S. Concepts of Race: Are There Limits to the U.S. Model?" *Social Research* 65 (Summer 1998): 384. On Anglo-Saxonism, see Nina Baym, "Onward Christian Women: Sarah J. Hale's History of the World," *New England Quarterly* 63 (June 1990): 249–70.

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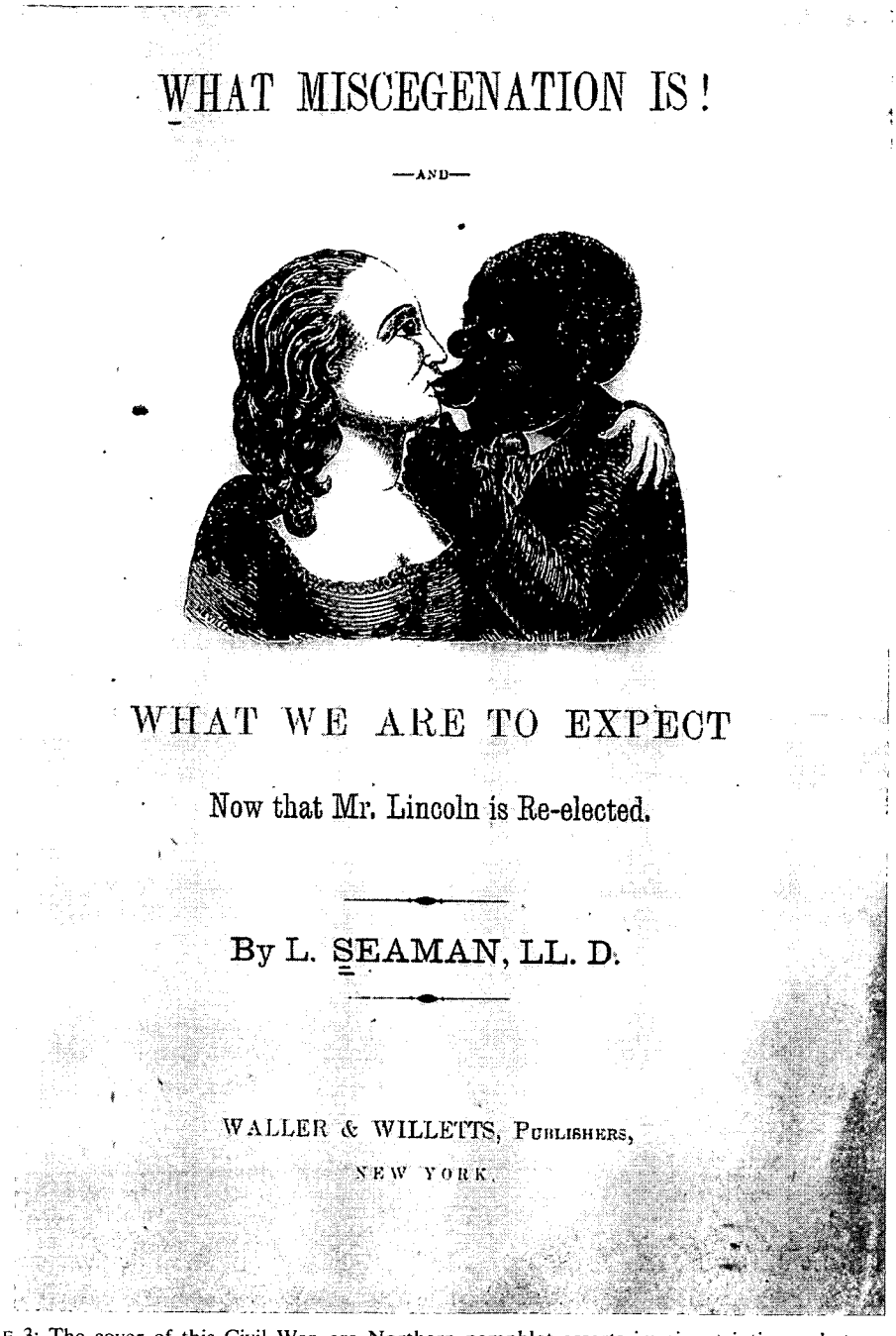


FIGURE 3: The cover of this Civil War–era Northern pamphlet asserts imminent intimacy between white women and black men as a consequence of emancipation. Surrounding discourses cast consenting white women as depraved. L. Seaman, *What Miscegenation Is!* (New York, 1864), AC905 Box.S4386 W4. Courtesy of the Collection of the New-York Historical Society.

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a black man in Harriet Wilson's 1859 autobiographical novel, *Our Nig: or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black*, earned her living the same way Eunice did: as a washerwoman.[37]

Although marriage between blacks and whites had been legal in Massachusetts since 1843, a white woman of the upper or middle classes would have much to lose by union with a man of color. As a working-class woman, Eunice had less to lose, but her decision nonetheless tarnished (in the eyes of her brother and some white neighbors) both her "blood" and her chastity. Cheryl I. Harris has written astutely about whiteness as a form of property, yet that property was not always inalienable. Recall the slurs that Eunice suffered and the "public opinion" that stood "against" her. To many New Englanders, it mattered little that Eunice had married a man who could lift her out of poverty, since he was also a man of African descent. Other northern white women who crossed the color line suffered similar social consequences. In 1795, a New Englander sneered that white women who married black men were "without exception, of the lowest class in society, both for education and morals." In 1833, Lydia Maria Child (actually writing in defense of mixed marriage) remarked, "Under existing circumstances, none but those whose condition in life is too low to be much affected by public opinion, will form such alliances." A legal commentator cited by a Connecticut court in 1834, put it this way, speaking of the "African race": "Marriages are forbidden between them and whites . . . and when not absolutely contrary to law, they are revolting, and regarded as an offence against public decorum." William Allen, the man whom white New Yorkers assaulted in the 1850s, observed that a white woman who wed a black man would be "rendering herself an almost total outcast." The character of Mag Smith in Wilson's autobiographical novel was a working-class white woman in New England who (like Eunice) improved her economic status by marrying a man of color, but she "descended another step down the ladder of infamy" in the process. "She was now expelled from companionship with white people," Wilson wrote, "this last step—her union with a black—was the climax of repulsion." It was less that a woman like Eunice (working-class and about to marry a black man) forfeited the designation of "white"; rather, the perceived purity required to partake of the privileges of white womanhood did not rest exclusively on ancestry. In standards of behavior and personal association, transgressing white women like Eunice surrendered respectability (already, for Eunice, compromised by poverty), thereby suffering expulsion from a local community, as well as from part of her family.[38]

[37] Hodges, "'Desirable Companions,'" 112, 122–24; *People v. John Leavy and John Leavy, Jr.*, Indictments, October 28, 1863, New York City Municipal Archives; Bruce Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia, 1980), 156–57; David Goodman Croly, *Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro* (New York, 1864), 30. And see Leslie M. Harris, "From Abolitionist Amalgamators to 'Rulers of the Five Points': The Discourse of Interracial Sex and Reform in Antebellum New York City," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, Martha Hodes, ed. (New York, 1999), 199–207; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North* (New York, 1999), 22–24; Harriet E. Wilson, *Our Nig: or, Sketches from the Life of a Free Black* (1859; rpt. edn., New York, 1983), 9, 22.

[38] *Acts and Resolves Passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1843), 4; Louis Ruchames, "Race, Marriage, and Abolition in Massachusetts," *Journal of Negro History* 40 (July 1955): 250–73; Cheryl I. Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106 (June 1993): 1707–91; Jeremy Belknap, "Queries Respecting the Slavery and Emancipation of Negroes in Massachusetts," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser., vol. 4 (Boston, 1795), 209; Lydia Maria Child, *An Appeal*

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Slippage of this sort held fewer consequences for men. When the white abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison proclaimed at the 1859 New England Colored Citizens' Convention in Boston that "nothing had gratified him so much as the reputation which he had gained of being a black man," he meant to imply the racial equality of black and white people. Although his detractors equated such rhetoric with dreaded "amalgamation," Garrison and his male allies could weather such accusations without judgments about personal purity. If white men identified themselves with black people, their enemies might pronounce them disruptive, even dangerous, but those were qualities quite different from the powerlessness of utter degradation. When Massachusetts legislators debated repealing the ban against marriages between blacks and whites, the opposition called such unions unnatural, immoral, and disgusting, warning of the dilution of white purity by animalistic people of African descent. Very occasionally, these opponents mentioned white men and black women, but mostly they reserved their warnings for "the blue-eyed daughters of the Anglo-Saxon lineage" and "the dark African" man, taking up such refrains as, "Every parent would rather follow his daughter to the grave, than to see her married to a black man." If Eunice's own mother accepted the marriage to Smiley with reservations, other New Englanders rejected Eunice entirely, for her actions had, in those minds, revoked whatever vestiges of the privileges of white womanhood Eunice had retained as a poor, laboring, husbandless, and at times homeless mother of two young children. Indeed, before the marriage to Smiley, Eunice earned her living not only the same way as Mag Smith did (as a washerwoman) but also the same way as Mag Smith's free black daughter: as a domestic servant and sewer of palm-leaf hats. (See Figure 4.) Upon marriage to Smiley Connolly, Eunice saw her status in the neighborhood decline to as lowly as any she had known before, maybe worse.[39]

in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans (1833; rpt. edn., Amherst, Mass., 1996), 187; *Crandall v. Connecticut*, 10 Conn. 339 (1834), 346; Allen, *American Prejudice*, 7; Wilson, *Our Nig*, 13, 15. Wilson resided in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, including Hillsborough County and Goffstown, N.H., where some of Eunice's relatives lived around the same time; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Introduction," *Our Nig*, xiv–xvii.

On white women, class, and purity, see Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 198–202; and on white womanhood constructed in relation to non-white femininity, see Hazel V. Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist* (New York, 1987), 20–39; Louise Michele Newman, *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States* (New York, 1999), esp. 22–85; Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70 (September 1998): 581–606. Joel Williamson writes of the post-Reconstruction South that "whites could easily descend into blackness if they failed in morality"; *New People*, 108. Victoria Bynum found that "many whites considered even living among African Americans grounds for being socially defined as one"; "Misshapen Identity: Memory, Folklore, and the Legend of Rachel Knight," in Hodes, *Sex, Love, Race*, 239. Ann Laura Stoler notes that European women (often lower-class) who married non-European men demonstrated, in the eyes of colonial authorities, moral degradation sufficient to deserve demotion to native status; "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 217–22.

[39] *Liberator*, August 26, 1859; Harris, "Abolitionist Amalgamators," 194. For the marriage law debates, see *Liberator*, March 10, 1843, May 21, 1831, February 25, 1842, March 15, 1839. Wilson, *Our Nig*, 124, 133; Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, Claremont, N.H., February 8, March 29, April 30, May 22, July 12, 1863, and Clarence Stone to Lois Davis, Claremont, N.H., February 1, 1863, LWRD (sewing hats). The ambivalence of Eunice's mother is apparent in Eunice's continual reassurances in the letters from Cayman. On the gendered rhetoric of "amalgamation," see Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 150–54. On the idea of intimacy across the color line as a violation of nature, see Elise Lemire, *"Miscegenation": Making Race in America* (Philadelphia, 2002), esp. 53–144.

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THE IDYLL OF THE PALM-LEAF HAT.—FROM A DRAWING BY J. H. HYDE.—SEE PAGE 287.

FIGURE 4: Like other working-class women, Eunice Connolly braided palm-leaf hats in addition to undertaking domestic labor. Unlike the well-dressed women in this idealized image, however, Eunice performed the work by herself. "The Idyll of the Palm Leaf Hat," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, July 15, 1871, E171.L63. Courtesy of the Collection of the New-York Historical Society.

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When Eunice Connolly accompanied her new husband to the West Indies, and moved into the freedpeople's settlement of East End on Grand Cayman Island, she experienced something quite different. If Eunice's beloved brother never spoke to her again, if New England neighbors slandered her, then as Eunice herself articulated from Cayman in a pointed reference to the hostilities of Massachusetts, Smiley was "in his own home now and feels at liberty to act all the love he feels for me without fear of disturbing anyone." Smiley's letters, too, reveal a certain ease and defiance, as when he imparted that Eunice "look[s] more beautiful to me every day" or mentioned that she was "teasing me for a kiss." Certainly Eunice and Smiley crafted letters for a family ambivalent and anxious about the marriage and departure, and certainly post-emancipation Cayman was no racial utopia. Yet the relief Eunice felt there resulted from Smiley's high local status, as well as from the fact that marriages across shades of color were common and the majority of the population openly claimed mixed European and African descent.[40]

Eunice's life in the British Caribbean would be profoundly affected not only by this widespread mixture but also by the West Indian correspondence between the categories of "colored" and "white." When asked if Eunice would have been the only white person in the freedpeople's settlement of East End in the 1870s, one descendant mentioned two other families who were "considered white" even though they had "some colored blood," asserting that Eunice would therefore not have stood out. These speculations are supported by nineteenth-century evidence. Writing about the colored majority in the West Indies in 1860, the African-American visitor J. Dennis Harris observed of whites that "the easiest way for them is to allow themselves to be peacefully absorbed by the colored race in these regions." The impression that white people could be "absorbed" by those of African descent indicates a level of racial interchangeability between "white" and "colored" that lent new meaning to Eunice's racial status in the islands. Recall that, although no one in Cayman disputed Smiley's African ancestry, he could still be classified as white, and that census takers in Cayman in 1855 had found it overly burdensome to

[40] Eunice Connolly to Lois Davis, East End, Grand Cayman, March 7, 1870; William S. Connolly to Lois Davis, Provincetown, Mass., November 13, 1869, LWRD. On post-emancipation racial conflicts, see "Diary of Occurrences at the Caymanas," Dispatch no. 33, June 1835, PRO: CO 137/199, pp. 286, 287; Reports of Andrew Malcolm to Mico Charity, Grand Cayman, May 3, 1839, and May 5, July 7, 1840, E1/1 and E1/2, RH. A descendant recalled that a grandmother who "didn't own a drop of coloured blood" had married a "mulatto," and another Caymanian recounted, "My father was dark, but now my mother she was clear, because my grandmother, she was a white woman"; Aurellia Conolly interview, p. 7; interview with Portia Dixon Grant (b. 1914), by Heather McLaughlin, Cayman Brac, March 14, 1995, MB, CINA, p. 4; see also Geneva Range interview no. 1, pp. 2–4; Hirst, *Notes*, 66–67. Edward Brathwaite found marriages and liaisons between colored men and white (or "reputedly" white) women in Jamaica during slavery; *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford, 1971), 188–91. That colored women became the mistresses of white men was widely commented on by travelers and residents alike; see Hilary McD. Beckles, "Property Rights in Pleasure: Marketing Black Women's Sexuality," in *Centering Woman.*

Of Cuba's racial continuum (defined "both phenotypically and contextually"), Rebecca J. Scott writes, "Such categorization did not preclude racism, of course, but it made strict segregation an implausible project"; see "Fault Lines, Color Lines, and Party Lines: Race, Labor, and Collective Action in Louisiana and Cuba, 1862–1912," in Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 91. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall demonstrates that colonial Louisiana was a society both brutally racist and racially open; see *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1992), xv, 155.

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mark off "coloured" from "white." In Caribbean ideology, whiteness and African ancestry were not mutually exclusive, and virtually no one (no matter how light-skinned) was thought to be without African ancestry. Could these Caribbean ideas have served to shift Eunice toward the category of "colored" upon her passage across the water?[41]

When asked if nineteenth-century Caymanians might have thought of Eunice as a colored woman, descendants gave these answers: "I don't think that would have worried them in East End," one mused. There was "quite a lot of mix-up" at that time, and Eunice would have "fit in." Or in the words of another, "Well I guess in that time they would. I don't think it would make any difference." These responses, and others like them, nearly skipped over the question, in an effort to establish that no one would have minded that Eunice was a colored woman. Indeed, the question itself did not carry the weight it would have carried in the United States, precisely because of the proximity of "colored" and "white" in the West Indian racial system, especially when paired with high class standing. In one possible scenario, Smiley enhanced his own status by bringing home a white wife; alternatively, some East Enders may simply have assumed that Smiley had brought home a colored bride. Nor is it out of the question that Smiley had assumed that Eunice, with her dark hair and possibly none-too-fair skin, was a colored woman when he first encountered her in North America (a meeting that remains entirely obscured in the sources). In the West Indies, Eunice lived in a freedpeople's settlement, she was the wife of a man of color and of means, and she employed a black servant to keep house. Any or all of those circumstances could have marked her as a colored woman.[42]

Nor should perceptions of complexion be overlooked. Werner Sollors concludes that "the presumed superiority of the white race" meant that "what was really at stake was the whitening of blacks, and hardly the reverse." Yet white fears of black passing could be matched by the dread of a white person being mistaken for black. Years of living under the tropical sun would have altered any New Englander's skin, and white travelers to sunny climes were known to despair about such transformations. "I am so horribly tanned!" shrieked a Massachusetts native on her trip to the Gulf South in the 1830s. Decades after a German immigrant was sold into slavery, it was discovered that, "during the twenty-five years of her servitude, she had been exposed to the sun's rays in the hot climate of Louisiana, with head and neck unsheltered." (From the other side, the mixed-descent narrator of Wilson's *Our Nig* was forced to labor outdoors without a hat in order to distinguish her complexion from that of the household's white daughter.) The Caribbean was particularly troublesome, with its low, strong rays. "It ought to be inculcated on the mind of the newly arrived European," wrote a white doctor living in Jamaica in the nineteenth

[41] William Warren Conolly conversation, July 22, 1998; J. Dennis Harris, *A Summer on the Borders of the Caribbean Sea* (New York, 1860), 132. And see Adrian Piper, "Passing for White, Passing for Black," in *Passing and the Fictions of Identity*, Elaine K. Ginsberg, ed. (Durham, N.C., 1996), 250. For people of African descent understood as white, see also Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 239–40, 258; Virginia R. Domínguez, *White by Definition: Social Classification in Creole Louisiana* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), esp. 36–55.

[42] Author's conversation with William Warren Conolly, East End, Grand Cayman, July 13, 1999; Dorothy McLean Welcome conversation, July 15, 1999; also Theoline Conolly McCoy conversation, July 13, 1999, and Lou Connolly Coleman conversation, March 11, 2000.

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century, "that he should avoid exposure to the sun." No doubt Eunice did. In New England, Eunice's face and hands would have tanned from planting vegetables, gathering firewood, and walking from one workplace to the next. In Cayman, she likely, and ironically, paled under the tropical sun, given her ability to stay indoors (or at least under the shade trees) while someone else washed her clothes and gathered her fuel. In Eunice's new home, the combination of class privilege and relative lightness of complexion marked her either as a white woman or a colored woman.[43]

All of this raises the question of whether historians can accurately speak of a white person "passing." The very circumstances of racial passing depend on the distinctive U.S. construction (codified unevenly in nineteenth and twentieth-century state laws) that someone with any African ancestry, no matter how many generations removed, must be defined as "black." Were such an inflexible and dualistic system to function perfectly, no person of African descent could ever shift into the category of white. Yet the same rigid binary would make it effortless for a person without any African ancestry to shift into the category of black. As Gunnar Myrdal phrased it, "To cross the caste line from the white side would be a comparatively easy matter, since in America a Negro is not necessarily supposed to have any Negro features at all." Or in the words of scholars St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, "any white person—including the lightest blond can, if he wishes, pass for colored."[44]

Evidence of passage from the classification of white to that of black can be found in the nineteenth-century U.S. South, where marriage across the color line was illegal. In Tennessee during the 1860s, a white woman was warned away from living with her black husband, and she appealed to the Freedmen's Bureau, hoping to prove that she was "in reality a colored woman." On the border of Virginia and Tennessee in 1873, a black man obtained a license to marry a white woman by "falsely representing to the clerk that she was a colored woman." Both parties were subsequently arrested and thrown in jail. Although these narratives allow for the possibility that the woman had been passing for white at the outset, in each case legal authorities and neighbors understood a white woman to be assuming identification as a black woman. A variation on this scenario is captured in Frank Webb's novel *The Garies and Their Friends*, when a minister (in the North), called

[43] Sollors, *Neither Black nor White*, 119; Melissa Russell Diary, November 1, 1835, SPR11, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery; William Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (1860; rpt. edn., Baton Rouge, La., 1999), 5, told in greater detail in George W. Cable, *Strange True Stories of Louisiana* (New York, 1893), 145–91; Wilson, *Our Nig*, 39; John Williamson, *Medical and Miscellaneous Observations Relative to the West India Islands*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1817), 1: 42. A German anthropologist wrote of white skin: "it is very easy for that to degenerate into brown, but very much more difficult for dark to become white"; see Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *On the Natural Varieties of Mankind* (1775; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 269.

[44] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York, 1944), 683; St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York, 1945), 164. For state laws, see Mangum, *Legal Status*, 1–17. The U.S. Supreme Court decision that established the doctrine of "separate but equal" also furthered the one-drop rule; Homer Plessy, who had challenged segregation on a Louisiana railroad, described himself as seven-eighths white and one-eighth black; *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). Concerning the twentieth century, see Wald, *Crossing the Line*, 15–17, 53–81, 152–81. For an arresting literary representation, see Langston Hughes, "Who's Passing for Who?" in *Laughing to Keep from Crying* (New York, 1952), 1–7.

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upon to join a black woman and a white man in matrimony, inquired whether the man was truly white. Mr. Garie could at that moment have chosen to represent himself as a black man. Although he did not do so, at his death he was buried in the graveyard of the colored Episcopal church. Another variation appears in accounts of white people who literally infused themselves with drops of blood from a person of known African descent. Millie Markham, born about 1855, told the story of her mother, a planter's daughter in Virginia, who fell in love with the family's coachman and drank a cup of whiskey mixed with his blood in order to swear that she had "Negro blood in her," so as to marry him. The federal census subsequently listed both husband and wife as "mulatto." A white North Carolinian likewise spoke of a neighborhood white woman who, before the Civil War, "had her free-negro lover bled, and drank some of his blood, so that she might swear she had negro blood in her, and thus marry him without penalty."[45]

Such shifts from whiteness to blackness cannot, however, be filed casually under the rubric of "passing," since that very concept has historically implied an escape from oppression into a world of greater privilege. Rather, those who moved from the designation of "white" to that of "black," even if voluntarily, opened themselves to more acute subjugation in a racist world (or neighborhood). And yet, in the case of Eunice Connolly, the ultimate outcome was quite different. True, by marrying a man of color, Eunice sacrificed the privileges of white womanhood in her native land, and most particularly in her own neighborhood. Like Mag Smith in Wilson's autobiographical novel, Eunice had "descended another step down the ladder of infamy" in New England. But by marrying Smiley Connolly, Eunice also married up. She moved from being a servant in New England to having a servant of her own in the Caribbean. Transplanting the marriage from the United States to the West Indies was the key to this advancement.[46]

Ideologies of gender again prove central. In New England during the Civil War, Eunice had been, in her words, "jogging around the world so without a home," had so wanted her Confederate husband to be "spared to come home and provide for his little family" in order to "have a place to *call home*." Then, an ocean away from her mother and siblings, East End came to be Eunice's "little 'Island Home,'" "a Happy home," she wrote, complete with "an indulgent loving Husband." In one letter back to New England, Eunice wrote, "I never go any where, only when Mr. Connolly and I go out to take a walk, and in the evening we go and sit on the beach. I have no desire to go away from *my home* to take comfort. I find it there." That Eunice underlined the words "my home" (as well as the earlier words "call home") signifies the highlighting of an impressive status to her relatives. The ability to

[45] J. T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battle-Fields and Ruined Cities* (Hartford, Conn., 1866), 343; Richmond (Va.) *Daily Dispatch*, February 3, 1873; Webb, *Garies and Their Friends*, 136–38; George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols. (1941; rpt. edn., Westport, Conn., 1972), vol. 15, pt. 2, p. 107; 1850 Northampton County, N.C. census, p. 52, NA; David Dodge, "The Free Negroes of North Carolina," *Atlantic Monthly* 57 (January 1886): 29. In Reconstruction South Carolina, a white woman who had married a black man was recorded as black in the 1880 federal census; see Mark Jones and John Wertheimer, *et al.*, "Pinkney and Sarah Ross: The Legal Journey of an Ex-Slave and His White Wife on the Carolina Borderlands during Reconstruction," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, forthcoming. The most well-known literary renderings are Mark Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (London, 1894); and Edna Ferber, *Showboat* (Garden City, N.Y., 1926).

[46] Wilson, *Our Nig*, 13.

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remain at home all day offered not only shelter from the Caribbean sun, it also served as a symbol of white, middle-class domesticity that Eunice had never achieved as a laborer in North America. Staying at home—in fact, having a home at all—rather than cleaning other people's houses, became a badge of Eunice's newfound white womanhood, concurrent with a blurring toward the West Indian category of "colored."[47]

After a lifetime of tenement living and unrelenting toil, Eunice could now take comfort in domesticity, and it is remarkable how closely the narration of her relationship with Smiley adhered to a model of middle-class Victorian marriage. "I am determined he shall not do more for me that way than I do for him, so far as I know how to do, to make him happy," she expounded from Grand Cayman. "So while there is a mutual desire and each one takes pleasure in making the life of the other pleasant and happy, there is nothing to fear." Nothing to fear because Smiley so well met Victorian expectations of a husband thoroughly attentive to his wife's contentment. As for running the household, Eunice added: "Mr. Connolly allows me to do as I think best about every such thing. I always go to him, but he always says You know what suits you and any thing you do suits me." (Whereas Eunice had never referred to her first husband by surname, she now routinely referred to "Mr. Connolly," a class affectation to which her sisters back in New England did not feel entitled when naming their own husbands.) Had Eunice married a well-to-do North American white man, she would have aspired to a home with a parlor, a library, a nursery—a home, too, that embodied Christian civilization and salvation. Yet married to a man of color in the West Indies, even without so many elegant accoutrements, Eunice became "a constant church goer," with her husband and children nearly as devout. Eunice married across the color line, but she married up; that upward mobility depended on departure from North America, and so Eunice followed her new husband to the West Indies to attain what would have been impossible with him in New England. Just as those who passed from black to white often lost loved ones in the process, so did Eunice suffer loss: most palpably, her brother's love, more literally, her whole family, when she set up a new life so far away.[48]

Almost certainly, Eunice never came to think of herself as a colored woman. More likely, in fact, just the opposite: she married Smiley Connolly in part to remove herself from the poverty and degraded status that had edged her away from white womanhood in New England. Smiley's status in his native land had always been greater than Eunice's in hers, and the stature and skills that Smiley possessed in Cayman changed Eunice's life from everything that had come before: life as the daughter of an alcoholic father who deserted his family, as the wife of a white man unable to find work in the depressed mill towns of the North and who failed on the

[47] Eunice Stone to Ann McCoy, Claremont, N.H., April 19, 1863; Eunice Stone to Lois Davis, Claremont, N.H., April 6, 1862, and East End, Grand Cayman, May 16, 1870, December 13, 1871, March 7, 1870, all in LWRD. On the idea of "home" representing a middle-class ideal of domesticity, see Stansell, *City of Women*, 41–42, 159–61, 202–03; Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York, 1990), 142–63. For the ways in which this discourse resonates with discourses of empire, see Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity."

[48] Eunice Connolly to Lois Davis, East End, Grand Cayman, March 7, 1870; Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989), 192–258; Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840–1900* (Bloomington, Ind., 1986), 20–51, 77–107.

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southern frontier, as a mother forced to work in the mills and board out her child, as a widow forced to labor as a domestic servant. In the West Indies, Eunice became a respectable wife who enjoyed the leisure of a companionate marriage. She became a mother who sent her children to school and who left home only to attend church or stroll on the sand in the evenings. She became a lady who directed a dark-skinned maid. "As for me I jog along in a quiet easy way," Eunice boasted to her mother. "I have enough to eat & drink, & wear," she wrote, noting that in three months she had never twice donned the same dress for Sunday services. So remarkable was all of this that Eunice repeated it in another letter. "I have aplenty to eat, drink & wear," she reminded her family and herself, "and do not have to sit up nights sewing by lamp light making and trimming dresses to get it better." In a freedpeople's settlement in the British West Indies, Eunice experienced what it meant to attain white womanhood as she had imagined that ideal in nineteenth-century New England.[49]

And so, in marrying Smiley Connolly, Eunice defied her New England neighbors and family. "My darling mother," Eunice wrote one day in 1870, "It is over four months since he took me or rather"—and here she corrected her narration to reflect her own agency—"since I sent from you to be with him." Maybe, as one nineteenth-century American traveler wrote, Eunice's prejudices began to "melt away" in a place "where people of colored blood have attained to such social consideration as to make themselves respected." In the end, however, Eunice only transferred herself from one racialized system to another. Sandra Gunning, writing about the African-American traveler Nancy Prince, notes that "what is subversive in one context might not necessarily carry the same disruptive effectiveness in another." Radical choices in New England turned out to be not at all radical in the West Indies. Eunice stoically relinquished the privileges of white womanhood in her native land but emphatically embraced those same privileges in the West Indies, now by virtue of membership in a well-off colored family. Crossing both racial and geographical boundaries, Eunice landed, finally, at the upper end of a stratified society. When Eunice settled in East End, she contentedly took her place among the local community's elite, even if that community comprised the poorest and darkest on an island of little wealth.[50]

If Eunice's West Indian neighbors thought of her as a colored woman, that designation lay closer to whiteness than to blackness, evident in the journey from laboring New England widow to leisured West Indian wife—evident, even, in Eunice's increasingly pale skin despite life under the Caribbean sun. The character of Clarence Garie, in Frank Webb's 1857 novel set in the U.S. North, agonized that he could not "be white and coloured at the same time; the two don't mingle, and I must consequently be one or the other." Unlike Clarence Garie, Eunice could be

[49] Eunice Connolly to Lois Davis, East End, Grand Cayman, August 25, 1870 (part of May 16 letter), March 7, 1870, December 13, 1871, LWRD. On white people intentionally shifting toward blackness, see Susan Gubar, *Racechanges: White Skin, Black Face in American Culture* (New York, 1997).

[50] Eunice Connolly to Lois Davis, East End, Grand Cayman, March 7, 1870, LWRD; Benjamin S. Hunt, *Remarks on Hayti as a Place of Settlement for Afric-Americans; and on the Mulatto as a Race for the Tropics* (Philadelphia, 1860), 28; Sandra Gunning, "Nancy Prince and the Politics of Mobility, Home and Diasporic (Mis)Identification," *American Quarterly* 53 (March 2001): 38; and see Hilary McD. Beckles, "White Women and Freedom," in *Centering Woman*, on the complicity of white women in West Indian racist systems.

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both white and colored at the same time. With certainty in her own mind, and the minds of sympathetic New Englanders, she was a white woman, safely marked off from African ancestry in the past. To unsympathetic New England relatives and neighbors, Eunice had surrendered the status of white womanhood, not only in her economic circumstances but also in her "low" and "revolting" behavior. To her West Indian family and neighbors, Eunice was either colored—that expansive and often subdivided Caribbean category in between African and European—or maybe she was a white woman with "colored blood." Eunice and Smiley had two daughters of their own (never described in the letters); to New Englanders who knew the father, those children would have been labeled as "black" or "mulatto"; to Eunice's Caymanian neighbors, those children could have been "white." Or maybe it was just that Eunice's own colored blood (everyone in the islands had some, after all) had shown up in the children.[51]

In Eunice Connolly's descent into poverty and in her later elevation to ladyhood, in her journey with William Smiley Connolly across racial lines and national borders, in the face of imposed rankings and in her quest to rank herself and others, we can see the ways in which the mercurial nature of racial classification could by turns oppress and endow power. "American people don't know color," William Warren Conolly told me emphatically. Looking over a copy of Eunice and Smiley's marriage license that I had brought to Grand Cayman from the Massachusetts State Archives, the great-grandson of Smiley Connolly's half-brother pointed to the column that asked for "color of groom and bride," saying, "They put color there, but American people don't know color." Making sense of racial categorization is an elusive historical endeavor, doubly so when historical actors and their ancestors crossed racial boundaries and lived their lives across geographical borders, from Africa and Europe to North America and the Caribbean. Transnational journeys expose the malleability of racial classification and thus add an important dimension to our understanding of the constructed nature of race. Yet no matter how fickle we prove racial classification to be, knowledge of that malleability alone cannot subdue its power to circumscribe lives, to categorize, distinguish, and separate people, to subjugate some and elevate others. Transnational journeys illuminate, with equal certainty, the potency of racial malleability in local, daily lives. In the end, we may ask, if scholars have proven race so mutable, why does its might remain so great? Perhaps it is because the abiding power of race lies precisely within that mercurial nature.[52]

[51] Webb, *Garies and Their Friends*, 323.
[52] William Warren Conolly conversation, July 13, 1999.

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Review Essay

Paradigms and Paranoia: How Modern Is the French Revolution?

REBECCA L. SPANG

IT IS A TRUTH, WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED, that the study of history has changed dramatically since the end of World War II. Cliometrics has come and gone; the new social history has become old hat; narrative has been revived. Structuralist approaches associated, at least in part, with the Annales school, have been superseded by the notionally poststructuralist turns of the linguistic screw; total history has yielded to micro history; we all recognize Eurocentrism when we see it.

How surprising it is, then, to note how remarkably constant textbooks have been in assessing the import of the French Revolution. From classics of Cold War "Western" historiography to recent efforts to write history within a global framework, the fundamental message remains the same: the Revolution of 1789 is the turning point of the modern world.[1] The wording may vary, but the substance does not. Said to mark "the beginning of modern history," the French Revolution is deemed "a decisive event in world history" that initiated a "century of rapid and tremendous change"; after the events of 1789–1815, "the clock could not really be set back."[2] Authors may emphasize different aspects of this modern period—political Liberalism, triumphant individualism, nationalistic militarism—but their accounts coincide in treating the revolution as an identifiable period of rapid, irreversible change. An evocative but, in this non-geological context, far from precise word—watershed—has provided one popular metaphor for conveying some sense of the revolution's relation to modernity.[3] Pre-modern history, it is implied,

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[1] "Europe and the world were never after it [the revolution] to be the same again," Carlton J. H. Hayes, Marshall Whithed Baldwin, and Charles Wolsey Cole, *History of Western Civilization since 1500* (New York, 1962), 166. Compare William Duiker and Jackson Spielvogel, *World History*, 2d edn. (Belmont, Calif., 1998), 719, which states that with the revolution, "A new era had begun and the world would never be the same again."

[2] Mark Kishlansky, Patrick Geary, and Patricia O'Brien, *The Unfinished Legacy: A Brief History of Western Civilization*, 2d edn. (New York, 1997), 459; Marvin Perry, with Daniel F. Davis, Jeannette Harris, Theodore H. Von Laue, and Donald Warren, Jr., *Unfinished Journey: A World History* (Boston, 1983), 349; Edward McNall Burns, *Western Civilisations: Their History and Their Culture* (London, 1957), 537; Mortimer Chambers, Raymond Grew, David Herlihy, Theodore K. Rabb, and Isser Woloch, *The Western Experience*, 4th edn., 2 vols. (New York, 1987), 779.

[3] Franklin Ford, "The Revolutionary-Napoleonic Era: How Much of a Watershed?" *AHR* 69

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flows away from the revolution to empty into some primordial sea of pre-history; modern history runs the opposite direction, to reach the shores of the present.

This underlying consistency contrasts sharply with the view, commonplace among specialists, that few fields have been as subject to revision and debate as has the study of the French Revolution. It is one contention of this essay that the considerable commotion over rival interpretations has obscured the extent to which the revolution in the study of the revolution has left a much grander historical narrative, about the characteristics and chronology of "modern" life, largely untouched. Repeated claims about methodological innovation and paradigm shifts have prevented us from seeing just how much our new interpretations owe to the old—and hence have condemned us to repeat what we do not fully understand.

IF THE PAST DECADE'S REVIEW ESSAYS are to be believed, historians of the French Revolution are suffering badly from a disintegration of past certainties and a loss of intellectual direction. A senior scholar at a major research institution observes that "in the American academy . . . the present moment is not notably bright for the French Revolution."[4] Even historians who have devoted their careers to the topic admit that the field appears "in disarray" and that its sounds are those of "undeniable cacophony."[5] The past "paradigm"—we are told—has collapsed and no new one has taken its place.[6]

Rumors of the past paradigm's death should lead us to ask: Was there a French Revolution?[7] For if we take seriously the notion of "paradigm" developed in Thomas Kuhn's famous *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, then our answer to

(October 1963): 18–29; Richard E. Sullivan, Dennis Sherman, and John B. Harrison, *A Short History of Western Civilization*, 8th edn. (New York, 1994), 493; Thomas Greer and Gavin Lewis, *A Brief History of the Western World*, 6th edn. (Fort Worth, Tex., 1992), 455; Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 3.

[4] Jan Goldstein, "The Future of French History in the United States: Unapocalyptic Thoughts for the New Millennium," *French Historical Studies* 24 (Winter 2001): 4.

[5] Suzanne Desan, "What's after Political Culture? Recent French Revolutionary Historiography," *French Historical Studies* 23 (Winter 2000): 163–96, quotation at 164; Jack R. Censer, "Social Twists and Linguistic Turns: Revolutionary Historiography a Decade after the Bicentennial," *French Historical Studies* 22 (Winter 1999): 139–67, quotation at 167.

[6] For consideration of "paradigms" in the study of the revolution, see Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), 2, 18; and Sarah Maza, "Politics, Culture, and the Origins of the French Revolution," *Journal of Modern History* 61 (December 1989), 704–23; see also a much earlier article, cited by Maza, Gerald Cavanaugh, "The Present State of French Revolutionary Historiography: Alfred Cobban and Beyond," *French Historical Studies* 7 (Fall 1972): 587–606. Other commentators use the word "paradigm" but do not remark on its significance, see Desan, "What's after Political Culture?" 164; Gary Kates, "The Revisionists Come of Age," *French Historical Studies* 16 (Spring 1990): 614; Donald Sutherland, "Introduction," *French Historical Studies* 16 (Fall 1989): 259. Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt have recently suggested that "the failure of Marxism has signaled a more general failure of all paradigms"; see their "Introduction," to Bonnell and Hunt, eds., *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 4.

[7] Nearly fifty years ago, Alfred Cobban toyed with the idea of entitling his Inaugural Lecture (1954), "Was There a French Revolution?" Worried that this might seem rude "to our French friends" and "awkward" for his incipient professorial career, Cobban instead posed an apparently more empirical question: "What Was the French Revolution?" Famously, he answered that the revolution was a myth. Alfred Cobban, "The Myth of the French Revolution," in Cobban, *Aspects of the French Revolution* (London, 1968), 93.

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this question might well have to be "no." Or, rather, we might say that there had once been something we knew as the French Revolution, but there is no such object now. According to Kuhn, we could not merely say that we have changed our interpretation while the object remains the same. When we operate within a new paradigm, Kuhn claimed, we actually "work in a different world."[8] The French chemist Antoine Lavoisier, for example, did not change the *interpretation* of "phlogiston"; he invalidated it as an object of study.[9] We live in a world without phlogiston. If historians really have abandoned the past paradigm, then there may no longer be a "French Revolution" to analyze.

Most historians, however, do not grant Kuhn's account of paradigm shifts its full dizzying power.[10] Moreover, I would argue that the old model—the "social interpretation" of the revolution most often associated with the name of Georges Lefebvre—has not been quite so fully eclipsed as some reviewers (or authors of books reviewed) might have us believe.[11] For even as that account of bourgeois/noble conflict and the transition to capitalism has been ostensibly rejected and largely repressed, it remains in some ways constitutive of the field. A paradigm, Kuhn stressed, was a teaching tool and a marker of group identity. And it has become an established convention for textbooks on the French Revolution to explain that the once-dominant Marxist "orthodoxy" has *now* been replaced by a "revisionist" approach.[12] Even though this epic struggle—the overthrow of social revolution (Marxists) by political revolution (Revisionists)—happened at least several decades ago (and, as Marx and Engels might say, "in the realm of pure thought"), it remains the standard point of entry into the field.[13] It is old news, but

[8] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1970), 135.

[9] Kuhn, *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 53–59, 118–30. Bruno Latour goes so far as to suggest that the entire idea of political revolution may have been modeled on Lavoisier's new science; see Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, Catherine Porter, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 70–71.

[10] For discussion of the applicability of Kuhn's account to fields outside the physical sciences, see Gary Gutting, ed., *Paradigms and Revolutions* (South Bend, Ind., 1979); Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), 163–66. See also the fascinating discussion in Steve Fuller, *Thomas Kuhn: A Philosophical History for Our Times* (Chicago, 2000).

[11] Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, R. R. Palmer, trans. (1939; rpt. edn., Princeton, N.J., 1989). Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1964), and François Furet, "Le catéchisme révolutionnaire," *Annales: E.S.C.* 26 (March 1971): 255–89, offered the fundamental criticisms of Lefebvre's analysis. An astute set of responses to these critiques is collected in Michel Vovelle, *Combats pour la Révolution française* (Paris, 1993).

[12] This may be true for the study of other revolutions, as well; see Alan Knight, "Revisionism and Revolution: Mexico Compared to England and France," *Past and Present*, no. 134 (February 1992): 159–99.

[13] The *locus classicus* for this account is William Doyle, *Origins of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1980), part 1. The second edition (1988) makes no change to this section. The third edition (1999) distinguishes "Revisionists" from "Post-Revisionists" on the grounds that the first are those who proved the social interpretation wrong, while the latter are those who replaced it with politics. This seems a tenuous distinction, since a revisionist broadside of 1967 had already proposed that the revolution was not "a social revolution with political consequences ... but a political revolution with social consequences." See George V. Taylor, "Noncapitalist Wealth and the Origins of the French Revolution," *AHR* 72 (January 1967): 469–96. For other instances of Marxists-versus-Revisionists as initiation to the study of the revolution, see Alan Forrest, *The French Revolution* (Oxford, 1995), 2–12; T. C. W. Blanning, *The French Revolution: Class War or Culture Clash?* (Basingstoke, 1998), 1–6; Gary Kates, ed., *The French Revolution: Recent Debates and New Controversies* (London and New York, 1998), Part 1, "The Overthrow of the Marxist Paradigm." Several Western Civ textbooks also introduce students to the French Revolution by a brief schematic account of the two schools; see Chambers, *et al.*, *Western Experience*, 731; and Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara Rosenwein, R. Po-chia Hsia,

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its ritualistic retelling still frames many discussions.[14] Scholars under the age of fifty are left to feel that the great battles were fought when they were schoolchildren; new graduate students, that the drama played itself out before they were toilet trained. Like Alexis de Tocqueville (born 1805) or Karl Marx (born 1818), looking back to the Revolution of 1789 from the vantage point of 1852, we may feel that our own generations' disputes have an ersatz or even comic-opera quality to them.[15]

In part, this is a story about the loss of faith. Like all such, it can easily be told as a tale of modern scientific progress—the overcoming of old superstitions and child-like beliefs. (Colin Lucas's oft-cited revisionist article, "Nobles, Bourgeois and the Origins of the French Revolution," opens with the words, "Once upon a time . . . "; both the Marxist outline of the revolution and its vanquishing by the Revisionists have been compared to fairy tales.[16]) However it is told, the insistent repetition of this narrative suggests that we have some unacknowledged investment in it, that the historiographical outline does some sort of necessary social or psychic work. It seems to me that it provides a sense of continuity and palliates the uncertainty of life outside the parameters of normal science. It prevents the loss of object, which would otherwise accompany the loss of paradigm.

An almost fetishistic invocation of the past fifty years' historiography—reduced to a straightforward fable of obdurate Marxists and perceptive Revisionists—has hence become a form (perhaps the key form) of self-definition for historians of the revolution. One of the angry young men who spearheaded the revisionist attack, George V. Taylor, confessed that, once the challenge had been successful, he and his colleagues faced "a somewhat painful void."[17] Where once there had been class struggle, now there was a unified elite. Where once there had been the heroism of conflict, now there was the tedium of fiscality. Where once there had been the revolution, now there was an agrarian crisis compounded by an incompetent, atavistic "drift into bankruptcy."[18]

In the past decade, that "somewhat painful void" has begun to ache again. Many worry that the seemingly miraculous effects of the linguistic turn have been merely analgesic; they prescribe a "return to the social" as a preventive against further

and Bonnie Smith, *The Challenge of the West: Peoples and Cultures from the Stone Age to the Global Age* (Lexington, Mass., 1995), 681–82.

[14] However, see Ron Schechter, ed., *The French Revolution: The Essential Readings* (Oxford, 2001), for a recent anthology, intended for teaching purposes, that completely omits reference to the Jacobino-Marxist tradition.

[15] As has often been noted, both Alexis de Tocqueville's *Souvenirs* of the Revolution of 1848 and Karl Marx's *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* are shot through with wistful comparisons to the "great" revolution of 1789.

[16] Colin Lucas, "Nobles, Bourgeois and the Origins of the French Revolution," *Past and Present*, no. 60 (August 1973): 84–126. Compare: "there was once a social order called feudalism. This was a terrible ogre and lived in a castle; but for centuries a bourgeois Jack the Giant-killer climbed the beanstalk of economic progress, until finally in the French Revolution he liquidated the old order" and "a pantomime in which a succession of Revisionist Prince Charmings rescue Marianne from the clutches of a wicked, mean-spirited old Stalinist Baron—a part reserved in most scripts for the late Albert Soboul." The first is from Cobban, "Myth of the French Revolution," 95; the second, from Colin Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change," in Colin Lucas, ed., *Rewriting the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991), 69–118, quotation at 78.

[17] Taylor, "Noncapitalist Wealth," 490.

[18] Taylor, "Noncapitalist Wealth," 481.

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pangs.[19] I share much of this discomfort, especially the concern that we are again focusing overmuch on elites. William H. Sewell and Olwen Hufton have both written eloquently about the limitations of a cultural history that concentrates narrowly on those few whose engagements and attitudes can be so satisfyingly teased from readily available, richly evocative printed works. As Hufton stated ten years ago (when history as the study of representations was perhaps at its peak), the dangers of confusing "a dozen salonnières [and] a couple of courtesans" with the "actual experiences of real women" are considerable.[20] Empirically misleading, focus on such small numbers can also be politically worrying, since it intimates that most people's lives are uninteresting, insignificant, or irrelevant.

Nonetheless, I find the idea of a "return to the social" problematic. The void George Taylor confronted lay neither in the past nor in its residues and traces (which remained as multiple and opaque as ever) but in historians' strategies of understanding and appropriation.[21] A category such as "class" (or, a decade later, "women") established contours of relevance and guided researchers' decisions about what material to reject and what to retain. In short, it told us what we were looking for and allowed us to conduct our search with a sense of purpose and energy. In a merely inverted form, it served this function for Taylor as well: his map of eighteenth-century French wealth was made significant precisely by its failure to coincide with the supposed social landscape of prerevolutionary France. To this day, historians have continued to skirt the conceptual void by treating the category "class" as something still in need of disproving. Sarah Maza, for example, has recently insisted on the importance of taking seriously "the Revolution's social vision of unanimity, predicated on the notion of an indivisible people"—thereby implying that there is a sort of "enormous condescension" in insisting that we, with the benefit of hindsight, can see the real social divisions to which the actors of the time were blind.[22] According to the received version of historiographical wisdom, however, it has been at least twenty years since anyone seriously posited that the French Revolution was the work of a distinct and identifiable social class—against whom or what, then, is Maza arguing? Since, without a model to challenge, taking

[19] Recent articles urging a "return to the social" include Desan, "What's after Political Culture?"; and Vivian Gruder, "Whither Revisionism? Political Perspectives on the Ancien Régime," *French Historical Studies* 20 (Spring 1997): 245–85. A related preoccupation drives Jay M. Smith, "No More Language Games: Words, Beliefs, and the Political Culture of Early Modern France," *AHR* 102 (December 1997): 1413–40. William H. Sewell, Jr., has contributed thoughtfully to this call; see "Whatever Happened to the 'Social' in Social History?" in Joan W. Scott and Debra Keates, eds., *Schools of Thought: Twenty-five Years of Interpretive Social Science* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 209–16; and the introduction to Sewell, *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyes and "What Is the Third Estate?"* (Durham, N.C., 1994), esp. 29–40. Censer, "Social Twists and Linguistic Turns," 162, asserts that "the social has returned."

[20] Sewell, "Whatever Happened to the 'Social' in Social History?"; Olwen Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992), xviii.

[21] For an especially evocative account of historians' working relations with the materials of the past, see Carolyn Steedman, "Something She Called a Fever: Michelet, Derrida, and Dust," *AHR* 106 (October 2001): 1159–80, also available in her *Dust* (Manchester, 2002), chap. 2.

[22] Sarah Maza, "The Social Imaginary of the French Revolution: The Third Estate, the National Guard, and the Absent Bourgeoisie," in Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman, eds., *The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750–1820* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 106–23, quote from 122; "enormous condescension" is of course what E. P. Thompson rescued the poor stockingers from by accepting that "their aspirations were valid in terms of their own experience." See *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963; New York, 1966), 12.

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historical actors' own claims seriously can look and feel uncomfortably like naïve empiricism, Maza sets herself up to fight a battle that has already been won.

THE CRUCIAL POINT HERE is that the once-common social interpretation of the revolution and the now-dominant cultural one share many more features than are usually acknowledged. These features often appear in inverted, looking-glass form, but a "return to the social" would simply flip the structure over once again. Analysis would still remain within the same framework (much as the sand remains within an hourglass), and our preoccupation with certain categories, such as modernity and politics, would continue to subsist unchallenged.

Take, for instance, the example of "politics," often said to be the distinctive contribution of the revisionist approach.[23] Such a claim misrepresents the place of politics in earlier scholarship, however. Even in Lefebvre's *Coming of the French Revolution* (that classic of the so-called "social" interpretation), the king's 1788 calling of the Estates-General and his later dismissal of Jacques Necker played major parts in mobilizing the "popular revolution."[24] Anglo-American scholarship of the 1950s and 1960s effectively attacked Lefebvre's identification of social class as the determinant of political action (hence Lefebvre's account of independent aristocratic, bourgeois, popular, and peasant revolutions), but it left politics as a defining characteristic of the revolution. Indeed, I would argue that *The Coming of the French Revolution* has become the current historiography's standard "Marxist" point of reference precisely because its version of Jacobino-Marxism gave such a central place to political life.[25] Nonetheless, it is usually François Furet's allusive, largely historiographical *Penser la Révolution française* (*Interpreting the French Revolution*), published in French in 1978 and in English translation in 1981, that is usually congratulated for having put politics at the center of the revolution. What readers found in *Interpreting the French Revolution* can more accurately be described, however, as a new *definition* of politics (which was brought to bear on an already well-established narrative). Furet, as Claude Langlois has noted, recast "politics" to mean the vocabulary of political philosophy (rather than the expression of class interests, the rivalry of factions, or the micro-technologies of power). Hence, the revolution became a problem for intellectual history—a topic, as one reviewer enthusiastically endorsed, to be "grasped as thought."[26]

Many of Furet's central assertions have entered into the broader disciplinary

[23] In offering yet another historiographical overview, the following paragraphs run the risk of simply acting out, or blindly repeating, the quest for disciplinary identity and origins that I have just described. In doing so self-consciously, however, I hope to begin reworking these questions and, hence, propose different responses. My thinking about a review essay as an opportunity to repeat *differently* owes much to Dominick LaCapra. See most recently *History and Reading: Tocqueville, Foucault, French Studies* (Toronto, 2000).

[24] Lefebvre, *Coming of the French Revolution*, 100, 110.

[25] Lefebvre's status as the canonical "Marxist" owes much to the starring role he plays in William Doyle's oft-cited historiographical essay; see also Jack Censer, "The Coming of a New Interpretation of the French Revolution?" *Journal of Social History* 21 (1987): 295–309. My thinking on this particular point has been especially sharpened by discussion with Ralph Kingston and David Feldman. See Feldman, "Class," in Peter Burke, ed., *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2002).

[26] Claude Langlois, "François Furet's Interpretation of the French Revolution," Timothy Tackett, trans., *French Historical Studies* 16 (Fall 1990): 766–76; Keith Michael Baker, "Enlightenment and

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vernacular. Perhaps the most widely accepted of these is that "the void created by the rapid collapse of the monarchy's authority . . . opened a period when history was set adrift."[27] In a time when everything and anything seemed possible, Furet posited, France was gripped by a "frenzied collective preoccupation with power"[28]—power that, fatally, under the influence of both absolutist doctrine and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's "General Will," was understood as unitary and indivisible. For Furet, as for many historians writing today, the Bourbon monarchy simply withered away.[29] While conflict and the *necessity* of change drive both the social interpretation of the revolution and accounts of the shift from Marxist to revisionist analysis, conflict features in Furet's 1978 work only as an utterly paranoid obsession with plots.[30]

According to Furet, the disintegration of the monarchy left power up for grabs. That power vacuum was filled by "the illusion of politics"—that is, by the illusion that everything in the world was amenable to political intervention. But if revolutionary consciousness trusted that all could be made anew through politics, it followed that everything could also be destroyed through politics. And so the belief in being able to change the world was born with an evil twin: the fear of counter-revolutionary conspiracy. "The idea of plot," Furet wrote, "was cut from the same cloth as revolutionary consciousness because it was an essential aspect of the basic nature of that consciousness: an imaginary discourse on power."[31] From this point, Furet concluded that the Terror of the Year II (1793–1794) was already immanent in the optimism of 1789. Much about this analysis can be questioned: for instance, Furet's reference to a single revolutionary consciousness exemplified in Jacobinism, already potentially problematic in its Hegelianism, can allow only circular reasoning when it comes to the relation of that consciousness to the Jacobin Terror (which is said to typify it).

Nevertheless, in the years after its publication, *Penser la Révolution française* was taken up with huge enthusiasm, and its epigrammatic prose set the tone for much future scholarship. Two immensely influential North American historians, Keith Michael Baker and Lynn Hunt, contributed significantly to recasting the French Revolution in terms inspired by Furet.[32] In prominent reviews of *Penser la*

Revolution in France: Old Problems, Renewed Approaches," *Journal of Modern History* 53 (June 1981): 281–303, quotation at 284.

[27] François Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Elborg Forster, trans. (Cambridge, 1981), 44, 46. Compare "The Old Regime collapsed so quickly and completely in the summer of 1789 that the opportunity arose to remodel society from top to bottom," in T. C. W. Blanning, "Introduction: The Rise and Fall of the French Revolution," Blanning, ed., *The Rise and Fall of the French Revolution* (Chicago, 1996), 12.

[28] Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 48.

[29] In Furet's words, "the Ancien Régime died before it was struck down"; *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 114.

[30] Colin Jones has also noted the tendency of recent accounts to minimize the role of conflict; for instance, treating the decrees of the night of August 4, 1789, which formally abolished feudalism, as a spasm of altruism, rather than a response to peasant violence. See Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified," 76–77.

[31] Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, 54.

[32] In addition to Baker's review in the *Journal of Modern History* 53 (June 1981), see Hunt's review in *History and Theory* 20 (October 1981): 313–23; and the introduction to Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*. On a sociological note, it is worth observing that both Baker and Hunt have trained numerous graduate students and edited widely used anthologies. Moreover, both have

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Révolution française and in the introductions to their own books, Hunt and Baker emphasized Furet's interpretation of the revolution as consciously willed political action directed at the complete transformation of society. If Hunt has been more ready than Baker to grant that something positive may have emerged from that attempt, they both have insisted on the French Revolution's decisive role in shaping modern political culture. If Baker and Hunt have elaborated their arguments within slightly different chronologies (Baker focusing on the disaggregation of absolutist discourse in the 1750s–1780s, Hunt exploring the ongoing transformations of the 1790s), they both have nonetheless accepted and popularized the idea of the monarchy's abrupt disintegration in the summer of 1789. If Baker's focus on printed, recognizably political or philosophical texts has generally made for more circumscribed discussion than that arising from Hunt's claim that revolutionary "politics did not take place in a defined sphere," they both have redirected historians' attention toward analyzing public rhetorics of change (and away from measuring its private realizations).[33]

In the past fifteen years, historians of the revolution have brought these elements of Furet's analysis into a fruitful, if not always easy, conversation with Jürgen Habermas's conceptualization of the "public sphere."[34] Habermas, a German philosopher and student of the Frankfurt school, argued in his 1962 *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (published in English in 1989 and described by Keith Baker as "an indispensable work") that the transition to the modern period had been characterized by the restructuring of public life.[35] The late seventeenth-century growth of a literate and autonomous bourgeoisie, Habermas contended, had led to the emergence of a form of public life distinct from the monarchial spectacle of court life: a "bourgeois public sphere" structured by discussion and debate among rational individuals. This public "sphere" was not necessarily localized in public spaces: it existed anywhere ideas might be exchanged among putatively equal individuals, from the columns of newspapers to the salons of aristocratic society hostesses. Combined with Furet's account of the revolution as a transformation of political discourse, Habermas's non-spatialized public encouraged historians to understand the "modern" world as one made primarily through language.

A NUMBER OF RECENT BOOKS indicate that agendas derived from Furet and Habermas, Baker and Hunt, remain largely, though not exclusively, dominant.[36]

occupied major administrative roles within both their own universities and larger professional organizations (Baker as president of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and Hunt as that of the American Historical Association).

[33] Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 56.

[34] For a highly readable introduction to the differences between Furet and Habermas, see Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Durham, N.C., 1991), chaps. 1–2.

[35] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence, trans. (1962; Cambridge, Mass., 1989); Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*, 171.

[36] Both the focus on political culture and the concern to identify the revolution's contributions to

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From Sophia Rosenfeld's discussion of sign languages to Jon Cowans's dissection of public opinion and David A. Bell's analysis of emergent nationalism, the ostensible topics of recent monographs are as notably diverse as the underlying approach is uniform. Drawing on both canonical and obscure eighteenth-century texts, these authors attempt to demonstrate the emergence of revolutionary political culture (characterized by its intolerance of difference and intensified claims for power) from various strands of Late Enlightenment thought. If a few authors, such as Darrin McMahon and James Livesey, have attempted to break down the idea of a single, unitary revolutionary culture (either as reality or ideal), many others have been more inclined to extend the claims made for its impact. Carla Hesse hence argues that the revolution invented the modern writer; Joan Landes, that the encounter with nationalist iconography transformed individual subjectivity.[37]

It is worth remarking that another similarity, perhaps less immediately obvious, unites these books as well: routine, casual references to psychological factors such as obsession, desire, or fear. Landes and Hesse address these issues directly, but even those authors less committed to the idea that the revolution dramatically transformed human subjectivity make surprisingly frequent reference to emotional states. Cowans writes of pamphleteers' "manic-depressive outlook"; Rosenfeld finds revolutionaries betraying their "greatest fears."[38] This is not pure coincidence. Rather, assumptions about psychic states have served as unacknowledged props for many recent studies of the French Revolution. If a few books—most notably, Lynn Hunt's *Family Romance of the French Revolution* and William Reddy's very recent *The Navigation of Feeling*—have explicitly addressed the revolution in these terms, they have met with only ambivalent reactions.[39] Yet the pervasiveness of such

modern life owe much to the four large volumes of *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture* (Oxford, 1987–94). Some British historians of France operate with a very different understanding of politics; see the useful and detailed review essay, Dale Van Kley, "Pure Politics in Absolute Space: The English Angle on the Political History of Pre-Revolutionary France," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (December 1997): 754–84. In France, several prominent, though far from all, recent works share the focus on political culture. See especially Patrice Gueniffey, *La politique de la Terreur: Essai sur la violence révolutionnaire, 1789–1794* (Paris, 2000); and the work of Antoine de Baecque, translated as *The Body Politic: Corporeal Metaphor in Revolutionary France, 1770–1800*, Charlotte Mandell, trans. (Stanford, Calif., 1997); and de Baecque, *Glory and Terror: Seven Deaths under the French Revolution*, Charlotte Mandell, trans. (London, 2001). For a recent effort to apply this "political culture" framework to another revolution, see Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).

[37] The following books are discussed more extensively below: David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Jon Cowans, *To Speak for the People: Public Opinion and the Problem of Legitimacy in the French Revolution* (New York, 2001); Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001); James Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Darrin M. McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford, 2001); Sophia Rosenfeld, *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 2001).

[38] Cowans, *To Speak for the People*, 167; Rosenfeld, *Revolution in Language*, 179; compare "general fear of conspiracy," in Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 186.

[39] Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001). For reviews of these works, see Colin Jones, "A Fine 'Romance' with No Sisters," *French Historical Studies* 19 (Fall 1995): 277–88; and Jeremy Popkin, available on the World Wide Web at http://www3.uakron.edu/hfrance/reviews/popkin4.html (November 2002). For other works that directly

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tropes—and the accompanying tendency to personify abstractions (such as "culture" or "the revolution") and attribute feelings to them—suggests that we need to engage with this topic in a direct and sustained fashion. For such diagnoses have proven almost as common as politics in the revisionist version of the revolution.

"Grasped as thought," the revolution is shadowed by irrational impulses. The widespread perception that the French monarchy simply "shuffled toward collapse"[40] has made the violence of the 1790s increasingly inexplicable except by reference to "instincts," "obsessions," or other far from rational (probably far from conscious) factors. Even the most careful historians often allow the vocabulary of mental illness or animality to evoke the mood of France in this period.[41] So pervasive has this schema become that Timothy Tackett has devoted a prominent article to arguing the proposition, formerly self-evident, that it probably isn't paranoia if there really are people out to get you.[42]

François Furet's reference to a collective "frenzy" (*délire*, in French) comes close to echoing the arch-Conservative (and largely discredited) nineteenth-century historian, Hippolyte Taine, who described the Paris crowds of summer 1789 as "like a tame elephant suddenly become wild again . . . [I]n future it will move along as it pleases, freed from control, and abandoned to its own feelings, instincts, and appetites."[43] Nonetheless, and under multiple influences, Furet's "imaginary discourse on power" (and its necessarily accompanying paranoia) has been comfortably integrated within most analyses of "revolutionary political culture." As a culture and not as chaos, this mad illusion has had explanatory as well as descriptive force. Furet's emphasis on a *collective* frenzy has spared students any further effort to derive distinct political attitudes from particular social situations (welcome absolution in the face of the classic articles by Elizabeth Eisenstein, Colin Lucas, and George Taylor, all of which convincingly demonstrated the absence of any narrowly class-based revolutionary dynamic).[44] Moreover, the definition of the revolution as politics, and of politics as the attempt to speak from a position of

engage with revolutionary psychology, see Marie-Hélène Huet, *Mourning Glory: The Will of the French Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1997); and Jacques André, *La révolution fratricide: Essai du psychanalyse du lien social* (Paris, 1993). In his introduction to *The French Revolution: The Essential Readings*, Ron Schechter suggests that psychology should be the next field to be fully incorporated into the interdisciplinary study of the revolution.

[40] Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 199.

[41] One very striking example of this is Patrice Higonnet's repeated reference to Jacobin "instinct." See *Goodness beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 3, 4, 5, 10, 18, 26, 31, 70, 104, 114, 151, 181, 203. De Baecque, *Glory and Terror*, is more overblown, stating, for instance, that during the revolution, "The corpse, then, is the measure of everything, to the point of obsession, to the point of madness of a universe wholly ruled by the constraints that the corpse imposes" (p. 9). I cannot help wondering when humans have occupied a universe that was *not* governed by the constraints of death.

[42] Timothy Tackett, "Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789–1792," *AHR* 105 (June 2000): 691–713.

[43] Hippolyte Taine, *The Origins of Contemporary France*, Edward Gagan, ed. (Chicago, 1974), 112. We might note in passing that the *Encyclopédie* defined *délire* (of which "frenzy" is a variety) as *straying from* the path of reason; it is hence, as a diagnosis, not so far from Furet and Denis Richet's 1965 description of the revolution's *dérapage*, or skidding out of control, as some might have us think (*La Révolution* [Paris, 1965]). It is definitely gendered differently, however, with *dérapage* belonging to the highly masculine automobile culture of 1950s and 1960s France; see Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995).

[44] In addition to Lucas, "Nobles, Bourgeois and the Origins of the French Revolution," and Taylor,

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sovereignty, freed historians of any need to think about all the people who never came near that position. In a stroke, Richard Cobb, whose detailed portrayals of colorful individuals made him the "Shakespeare" of the revolution, was deleted from the historiography.[45]

In short, and with a few notable exceptions, the French Revolution has become about politics conceived primarily in terms of the 600–1,000 men who served at any one time in the national political body.[46] Tackett's 1996 *Becoming a Revolutionary* took a prosopographical approach to these men, but most other work has been notably unconcerned with them as individuals.[47] Instead, they figure as semi-delirious vehicles of internally coherent political discourses, spokesmen easily introduced with a single-word appositive (for example, Jacobin or Feuillant). If the caricatured social interpretation of the revolution left these men no option other than the mechanical expression of their class interests, the current mode of analysis allows them little more individual agency. Trapped within a peculiarly monolithic understanding of "political culture" as the product of a finite number of discourses, it compensates for its failures of explanation with the vocabulary of madness.[48]

SEVERAL RECENT STUDIES focus on the ideals and expectations that revolutionary actors brought into political life from their broader cultural milieu. Combining Keith Baker's focus on the final decades of absolutism with Lynn Hunt's more broadly thematic research strategies, Sophia Rosenfeld and David A. Bell cast new light on how revolutionary culture's purported radical break with the past was itself a product of that past. Rosenfeld, in her meticulous *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France*, argues for tracing revolutionary culture's "linguistic paranoia" to its educated protagonists' basic epistemological assumptions.[49] Participants in a learned culture that idealized semiotic transparency, the men of the revolution's national assemblies treated language itself as both a cause of France's past problems and a tool for present regeneration.[50] Central to

"Noncapitalist Wealth," see Elizabeth Eisenstein, "Who Intervened in 1788? A Commentary on *The Coming of the French Revolution*," *AHR* 71 (October 1965): 77–103.

[45] Cobb is arguably the greatest historian of the revolutionary period to be almost never mentioned in the historiography; see especially *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789–1820* (Oxford, 1970). For one of the rare efforts to position Cobb's work, see Martyn Lyons, "Cobb and the Historians," in Gwynne Lewis and Colin Lucas, eds., *Beyond the Terror: Essays in French Regional and Social History, 1794–1815* (Cambridge, 1983), 1–20; the reference to him as the "Shakespeare of the profession" is from Langlois, "François Furet's Interpretation of the French Revolution," 770.

[46] Higonnet, *Goodness beyond Virtue*, in its focus on Jacobins rather than Jacobin*ism*, is one such exception.

[47] Timothy Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary: The Deputies of the French National Assembly and the Emergence of a Revolutionary Culture (1789–1790)* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

[48] "Any revolution allows what can only be called psychopaths to emerge from their dark private world and turn their fantasies into reality"; Blanning, "Introduction: The Rise and Fall of the French Revolution," 14.

[49] Rosenfeld, *Revolution in Language*, esp. chap. 4. David W. Bates, *Enlightenment Aberrations: Error and Revolution in France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), also focuses on Enlightenment epistemology in order to explore revolutionary political culture.

[50] Rosenfeld gives little attention to how various sign systems were gendered, although this would seem to be an important question in light of Dena Goodman, "*L'ortografe des dames*: Gender and Language in the Old Regime," *French Historical Studies* 25 (Spring 2002): 191–224; and Hesse, *Other*

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this perception, Rosenfeld explains, was their faith that current disputes were due only to the unnecessary imprecision of the French language. Words were used in ways they should not be: this constituted the "abuse of words" and was repeatedly deplored by philosophes and revolutionaries alike.[51] "Luxury," for example, might refer both to an extensive retinue of servants and to a single clean pocket-handkerchief.[52] An intolerable degree of ambiguity therefore attached to the word. For Rosenfeld's revolutionaries, resolving this uncertainty was a vital matter for a two-pronged pedagogical politics: language reform, such that all abused words would be replaced with a new sign that could not be misused (recently created sign languages for the deaf, the use of pantomime in theaters, and evidence from faraway cultures were all thought to provide examples of sign systems that could not be twisted) and education, such that people would be taught the true meaning of words.

Rosenfeld has certainly identified a real preoccupation; one does not have to read very many volumes of the *Archives parlementaires* to notice the prevalent concern with the interpretation of language.[53] Her argument allows a nuanced understanding of the Jacobins' "terroristic" language policy: their desire to eradicate all local dialects derived not from a pathological rejection of difference per se but from a perception of *linguistic* difference (in particular) as the source of disagreement. As Rosenfeld highlights, this understanding also put actively political men in a paradoxical situation—the more they talked and wrote about implementing linguistic harmony, the more their own oratory was potentially guilty of violating it.

Like Rosenfeld's book, Bell's *Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* considers Jacobin language policy in order to discern its roots in events and ideas of earlier decades.[54] In this major work, Bell challenges the widespread belief that nationalism sprang from nothing in the course of the revolutionary wars. While insisting that modern nationalism did not exist before the French Revolution, he nonetheless argues that its constitutive elements emerged in the course of a series of eighteenth-century crises. For Bell, the revolutionaries both carried

Enlightenment, chap. 1. Concern with reforming and improving sign systems was not an exclusively French preoccupation; see Jonathan Sheehan, "Enlightenment Details: Theology, Natural History, and the Letter *h*," *Representations* 61 (Winter 1998): 29–56. John Barrell's quite remarkable *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide 1793–1796* (Oxford, 2000) is, among other things, a 600-page discussion of efforts to fix the meaning of the word "imagine" (in the context of British treason trials).

[51] Rosenfeld, *Revolution in Language*, 19, 44–45, 121, 169.

[52] In defining the purpose of the *Encyclopédie*, Denis Diderot chose "luxury" as his example of a word that was abused on a daily basis; see the article "Encyclopédie," cited in Keith Michael Baker, *Condorcet: From Natural Philosophy to Social Mathematics* (Chicago, 1975), 19. Several historians have recently directed their attentions toward this poor abused word; see Sarah Maza, "Luxury, Morality, and Social Change: Why There Was No Middle-Class Consciousness in Pre-revolutionary France," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (June 1997): 200–29; Colin Jones and Rebecca Spang, "Sans-culottes, *sans café, sans tabac*: Shifting Realms of Necessity and Luxury in Eighteenth-Century France," in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650–1850* (Manchester, 1999), 37–62.

[53] See, for example, *Archives parlementaires* 34: 414 (October 24, 1791).

[54] Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, chap. 6.

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through a nationalist project begun by the absolutist state and completely transformed it.

Picking up Benedict Anderson's suggestion that nationalism only became thinkable with the decline of world religions and their sacred languages, Bell emphasizes the specifically "terrestrial" nature of the nation's claims.[55] Sometime in the late seventeenth century, according to Bell, God withdrew into His own sphere, leaving humans to work out their own affairs.[56] People did not necessarily become less religious, Bell intimates, but they neither wanted nor expected divine intervention on a regular basis. If they felt differently about God, their understanding of themselves changed as well: "the French increasingly defined themselves not as Catholics, or subjects, but as members of a *société*, *public*, *nation* or *patrie*."[57] Yet, and this is what makes Bell's argument so elegant, it was largely the monarchy itself, using means learned in the religious wars of the previous centuries, that taught the French people to define themselves as neither Catholics nor loyal subjects. What the monarchy produced above all, it would seem, was its own gravediggers.

For Bell, as for many other scholars working today, a series of mid-century crises provoked the monarchy into reforms and propaganda campaigns—in this case, actively soliciting the love (and financial support) of its subjects.[58] By encouraging the "cult" of great Frenchmen, for example, the monarchy became involved in the ongoing Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, trying to turn French readers from the faraway heroes of Rome and Athens toward the examples set by their own countrymen.[59] In multi-volume biographies of great Frenchmen, as in the pamphlets, plays, and poems produced during the Seven Years' War, writers used the words *nation* and *patrie* with increasing frequency. They did so, however, in far from uniform ways. Bell insists that the eighteenth century did not produce a single ideology of nationalism that then fed into, or caused, the revolution. Instead, many

[55] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn. (London, 1991), 12–19.

[56] This chronology received its classic treatment in Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne* (Paris, 1935). Bell also frames his discussion in terms of the "disenchantment of the world," a thesis famously associated with Max Weber but also developed very differently in Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, Oscar Burge, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1998).

[57] Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 53.

[58] Key works on mid-century political crises include David A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (Princeton, N.J., 1994); Durand Echeverria, *The Maupeou Revolution* (Baton Rouge, La., 1985); Michael Kwass, *Privilege and the Politics of Taxation in Eighteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 2000); Steven Kaplan, *Bread, Politics, and Political Economy in the Reign of Louis XV* (The Hague, 1976); Julian Swann, *Politics and the Parlement of Paris under Louis XV, 1754–1774* (Cambridge, 1995); Dale Van Kley, *The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régime, 1750–1770* (Princeton, 1984); Van Kley, *The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757–1765* (New Haven, Conn., 1975). See also Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

[59] Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, chap. 4. The Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, known to literature scholars as a dispute between Nicolas Boileau and Charles Perrault, has lately been rediscovered in nearly every conceivable area of eighteenth-century culture. On the literary context, see Annie Becq, *Genèse de l'esthétique française moderne* (Pisa, 1984); and, on England, Joseph M. Levine, *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991). Otherwise, for ancient and modern artillery, see Ken Alder, *Engineering the Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); for architecture, Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); and, on eighteenth-century nouvelle cuisine, Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), chap. 2.

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different ideas about the nation circulated in 1789 as state authority "disappear[ed] into a vacuum."[60] Facing this void, revolutionaries both feared that France was not currently a nation and believed they could make it one. It is this last notion (the possibility of building a nation through political will alone) that Bell sees as the revolution's signal contribution to modern nationalism.[61]

With their discussions of popular plays and ballet treatises, Bell and Rosenfeld have pushed the analysis of eighteenth-century culture far beyond any realm that might be narrowly delimited as political, only then to argue for their themes' eventual centrality to the Paris-based politics of 1789–1794. They bring new material to bear on old questions, without asking whether the questions remain valid in light of it. Despite their different emphases, these two talented historians have written strikingly similar books. Both begin by analyzing a text by the Protestant pastor turned revolutionary, Jean-Paul Rabaut de Saint Etienne. Both work largely with print materials, though not with canonical sources. Both look at institutions of eighteenth-century learned life. Both perceive revolutionary political culture as heavily pedagogical—best understood as an effort to "regenerate" the population.[62] For their purposes, plans merely debated and those actually implemented are equally significant, since both reveal the attitudes of those who participated in public discussion.

In short, Bell and Rosenfeld have much to tell us about schemes to involve all French people in the revolution but far less to say about the actual execution or effect of those projects. Thus the French Revolution is grasped as mission statement. Rosenfeld seems uneasy at so delimiting it, and writes that "the revolutionary *querelle des mots* was, in large part, imposed by educated participants upon an underlying social, economic, and ideological struggle."[63] "*The* Revolution" is always somewhat offstage in her book, which has thereby a vague Chekhovian quality: major events happen behind the scenes or in the wings, and the slightly cerebral drama is provided by chattering, albeit mildly mournful, elites. In contrast, Bell implies that the creation of modern nationalism *was* the revolution, but his focus on initiatives from above leaves that world-historical event strangely underpeopled. At points, this proves especially problematic for his analysis, since Bell makes numerous claims about what "the French" did, or did not, do. For example, based on his reading of the extensive propaganda produced during the Seven Years' War, Bell asserts, "the French had grown increasingly accustomed to seeing themselves as a nation."[64] Yet while he effectively demonstrates that these texts cast the war as one between nations (and not between dynasties), he also insists on the government's central role in sponsoring this literature. That these writings implied that "the French" *ought* to think of themselves as a nation is clear. That they allow us to draw the conclusion that "the French" actually did so is far less evident.[65]

[60] Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 75–77.

[61] In many ways, this argument parallels that of Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*.

[62] Accounts of the revolution as a project in remaking the population owe much to Mona Ozouf's early work on festivals (1976), translated as *Festivals and the French Revolution*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); and her article "La Révolution française et l'idée de l'homme nouveau," in Colin Lucas, ed., *The Political Culture of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1988), 213–32.

[63] Rosenfeld, *Revolution in Language*, 126.

[64] Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 91.

[65] Bell admits as much; see *Cult of the Nation*, 97. His argument is largely sophisticated, but his use

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Preempting any similar criticisms, Jon Cowans opens his discussion of revolutionary "public opinion" by specifically stating that he is not concerned with what ordinary people thought. Cowans frames his book with reference to the methodological "linguistic turn," arguing that since "public opinion" was a rhetorical device used within "the arenas of political power," the historian is under no obligation to look for its referent outside those venues.[66] His focus in *To Speak for the People: Public Opinion and the Problem of Legitimacy in the French Revolution* is therefore on how political actors (narrowly defined) appealed to the *idea of* public opinion in order to legitimate their own actions. Based on extensive reading of printed political debates, he finds that speakers actually used the words "public" and "opinion" in myriad, largely contradictory, ways. Although his account lacks the rich detail of Bell's work, Cowans, too, is concerned to trace the eighteenth-century emergence of a new "vocabulary of human relations."[67] But whereas Bell treats the tensions and discrepancies within this novel language as effectively the motor of history itself, Cowans expresses concern (verging at times on dismay) as he discovers that revolutionaries mixed concepts and concocted a "hopelessly muddled lexicon."[68]

In comparison with Bell's and Rosenfeld's carefully nuanced arguments, Cowans's thesis appears rather poorly conceived. Denouncing, in effect, a colossal "abuse of words," Cowans holds out the possibility that the revolution might have been very different had only the protagonists paid sufficient attention to defining their terms. "Unfortunately" (as Cowans very often writes), they did not.[69] Instead, they "failed to work out common definitions."[70] Cowans is certainly correct to stress the varied perspectives among members of the Constituent Assembly or National Convention. Yet he barely considers the possibility that the deputies' "failure" to develop a more precise vocabulary stemmed from (or, perhaps, constituted) very real disagreements among them. Cowans inventories a number of irreconcilable statements—about sovereignty, about public opinion, about the people—not to show their importance or effects but to dismiss them as poorly thought-out assertions deployed in the course of petty, but life-threatening, factional politics. There may be something to this; given the extraordinarily long hours that the members of France's national political bodies spent together in meetings, it would be difficult to imagine them animated solely by clear thought and generous fellow-feeling. But since Cowans gives us too little indication of what these men were endeavoring to do, we have no real sense of how or why the political elite was

of prescriptive literature as evidence of reality strangely recalls the early tendency to write women's history on the basis of etiquette books, household manuals, or other forms of advice literature. Or, perhaps, attempts to write the history of eating habits on the basis of cookbooks. For a helpful review of the former, focused largely on English examples, see Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *Historical Journal* 36 (June 1993): 383–414.

[66] Cowans, *To Speak for the People*, 3.

[67] Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 26.

[68] Cowans, *To Speak for the People*, 33.

[69] Cowans apparently finds a great deal about the revolution "unfortunate"; see *To Speak for the People*, 1, 15, 33, 39, 41, 51, 73, 75, 76, 83, and following.

[70] Cowans, *To Speak for the People*, 27.

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so deeply and bitterly divided. When he insists that barely concealed violence directed the revolution, we are left to wonder at the sources of this violence.

By his conclusion, therefore, Cowans has backed himself into a position where he is largely unable to explain the disagreements he has described. Alluding to "a clash of more or less class-based political cultures at the time," Cowans ends up turning the linguistic screw almost a full 360 degrees, returning us to revolutionary violence as the product of class conflict.[71] He has to do this, I think, because his mode of analysis does not allow engagement with the questions of why people disagree or use terms differently. Much recent work of politico-cultural history stumbles on the same question: Why do particular discourses become especially meaningful to certain individuals? Though unsubstantiated, Cowans's concluding suggestion about class-based political cultures demonstrates a refreshing interest in causality coming at the end of a book in which the French "visceral fear of pluralism" otherwise has to carry most of the explanatory weight.[72]

In contrast, Darrin McMahon's engaging *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* takes direct issue with arguments that privilege the revolutionaries' fears, instincts, or paranoia. For McMahon, historians' perspective on the revolution and the Enlightenment has been warped by their general distaste for opponents of both. McMahon argues emphatically that a notion of "the" Enlightenment, as a unified project or sect, first developed among those who dreaded the very possibility. By the 1770s, a specific worldview, an "anti-*philosophe* discourse," united the different individuals who opposed what we now know as "the Enlightenment." Opposition to the Enlightenment, McMahon writes, "was first and foremost French and first and foremost religious."[73] Like much recent work, McMahon's book proposes that Peter Gay's Enlightenment of "modern paganism" was much more a time of deeply felt religious anxiety than an era of inevitable, gradual secularization.[74] Mobilized by what they perceived to be a coherent philosophe mission to encourage greed, depravity, and religious dissent, clerics and others were already warning of disaster in the 1780s. According to McMahon, the outbreak of the revolution confirmed their two most cherished beliefs: that a philosophical conspiracy was intentionally undermining the regime and that this conspiracy's actions could only result in bloodshed and terror.

On first consideration, McMahon has cleverly reversed Furet's model: not the revolutionaries, but their opponents, are shown to be obsessed with plots. Yet McMahon has actually done more than simply flip Furet's account—and this is his book's real contribution. By showing that ideological opposition to the revolution

[71] Cowans, *To Speak for the People*, 194.

[72] Cowans, *To Speak for the People*, 104, 161.

[73] McMahon, *Enemies*, 9. McMahon is largely to be commended for ambitiously framing his argument with reference to all of Europe, but on occasions he falls into Francocentrism. Compare Jonathan Israel, *The Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001), which both argues that the Enlightenment actually *was* an intellectually coherent movement and identifies opposition to it coming from Spain and the Dutch Republic already in the 1680s.

[74] Peter Gay, *The Rise of Modern Paganism* (Vol. 1 of *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*) (New York, 1966); Dale Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven, Conn., 1996).

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really did exist within France from the beginning (if not before), he effectively challenges the notion of a cohesive "Old Regime" that simply collapsed sometime on or about 1788. By insisting on a much longer chronology of contestation, of which the 1790s are only one decade, he also undermines the thesis of a specifically revolutionary paranoia—no one in his book has a monopoly on imagining plots, or on denouncing them.

If McMahon has returned a welcome, if somewhat schematic, sense of conflict to our understanding of this period, James Livesey wants to restore human agency. Livesey introduces his bold book, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution*, as a deliberate move away from disembodied discourses and toward identifiable human actors. In tones of barely concealed exasperation, he argues for shifting our emphasis from analyzing discourses of sovereignty to understanding the institutionalization of new political principles.[75] According to Livesey, sovereignty may have been the crucial issue for absolutist politics, but it was not that for the revolution, which worked instead to elaborate legitimacy and democracy. For Livesey, that is, revolutionary political culture, at least as of the 1792 declaration of a republic, was fundamentally different from that which preceded it. Ideas from the past did not "rush in" to fill the vacuum left by the monarchy's disappearance precisely because the state did not collapse overnight (or, perhaps, ever).[76] Revolutionary republicanism was something new, he asserts, and we therefore cannot understand it by looking solely at pamphlets written in 1789 or speeches given in 1794. Since he sees republicanism continuing to develop and change even after the Ninth of Thermidor (a date that most other recent historians treat as signaling a retreat from "The Revolution"), Livesey demands that we make a chronological transposition, to the years of the Directory.[77] Moreover, and in the context of these particular books, especially strikingly, Livesey also effects a regional and social shift from the political culture of national elites to that of the peasantry.[78] His question is: how did the peasants get to be modern?

By defining peasant modernity as participation in "commercial republicanism," however, Livesey undermines his own methodological stance. Despite his repeated strictures on "discourse," Livesey understands republicanism as a language, a set of

[75] Livesey, *Making Democracy in the French Revolution*, 10.

[76] This is also the argument of Tackett, *Becoming a Revolutionary*.

[77] The tendency to treat Thermidor as the end of the revolution has been most recently reinforced by Bronislaw Baczko, *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution after Robespierre*, Michel Petheram, trans. (Cambridge, 1994). Livesey is not the Directory's only historian; other major studies include Isser Woloch, *Jacobin Legacy: The Democratic Movement under the Directory* (Princeton, N.J., 1970); Howard G. Brown, *War, Revolution, and the Bureaucratic State* (Oxford, 1995); Brown and Judith A. Miller, eds., *Taking Liberties: Problems of a New Order from the French Revolution to Napoleon* (Manchester, 2002); Suzanne Desan, "Reconstituting the Social after the Terror: Family, Law, and Property in Popular Politics," *Past and Present*, no. 164 (August 1999): 81–121.

[78] The historiography on peasants in the revolution is considerable; it is hence all the more surprising that they have largely dropped out of North American scholarship. Among recent works, see Anatolï Ado, *Paysans en Révolution: Terre, pouvoir, et jacquerie* (Paris, 1996); Peter M. Jones, *The Peasantry in the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1988); Peter McPhee, *Revolution and Environment in Southern France, 1780–1830: Peasants, Lords, and Murder in the Corbières* (Oxford, 1999). See also two immense works of recent synthesis: John Markoff, *The Abolition of Feudalism: Peasants, Lords, and Legislators in the French Revolution* (University Park, Pa., 1996); and Bernard Bodinier and Eric Teyssier, *L'événement le plus important de la Révolution: La vente des biens nationaux (1789–1867)* (Paris, 2000).

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conceptual tools with which peasants reworked their relationships to each other and to the state. Directorial republicans are hence important chiefly for the vocabulary they "bequeathed" to nineteenth-century France. This may not be a bad way of thinking about republicanism—or, indeed, perhaps any other *ism*—but how does the diffusion of philosophies restore agency to ordinary individuals? Moreover, to prove his case, Livesey would have to follow McMahon's lead and carry his analysis well into the nineteenth century, showing us peasants who wrote the language of commercial republicanism spontaneously and participated in modern democratic institutions as a result.[79]

Livesey's book underscores just how difficult it is at this juncture for historians of eighteenth-century France to both engage with recent scholarship and envision individual human agency, even when that is their avowed intent. Since the "demise" of the old paradigm, historians of the revolution (at least as much as French people of the 1790s) seem to lack the conceptual vocabulary to do what they want. Cowans wants to prove that divergent ideas about public opinion drove an ongoing legitimation crisis, but he ends up giving almost explanatory force to something very like class conflict. Bell wants to show how "the French began to think like nationalists," but largely recounts plans to persuade them to do so. And Livesey wants to demonstrate the revolution transforming ordinary people's daily lives, but he instead shows a limited number of men developing an ideology of commercial republicanism. In all cases, the absence of any way to explain *how* certain discourses, ideas, or texts become especially meaningful to particular individuals leaves us lurching from rational choice (Cowans hints that the revolutionaries could have opted for inclusive, English-style, parliamentary monarchy, if only they had so chosen) to irrational fears.

LIKE LIVESEY'S BOOK, Carla Hesse's *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* manifests many historians' growing uneasiness with the study of representations and discourses alone. In her crucial second chapter, Hesse argues against those historians who have treated transformations in political language as the basis for, and evidence of, women's exclusion from modern public life.[80] Based on extensive bibliographical research, Hesse finds that the records for the 1790s show little sign of women being marginalized. Instead, there was a remarkable four-fold increase in the number of women who had at least one work in print.[81]

[79] Richard Whatmore, *Republicanism and the French Revolution: An Intellectual History of Jean-Baptiste Say's Political Economy* (Oxford, 2000), traces the theory of commercial republicanism through the Restoration but says nothing of the practice.

[80] This argument was made most pointedly in Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

[81] From seventy-eight in the eleven years from 1777 to 1788 to 329 in the period from 1789 to 1800; Hesse, *Other Enlightenment*, 37. Impressive though these figures initially seem, they would be much more meaningful if they were expressed as percentages of the total number of published authors in these two periods. Similarly, when Bell counts a comparable increase in the use of the words *patriote* and *patriotique* (*Cult of the Nation*, 12), it would be important to know the total number of words printed and to consider how his sample (the ARTFL electronic database) may have affected his results. In other words, if we want to interpret something other than texts, we had best make certain we have the necessary skills to do so. The increasing availability of electronic texts makes counting—and hence giving an air of quantitative science to the history of the book—easy but not necessarily meaningful.

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Women published in all major French cities and in all genres; their writings ranged fully across the social and political spectrum.

In the following chapters, Hesse moves quickly through nineteenth and twentieth-century debates on intellectual property rights and deftly examines the careers of individual women, including Louise de Kéralio, Isabelle de Charrière, and Germaine de Staël. Upon first consideration, it may seem surprising that *The Other Enlightenment* actually traces a very long lineage of women writers that culminates with Simone de Beauvoir and Natalie Sarraute (whom Hesse interviewed). An Enlightenment that continued until sometime in the twentieth century initially seems a provocative challenge to periodization. Gone are the Idéologues as the "last generation" of the Enlightenment; gone, too, is the rarely helpful dichotomy between Enlightenment reason and Romantic sentiment. Yet, on further reflection, it becomes evident that "Enlightenment" has simply become a synonym for "modernity."

Throughout her concise book, Hesse develops an argument about the special form of women's subjectivity in modern France. Inheritors of both Enlightenment ideals of individual moral autonomy and post-revolution constraints on their personal freedoms, French women had to be Kantian subjects. That is, they had to be subjects, like those so famously described in Immanuel Kant's "What Is Enlightenment?" who would "argue about what you will, as much as you will. Only obey."[82] This, Hesse insists, was as "modern" a form of selfhood as any man's, but it was a more complex process, one creating "a doubled form of self."[83] She is making big claims here, both about modernity and about French women. Hesse engages explicitly with the word "modern" and asserts, "Modernity, most fundamentally, is the consciousness of oneself as self-creating."[84] This consciousness, she argues, is neither immanent nor transhistorical. Instead, Hesse describes it emerging at a fairly specific time, in a fairly specific place, thanks to the honing of "very specific intellectual skills"—writing chief among them.[85] The late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century expansion of commercial print culture meant increasing opportunities for "private selves to transform themselves into public ones" (thereby becoming modern).

Hesse's privileging of "commercial print culture" has well-established historiographical antecedents.[86] Nonetheless, her insistence on writing's role in defining modern—as opposed to traditional, ancient, or archaic—life uncomfortably reinscribes a whole series of dichotomies that have featured prominently in European

[82] James Schmidt, ed., *What Is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), helpfully prints Kant's essay along with other responses to the question, making a very useful teaching resource.

[83] Hesse, *Other Enlightenment*, 140–45. Recent work on nineteenth-century masculinity would challenge the idea that men's self-realization was more straightforward than women's; see especially John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).

[84] Hesse, *Other Enlightenment*, xii.

[85] Hesse, *Other Enlightenment*, xii.

[86] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, and Habermas, *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, have probably done the most to emphasize the *commercial* aspects of print culture. A much longer historiography considers the general impact of print; for a recent statement of views, see the *AHR Forum*: "How Revolutionary Was the Print Revolution?" (contributions by Anthony Grafton, Elizabeth Eisenstein, and Adrian Johns), *AHR* 107 (February 2002): 84–128.

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projects of domination. As Walter Mignolo has recently shown, assertions about the primitive, pre-modern, quality of non-literate individuals (and non-alphabetic cultures) had been commonplaces of imperial expansion since the sixteenth century.[87] Although Rosenfeld shows us reformers reversing the value put on "primitive" and "modern" signs—praising the purity and simplicity of the first, for instance—she also notes that Thermidorean and Directorial leaders quickly rejected this reevaluation as fantastical. The postrevolutionary "political-linguistic imaginary," Rosenfeld argues, differentiated civilization from barbarism on the basis that the former required facility with an established system of signs and laws. *The Other Enlightenment* operates fully from within this imaginary.

Hesse's book might more aptly be subtitled "How French Women *Writers* Became Modern." Her "Other Enlightenment" is largely another High Enlightenment of successful intellectuals and noted literati, one made by women whose various social circles included Benjamin Constant, Immanuel Kant, and Jean-Paul Sartre. These well-documented writers make for engaging case studies, but were they really the only women to be consciously self-creating? Clare Crowston's work on seventeenth and eighteenth-century seamstresses indicates otherwise. She argues that mistress seamstresses—members of by far the largest and most important exclusively female trade guild—had considerable control over their own lives, and faced a legal "combination of privilege and constraint" very much comparable to the Kantian subject position of Hesse's writers.[88] Moreover, they did so throughout the eighteenth century—does this mean that dressmakers became "modern" before novelists?

The self-consciously self-aware individual as the hallmark of modernity is not, itself, a novel formulation—although it interestingly suggests that the "New Cultural History" may owe more to Jacob Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) than is usually allowed.[89] Hesse's use of this concept (like Livesey's claims about peasants, McMahon's about conservatives, and Bell's about nationalism) suggests more fundamentally that something like a real paradigm shift may be subtly at work. It seems that the analytic category "the French Revolution" has in some ways been supplanted by the coming of modernity: attention is now

[87] Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995); see also the qualification of Mignolo's argument in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), chap. 2. In addition, see Maurice Olender, *The Language of Paradise: Race, Religion, and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

[88] Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham, N.C., 2001), 411. In some respects, however, married seamstresses, who (prior to the revolution) could sign business-related contracts *without* their husbands' authorizations (pp. 302–03), experienced more freedom than nineteenth-century women writers. Furthermore, even the Napoleonic Civil Code granted *marchandes publiques* (market women, identified in Hesse's first chapter with orality and pre-modern culture) similar autonomy in relation to their business. See the Code Civil ("Des Biens"), article 220. I thank Ralph Kingston for bringing this point to my attention.

[89] Peter Burke distinguishes "classical" cultural history (exemplified by Jacob Burckhardt's discussion of the Renaissance discovery of individualism) from newer forms in Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1997), 183–212. Roughly the same chronology of modern individuality is to be found in Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), and in Dror Wahrman's forthcoming work, tentatively titled *A Cultural History of the Modern Self*.

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concentrated on some aspect of the eighteenth century (often identified in an Enlightenment text) that can be labeled modern.[90] This move is appealing—"modern" features in the subtitle of my own book as well—but we displace our frame of reference from the French Revolution to the modern eighteenth century at our own risk. The losses may be both empirical and conceptual.

The most obvious danger is that of overlooking, denying, or assimilating all those aspects of eighteenth-century history that are not easily recognized as modern. If we follow Hesse, should we simply ignore—or leave for old-fashioned demographic historians—the many women who were illiterate, or even those who read but did not write? Emphasizing eighteenth-century "modernity" makes cities more important than the countryside—even though France's population remained predominantly rural until the 1930s. It makes nationalism more vibrant than individuals' other concerns—even though Bell himself notes that many of the aims he attributes to the First Republic were only carried out by the Third. In short, looking for what is modern about the eighteenth century tends to privilege history's "winners"—ideas, names, institutions, or ideologies that are still familiar today. McMahon, to his credit, does not do this, but at the price of striking hollow notes in his repeated insistence on the modernity of his protagonists. By their "very fundamentalism—itself a modern phenomenon," by their new-fangled defense of "tradition," by their use of modern media, and by their "bipolar, Right-Left model of politics"—in all these ways (and more!) the enemies of the Enlightenment were already modern, long before the outbreak of the revolution.[91]

What does "modern" mean here, though?[92] Does it have any real analytic power, or does it simply insist on the relevance of one's scholarship to today's world (for the sake of students, publishers, and the job market)? If women, republicanism, and Conservatives all became modern at the same time, do we now have a significant new way of thinking about the *relation* of politics to gender roles? That is, do these various analyses work together meaningfully; can they be brought together with reference to anything other than chronology? Or are they simply the traces of an older, undigested historiography that identified this period as modernity's watershed?[93] "Modernity" today—like "revolution" for earlier generations—is a theoretical, often implicitly political, construction that appeals to historians because it insists on diachrony. Arguments about the coming of modernity inevitably rely, however subtly, on some greater narrative of historical

[90] In addition to the works discussed here and the volumes of *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, see Ferenc Fehér, ed., *The French Revolution and the Birth of Modernity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990).

[91] McMahon, *Enemies*, 15, 53, 63. The modern nature of opposition to modernity has been stressed by cultural historians working in other national contexts as well. See Anne Harrington, *Reenchanted Science: Holism in German Culture from Wilhelm II to Hitler* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); or T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981).

[92] For similar reservations about arguments that stress the "modern" qualities of eighteenth-century North America, see Thomas Bender, "Strategies of Narrative Synthesis in American History," *AHR* 107 (February 2002): 135–36.

[93] As, for example, that outlined in Ford, "Revolutionary-Napoleonic Era," 18–29. That modern means "Enlightenment" has been central to many influential twentieth-century theorists, both those who value it, such as Jürgen Habermas, *Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (trans., 1987), and those who critique it, such as Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1972).

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transformation—at the very least, they require a binary distinction of modern and non- (or "pre") modern. Bruno Latour has argued that the arbitrary making of that distinction (the categorizing of ancients and moderns) *is* what makes modernity. In other words, by continuing to identify certain features of the past as "modern," we may ensure or reinforce our own participation in what Latour calls "the Modern Constitution," but we learn precious little about the eighteenth century or the French Revolution.[94]

HESSE'S ANALYSIS CHARACTERIZES MODERNITY as a new sort of human subjectivity. Joan Landes, in *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*, develops a similar perspective. For her, the revolutionary representation of France as a beautiful woman had consequences far beyond the simple reworking of a classical allegorical tradition.[95] By figuring the nation as a desirable young woman, Landes argues, artists working in both elite and popular traditions made it possible for men to fall in love with France, to form a connection to the new political culture that was more passionate than cerebral.[96] At the same time, this crucial aspect of revolutionary iconography disguised the brutal ways in which this same culture denied women access to political, public life. It was, in Landes's phrase, "a stunning masquerade."[97]

Landes (like Livesey and Hesse) frames her book as a response, and partial rebuttal, to the discursive emphasis in recent scholarship. Acknowledging that her first book shared this focus, she wants now to move beyond the textual to the visual. Yet this move, at least as she executes it, is not without its problems. For Landes treats prints, caricatures, and paintings as, in her words, "complex vehicles for the communication of critical ideas"[98]—that is, as texts to be decoded. This book substitutes an "iconic" emphasis for the "discursive" found in many others, but the message (whether told in words or conveyed by pictures) is the same: a single overbearing "logic" governed the revolution and transformed individuals' senses of themselves.

Landes makes some suggestive points, and she is to be commended for trying to understand how a particular discourse might have become especially meaningful, even enjoyable, for ordinary French men. Edmund Burke, ranting against the revolution, declared, "To make us love our country, our country ought to be lovely," and Landes proposes that this lesson was not lost on the French.[99] Yet, by leaving the familiar premise of a governing revolutionary "logic" largely unquestioned, she

[94] "We have never moved either forward or backward. We have always actively sorted out elements belonging to different times. We can still sort. *It is the sorting that makes the times, not the times that make the sorting.*" Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 76 (emphasis in original).

[95] On the embodiment of France as "Marianne," see Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 89–95; and Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne au combat* (Paris, 1979).

[96] Landes's connection of national sentiment with passionate life owes much to Doris Sommer, *The Foundational Fictions of Latin America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), a book that deserves to be more widely read among Europeanists.

[97] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 82.

[98] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 17.

[99] Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, L. G. Mitchell, ed. (1790; Oxford, 1993), 78.

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makes it very difficult to identify the dynamics at work among human beings. Throughout her slim book, we get no sense of individual historical actors (be they artists or engravers, print sellers or print buyers) and hence very little real sense of the hotly debated struggle over meanings that Landes asserts characterized the revolutionary era.[100] There may indeed have been different ways of responding to images (and, surely, to written works as well), but since Landes barely shows us anyone responding to anything whatsoever, the existence of competing interpretations is something we must take on faith. Landes does at least remind us that the French Revolution may well have had major consequences for people who never set foot in the National Convention's meeting halls, but her effort to link images and individuals remains purely speculative. Prescriptive literature, derived predictably enough from the works of Rousseau, said that men *ought* to love their country, but Landes gives us no indication of individual republicans actually doing so. If images of half-naked, buxom France had decorated the bedrooms of adolescent boys (or, perhaps even more indicative, if such images had been hidden away in those bedrooms), then Landes would have an extraordinarily compelling case here. Instead, she has "wild" analysis.[101]

Landes borrows loosely from art history and psychoanalysis but in a largely indiscriminate fashion. She barely discusses her cover image's overwhelmingly Christian iconography and oddly finds it relevant to note, in commenting on a 1794 print (sold in Paris), that the turtle "in Nigeria . . . is an emblem of lubricity."[102] Her weak—and actually disavowed—use of psychoanalysis is especially disappointing, as it might, in a more sophisticated form, offer ways of effectively linking desire and discourse, subjectivity and socialization. Moreover, sustained engagement with psychoanalysis would allow more direct confrontation with the recent historiography's recourse to languages of mental suffering in describing the revolution.[103]

Such an engagement would not be without its own difficulties, of course. Like any explicitly formulated body of theoretical knowledge, psychoanalysis is prone to being devoured whole and somewhat unthinkingly. It can be used to deny historical specificity, and to restate the blindingly obvious in a jargon-heavy vocabulary. In making use of it, we would need to attend both to how an established body of theory

[100] Landes asserts that the difficult-to-determine "empirical fact" of how these images were produced, purchased, and used is less important than the "conventions surrounding the representation of the body in Western art"; *Visualizing the Nation*, 16. Two notes are in order. First, this is exactly the methodological position that Hesse effectively challenges. Second, something like viewer response to images is *not* impossible to recover; for especially relevant examples, see Thomas Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven, Conn., 1985).

[101] Sigmund Freud, "Considerations on 'Wild' Psychoanalysis" (1910).

[102] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, 43, 105–06, 212.

[103] For especially interesting considerations of the relation of history to psychoanalysis, see Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (Oxford, 1985); Michael S. Roth, *Psycho-analysis as History: Negation and Freedom in Freud* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987); Dominick LaCapra, "History and Psychoanalysis," in LaCapra, *Soundings in Critical Theory* (Ithaca, 1989), 30–66; Barbara Taylor, "Religion, Radicalism, and Fantasy," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995): 102–12; several issues of *History Workshop Journal* are devoted to this theme: *HWJ* 26 (Autumn 1988), *HWJ* 45 (Spring 1998); Lynn Hunt, "Psychoanalysis, the Self, and Historical Interpretation," *Common Knowledge* 6 (Fall 1997): 10–19; Joan W. Scott, "Some More Reflections on Gender and Politics," in Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. edn. (New York, 1999); and in *Revisioning Gender*, Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth Hess, eds. (Thousand Oaks, Calif., 1999). See also the carefully historical treatment of paranoia as investiture crisis offered by Eric Santner, *My Own Private Germany: Daniel Paul Schreber's Secret History of Modernity* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

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may alter our readings of source materials and how the latter may call for a rewriting of the former. We would also need to be aware of the development of multiple, competing schools of psychoanalysis; perhaps, for example, considering whether sibling rivalry, at least as much as fraternal camaraderie, needs to enter into our thinking about the revolution.[104] Nonetheless, the great strength of psychoanalysis at this juncture is that it offers an interpretive strategy premised on being able to work with and through language—it is, after all, a *talking* cure—in order to gain access to, and have effects on, something extralinguistic (which can never be known directly). Moreover, Slavoj Žižek's discussion of ideological structures as the "obscene imposition of enjoyment" might allow us to think more fruitfully about how discourses are internalized and perpetuated.[105]

Ewa Lajer-Burcharth's *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* makes suggestive, if not always fully effective, use of psychoanalysis.[106] The centerpiece of this book—a remarkable extended analysis of David's *Sabine Women* (1799)—demonstrates just how much can be gained from considering cultural artifacts within the multiple contexts of their production, distribution, and exhibition (or consumption). With considerable sophistication, Lajer-Burcharth weaves together themes that run (singly) through Livesey's, Hesse's, and Landes's books. In exhibiting the painting alone and by charging an admission fee, David took up the ideals of commercial republicanism and used them to support his own claims about the dignity of art. At the same time, by insisting on the artist's autonomy—both stylistic and economic—David continued to distance himself from his earlier intimate involvement with republican politics. (During the Year II, he had served as a member of the Committee of General Security and was closely associated with Robespierre.) By placing a large, freestanding mirror (a *psyché* in French) opposite the painting, David invited viewers to compare themselves to the bodies depicted in the painting—a process made all the more visually compelling by the fashion for women's dresses modeled on those of Antiquity.[107]

Lajer-Burcharth's analysis operates on numerous levels simultaneously, convincingly demonstrating transformations in David's artistic practice and sense of self as it argues for fashion (and mirrors) as central tools of psychic restructuring among French men and women in the second half of the 1790s. As a study of David, his colleagues, and his students, Lajer-Burcharth's book is difficult to fault. The discussion becomes more forced, however, when she turns to a more general discussion of Directorial elites (whose supposed fascination with their reflections she relates to Jacques Lacan's famous discussion of the mirror-stage formation of the Imaginary).[108] Psychoanalysis may provide tools for thinking about individuals,

[104] For a provocative, if in many ways highly troubling, attempt to put sibling relationships at the center of psychoanalysis, see Juliet Mitchell, *Mad Men and Medusas: Reclaiming Hysteria and the Effect of Sibling Relationships on the Human Condition* (London, 2000).

[105] Slavoj Žižek, *For They Know Not What They Do: Enjoyment as a Political Factor* (London, 1991); *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London, 1989).

[106] Ewa Lajer-Burcharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques-Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).

[107] Lajer-Burcharth's chapter on *The Sabine Women* covers more than a hundred pages; I have necessarily omitted great intricacies of detail and analysis in this summary.

[108] In brief, Lacan argued that one's sense of oneself as a unified whole is based on one's babyhood experience of a mirror reflection, a reflection that was not, and could not be, identical with the "self"

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especially such comparatively well-documented ones as David, but can it inform our consideration of faceless, nameless groups? (Much of Lajer-Burcharth's evidence for post-Thermidorean narcissism comes from caricatures and fashion plates, and hence also tells us primarily about artists.) David's explicit and extensive political involvements make Lajer-Burcharth's focus on the shock of life post-Thermidor legitimate—but how could we even begin to fathom whether the revolution had comparable effects on other subjectivities? Landes, of course, asserts that it did, but she neither substantiates her claims effectively nor distinguishes the consequences of various moments in the revolution.

ARE WE LEFT, THEN, with a revolution (and a modernity) only of the few? Livesey's analysis of peasant petitions does suggest something like popular involvement, but all the other books reviewed here either deliberately focus on revolutionary elites or are unconcerned with documenting the wider reception of the representations they analyze. This is one consequence of the narrow—and, in many senses, quite sterile—way in which we have come to understand "the political" and how it has guided the reconfiguration of the field. If English social history was once, in G. M. Trevelyan's famous phrase, "history with the politics left out," French cultural history—at least of the revolutionary period—has become nearly the opposite. Even Landes and Lajer-Burcharth both privilege changes in political structures (the shift from subject to citizen, the imperative of ending the Terror), thereby implying that other dramatic transformations—such as the legalization of divorce or the disintegration of family fortunes—had no effects on how people felt about themselves and the world they inhabited.[109]

Gwynne Lewis and Steven Kaplan, among others, have lamented that François Furet's focus on the political has led to a bracketing of "the social."[110] This, it seems to me, is an inadequate way of describing what has happened. For, as Rosenfeld and Bell have commented, historians trained in the 1980s and 1990s found Furet's redefinition of the French Revolution (as a series of claims about power) especially appealing because it fit so snugly with the granting of autonomy to culture, with the realization that political beliefs could not be predictably derived from social positions.[111] Moreover, many historians in the past two decades have come to see "social position" as *itself* a series of claims enunciated (more or less intentionally) within various domains and discourses.

It is for the latter reason that I find calls for a "return to the social" simplistic. I fully share the sense that history should not consist of the writings of Rousseau,

reflected. Self-recognition is therefore always misrecognition. Carolyn J. Dean, *The Self and Its Pleasures: Bataille, Lacan, and the History of the Decentered Subject* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 48–57, shows how central paranoia was to Lacan's development of this concept.

[109] Suzanne Desan's work suggests just how traumatic these changes were for many individuals. See "Reconstituting the Social"; and " 'War between Brothers and Sisters': Inheritance Law and Gender Politics in Revolutionary France," *French Historical Studies* 20 (Fall 1997): 597–634.

[110] Gwynne Lewis, *The French Revolution: Rethinking the Debate* (London, 1993), 112–13; Steven L. Kaplan, *Farewell, Revolution: The Historians' Feud, France 1789–1989* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), 100–05.

[111] Rosenfeld, *Revolution in Language*, 3–4; Bell makes a similar point in his review of Rosenfeld's book, "Words and Tumbrels," *New Republic*, November 26, 2001.

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Robespierre, and Rabaut de Saint Etienne alone, but I wonder where we are going to find the long-lost "social." This ambition seems to rely on the premise that the so-called "linguistic turn" has merely distracted us from "the social," to which we will now make an unproblematic return. But if the works of Keith Baker, Joan Scott, Mary Poovey, Dror Wahrman, and others have had any sort of shared agenda, it has been to highlight the difficulty—nay, the outright impossibility—of knowing "the social" in any sort of unmediated fashion.[112] As William Sewell has written, the whole perception of our world as something made up of distinct realms (the economy, culture, politics, social relations), each to be studied by its own historians, is now untenable.[113]

Nonetheless, the stakes here are considerable. For, as Sewell has also movingly demonstrated, we are again on the verge of writing a history that omits the "poor and the powerless" (in this case, everyone from Richard Cobb's *marginaux* to Albert Soboul's sans-culottes and Georges Lefebvre's peasants) completely.[114] Is a history of philosophes, novelists, and discourses really any less elitist than one of kings, queens, and statesmen? Is there a way of bringing "the people" (as they once were known) back into the history of the revolution without collapsing them into static social categories and mechanistic explanations?[115]

Nearly all the books discussed here privilege printed texts—Hesse's intensive reading of novels and Bell's extensive reading of multiple tracts simply show two very different strategies for dealing with such works. No one dares say it (lest he or she be branded the most vulgar of positivists), but it may be that it is actually a return to the archives that is long overdue. Administrative and logistic difficulties may make an enthusiastic return to the Archives Nationales in Paris unlikely in the near future, but there could be no better time for a return to the departmental archives (by now largely unused by an entire generation of revolutionary historians). This will not be a return to the social, however. Police reports, notaries' inventories, and apprenticeship contracts are also all representations, texts whose genre conventions and conditions of production we forget at our peril. Nonetheless, insofar as they are structured by different conventions, written by different authors, and conserved for different reasons, they may allow us to tell different stories.[116] When we notice that even six months after the former king's execution (in January 1793), certain notarized documents bore a stamp reading "La Loi, Le Roi" ("The

[112] In addition to works already mentioned, see Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864* (Chicago, 1995); Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," in *Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion across the Disciplines*, James Chandler, Arnold Davidson, and Harry Harootunian, eds. (Chicago, 1994); Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class* (Cambridge, 1995).

[113] William H. Sewell, Jr., "Toward a Post-Materialist Rhetoric for Labor History," in Lenard Berlanstein, ed., *Rethinking Labor History* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 15–38.

[114] David Andress, *Massacre at the Champs de Mars* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), is one recent effort to rewrite the history of the revolution "from below."

[115] Bodinier and Teyssier, *L'événement le plus important*, is a classic example of social history's reliance on Balzacian caricature as a strategy for putting faces onto numbers.

[116] For example, Jean-Pierre Gross, *Fair Shares for All: Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice* (Cambridge, 1997), one of the comparatively few recent studies to be based largely on departmental archives, gives an account of Jacobinism that diverges dramatically from the usual themes of Terror, paranoia, and the rejection of pluralism.

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Law, the King"), we may want to rethink our assumptions about the "void" left by the monarchy's collapse in 1789.[117]

Objects, such as the stamp used by that notary's clerk, may not have yielded to change as quickly as our concentration on planners and pedagogues would have us believe.[118] Understanding the revolution solely in terms of a triumphant and terrible discourse of political will—be that will expressed in coherent plans for nation-building (Bell), incoherent statements about public opinion (Cowans), or images of beautiful women (Landes)—has perhaps led us to overlook the limits of that will. I refer not to explicit projects of counter-revolution (which, as McMahon shows, also partook of this same discourse) but to the diffuse and perhaps unconscious resistances provided by personal habit and physical objects: the clerk's picking up of the stamp he had been routinely using for the past three years, the notary's reluctance to spend money on yet another stamp, the stamp manufacturers' inability to keep pace with political change. Of course, the notary and his clerk may also have been committed monarchists; they may have deliberately and consciously continued using their "La Loi, Le Roi" stamp throughout the summer of 1793; and there may be a very clear political meaning stamped at the top of that little blue piece of paper. Or there may not be. (In assuming that there must be a meaning, we show ourselves to be both clearly Freudian and possibly paranoid.)

How can we think about that stamp? Having fully learned the valuable lessons of intertextuality, historians of the French Revolution have largely shied away from questions about human motivations or desires. Having learned that the meaning of that stamp was culturally, discursively, constructed, we have generally ignored the people who made the stamp. In concentrating on the "discourse of revolution" as that which has shaped so much of modern political culture, we have effectively overlooked the question of how people's lives were changed by their experiences of the revolutionary period itself.[119]

Developing a new paradigm, a way of writing cultural history that takes account of, and allows for, both human agency and historical contingency, both meaning and that which resists inscription, will not be easy. Among other things, it will oblige us to take apart the narratives of historical and historiographical progress with which this essay began. Those uncritical stories—about the modernity of the revolution and the novelty of our understanding of it—support each other so well that they allow little else to be said.

Furet self-consciously took the phrase "illusion of politics" from Marx; we have taken much more, and far less consciously. If historians of the revolution have noisily renounced those bits of the Jacobino-Marxist narrative that were specifically attacked in the 1950s and 1960s (the existence of a clearly demarcated rising bourgeoisie, its role in the transition from feudalism to capitalism, etc.), we have left unremarked upon the many other habits of thought that were part and parcel

[117] Archives Nationales, Paris, Minutier Central XIII–477 (July 28, 1793).

[118] See Alder, *Engineering the Revolution*, for an excellent discussion of how thinking about objects might affect historiography.

[119] Philip T. Hoffman, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, *Priceless Markets: The Political Economy of Credit in Paris, 1660–1870* (Chicago, 2000), very clearly indicates considerable change in how Parisians lent and borrowed money, for example, although their game-theoretical model of the reasons for this change is unfortunately abstract.

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of Marx's philosophy of history. Indeed, the very tendency to recast the eighteenth century as the birth of modernity—which I above suggested *might* delineate a new paradigm—can also, and perhaps more accurately, be seen as a return of the not-very-repressed Marxist concern with stages of history.

If it is largely true that a model of history as "stages of civilization" can be found in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Liberal histories, I think it is also generally the case that historians working today know this model because of the way it was used by Marx (and those who followed him).[120] For all the disavowals, our chronology of modernity is still very much Marx's story.[121] Consider, for example, that participation in a public sphere of debate, and appeals to public opinion, have become, thanks to Habermas, the sine qua non of modern life. Yet Habermas's account of the transformation of the public sphere depended on profound changes in material production and wealth accumulation. Like Benedict Anderson's imagined national communities, which built on the profit-seeking activities of print capitalists, Habermas's bourgeois public sphere was a cultural development arising in a particular social/economic conjuncture. So, too, let us remember, is the vision of modernity developed by Walter Benjamin.

Habermas, Anderson, and Benjamin all developed major theories of cultural transformation in dialogue with generations of Marxist scholarship. In our appropriation of their formulations, however, we usually omit these prior interlocutors, resulting in cultural formations to which we grant extraordinary independence. Moreover, by taking these particular phenomena—the public sphere, the nation, "modernity"—as the cornerstones of revisionist scholarship on the French Revolution, we inadvertently repeat many earlier commonplaces. By accepting Habermas as one guide away from Marx, we bring no small amount of Marx with us nonetheless—in our periodization, our preference for cities, even our interest in shared consciousness. Yet by getting our "Marx" via the philosopher of communicative action, we lose both the distinction of revolution from evolution and the sense of direct conflict. Of late, the history of all hitherto-existing society has been the history of conceptual voids.

My intention is not to play "spot the crypto-Marxist." Rather, it is to suggest that repeated statements of revolutionary historiography's move beyond Marx are unhelpful precisely insofar as they fail to acknowledge and work through those elements of Marxist analysis that continue to guide our thinking—such as the

[120] George Comninel, *Rethinking the French Revolution: Marxism and the Revisionist Challenge* (London, 1987), chap. 3. Comninel asserts that Marx's originality lay not as a historian but as a critic of liberal economies; in contrast, Michael Löwy emphasizes Marx's combining of this largely Liberal legacy with Babeuf's recognition that progress did not benefit all equally. See Michael Löwy, "La 'poésie du passé': Marx et la Révolution française," in Etienne Balibar, Daniel Bensaïd, *et al.*, *Permanences de la Révolution: Pour un autre bicentenaire* (Montreuil, 1989), 233–51.

[121] Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman, "Introduction: An Age of Cultural Revolutions?" in Jones and Wahrman, *Age of Cultural Revolutions*, have attributed historians' continued circling around this same "Age of Cultural Revolutions" to the influence of three other historiographies: those inspired by Foucault, by women's and gender history, and by "linguistic studies of class and politics." These have all clearly made important contributions, but to posit them as having focused on the late eighteenth century independent of their heritage from Marx is decidedly disingenuous. After all, as Gareth Stedman Jones has argued, Foucault's own historical work owed much to the structural Marxism of 1960s France; see "The Determinist Fix: Some Obstacles to the Further Development of the Linguistic Approach to History in the 1990s," *History Workshop Journal* 42 (Autumn 1996): 19–35.

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tendency to think of history in stages (be it modernity or a new mode of production), such as the distinction between materiality and discursivity, such as the separation of production from consumption.[122] Since current versions of the advent of modernity so closely parallel older stories of the rise of the bourgeoisie, it is hardly surprising that they are no more able to accommodate difference or fathom individual actions than Marxism was.

The argument here is not that we should hunt down and destroy our inheritance from Marx. Rather, we must no longer reject it, no longer characterize it as belonging to somebody else. We need to address and engage with these contributions directly, rather than gesturing toward them as dusty old objects in the "museum of historiography."[123] In doing so, we will have to re-pose a whole series of very big questions: questions of periodization and of agency, even of what an individual or a discourse might be. It means we must be self-conscious in the way we pose these questions and in how we think about answering them, for example, finding ways of acknowledging both the discursivity of physical things and the physicality of discourse. We must, in the suggestive words of Slavoj Žižek, "persist in the impossible position" that both recognizes that reality is completely shot through with ideology/discourse and maintains the tension—that between ideology/discourse and "something else"—that makes critique possible.[124] This may be an impossible position, but it is the best we will achieve. For neither history nor the *writing* of history has ever really proceeded in a clear and unitary direction. We have learned from Furet (and others) not to believe grand claims about how much the revolution changed people's lives, yet we have persisted in saying that *that* lesson utterly transformed our own scholarship. It did not—but saying that it did comfortably shifted the mantle of revolutionary agency from the people of eighteenth-century France to the readers of this journal.

[122] See Sewell, "Toward a Post-Materialist Rhetoric for Labor History," on many of these points.

[123] Donald Sutherland, "An Assessment of the Writings of François Furet," *French Historical Studies* 16 (Fall 1990): 784, suggests that this is, appropriately, what Marxist theory has become.

[124] Slavoj Žižek, "The Spectre of Ideology," in Žižek, ed., *Mapping Ideology* (London, 1994), 17; though couched in very different language, much of this analysis bears comparison with Sewell, "Whatever Happened to the 'Social' in Social History?"

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

PHILIPPE BUC. *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 272. $39.50.

Philippe Buc's book is an intelligent and curious work, informed throughout by wide learning, acute argumentation, and discerning, sometimes brilliant, readings of medieval texts. Its principal goal, however, is not so much to offer a new understanding of how early medieval rituals were enacted and/or presented in contemporary texts but rather to dispute the applicability of modern social scientific theories of ritual to early medieval phenomena. The book, which Buc terms an "essay," is intended as a cautionary admonition against the use of the concept of ritual for the historiography of the early Middle Ages. In order to demonstrate his thesis, Buc sets himself a double task: first, to explicate what late antique and early medieval authors who narrated rituals thought was happening when rituals occurred (the "medieval native's implicit anthropology"); second, to disclose, by tracing the genealogy of social scientific theories of ritual from the Reformation down through the 1970s, the hidden debt of modern social theory to its theological ancestors. As he lucidly puts it: "It is one of the main theses of this essay that the roots of our contemporary concept(s) reach down, with complicated subterranean trajectories, into the humus of the Middle Ages, and this engenders metholodological problems when one wants to apply these concepts to medieval sources" (p. 2).

This is the first, and most significant, of the "Dangers of Ritual" specified in the title. Space does not allow me to rehearse the intellectual history of the concept of ritual that Buc learnedly provides, but let me note that the book is worth reading for this alone, although its unrelenting focus on post-Reformation neo-Catholic writers like the comte de Bonald and fascist theorists like Carl Schmitt and Percy Ernst Schramm occasions some concern.

Buc's main target is the adoption by contemporary Anglo-American medieval historians of anthropological models of ritual of the functionalist variety, in order to gain some purchase on the ways that ritual, which saturated medieval life, worked in the early Middle Ages. This is somewhat odd, since there is a reasonable argument to make that the dominant anthropological model deployed by this branch of medievalists from the 1970s on was not functionalist but rather symbolic or cultural anthropology as developed by Clifford Geertz—in conscious revolt against functionalism—and taken up with such fervor first by early modern historians such as Natalie Zemon Davis and Robert Darnton, followed by medievalists such as Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, Patrick Geary, Lester Little, Geoffrey Koziol, and the like.

This possible misidentification of the object of his criticisms is significant, for the core of Buc's argument is that what we, modern scholars, are perforce treating when we discuss medieval rituals are not the rituals themselves but rather descriptions of rituals—that may or may not actually have taken place—hence epiphenomena of textuality, rather than rituality in its functionalist guise. And it was, of course, Geertz who moved anthropological models of society and ritual away precisely from a functionalist to a textual basis, seeing in them ways of "saying something about something" or, in a more famous and broader definition of culture as a whole, as "an assemblage of texts" whose specific cultural forms should "be treated as texts, as imaginative works built out of social materials." Geertz figures largely in the section devoted to social science, but it is the Geertz of *Negara: The Theater State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (1980), rather than the semiotic and socioliterary Geertz of the Balinese cockfight.

Critical to Buc's argument is his contestation of functionalist assumptions about the efficacy of ritual and its more or less automatic expression of a consensual social order. In his discussion of a variety of late antique and early modern rituals such as martyrdom, humiliation, and processions such as the formal *occursus*, Buc repeatedly and brilliantly demonstrates that the interpretations given those rituals were highly diverse and contextually—politically and religiously—conditioned. Depending on an author's political affinities, social context and situation, and/or ideological intentions, rituals could be construed as "bad" or "good," "transcendent" (i.e. "true") or "deceptive," generative of social consensus and unity (a sign of

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"good" ritual) or of dissension (a "bad" thing, ritually speaking). In a culture governed by a hermeneutical tradition derived ultimately from the relationship of the Old Testament to the New, all events, as well as all texts, were subject to interpretive consideration and judgment. Moreover, the essentially dualist understanding of the world in the Middle Ages—divided between the operations of God and the Devil—inherently contests the monistic vision of society held by functionalist anthropology.

Buc's larger point is that "there can be no anthropological readings of rituals depicted in medieval texts, but only anthropological readings of medieval textual practices" (p. 4). And those readings must be grounded in a full historiographical sensitivity to a given's author's political intentions in writing and an understanding of the way in which medieval texts were "forces in the practice of power": that is, "were instruments of power" (p. 259). One is tempted to suggest that in transferring "ritual" from the domain of social practice to that of textuality, and in seeing textuality as always already motivated by unarticulated "ideological" goals, Buc is transferring to textuality the very functionalism that he denies to practice, albeit of a somewhat different nature. But then, historians of every stripe—modern, postmodern, literary, and social—are always hard put to eschew the attempt to understand how the past and its plethora of actions and artifacts functioned.

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JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA. *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. (Cultural Sitings.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 450. $55.00.

Seldom does a work of such obvious historiographic significance and intellectual merit so overtly result from the efforts of such an engaged cultural critic. A native of Ecuador, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra would convince his readers that greater emphasis on the intellectual history of the Hispanic world, and specifically on its eighteenth-century scholars' debates about how correctly to source and write the history of the Americas, will ultimately neutralize a Latin American historiography that does little more than "emphasize inordinate social conflict and collective failure" (pp. 347–48). Like many an intellectual historian before him, this author insists that we should tune down the social and the collective many while vaunting the mental achievements of the few if we are to grasp the genius not just of Latin America but of the peninsular motherland as well.

This being about debates, the author organizes his book ideologically rather than diachronically. The main targets—not just of Cañizares-Esguerra but of the Hispanic intellectual elite he centers on—are the eighteenth-century northern European scholarship that denigrated Amerindian cultures and the sixteenth-century Spanish historians who had originally described the Amerindians for European audiences. Thus the first chapter of this book is on "enlightened" eighteenth-century northerners like the comte de Buffon, the abbé Raynal, and William Robertson, and the second is on sixteenth-century "humanistic" writers whom the northerners later attacked. Cañizares-Esguerra essentially skips the seventeenth century. The remaining three chapters study the patriotic Hispanic reactions against these northern put downs. Chapter three focuses on the eighteenth-century peninsular patriots who marshaled evidence that, beyond Miguel de Cervantes and Lope de Vega, their culture had not been and was not obtuse and thus their historiographic efforts in the Western Hemisphere were noble, while the last two chapters deal with those the author calls the "Creoles" but who, as he recognizes, would be better labeled "the overseas Spanish clergy." Mostly speaking from New Spain, these writers defended themselves first against the northern Europeans and latterly against the secularizing Bourbons as well.

Cañizares-Esguerra's two main theses are as follows. While all Hispanic scholars were equally patriotic, their internal exchanges regarding the writing of American history reveal "the density and originality of [their] intellectual debates" (p. 209) in comparison not only to those of the northerners—in the early seventeenth century, "Spanish scholarship . . . far surpassed anything then available in English" (p. 363)—but also to the little that North Americans like "Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin" had done to respond to European critics of America (p. 210). To this insistence on Hispanic intellectual sophistication, the author adds the thesis that in their scholarship, the Creoles especially repeatedly anticipated our current preoccupations. For instance, their criticisms of travel literature "foreshadowed many of our contemporary postcolonial insights" (p. 206).

What were the discourses in which the Hispanics spoke not only to the future but in an equal when not superior way for the Europeans of their own time? In what follows I oppose the northerners' views and those of the Hispanics. As regards Amerindians, these writers argued that American cultures were not as great as Hernan de Cortés and the missionary chroniclers made them out to be. Or perhaps such cultures were indeed very old and thus great? How could they be great, when they could not "write," leaving only childish scrawls? Or did they indeed write, in hieroglyphics we still struggle to understand? The conquistadors were brutal, but perhaps the slaughter was not so great, if the preconquest population was actually much less than thought. Had the natives really been capable of time keeping and memory and thus historical recordings, as was claimed, for instance, on the basis of the great circular stone monuments? You will see they were, once scholars solve the meaning of these images. The indolence of today's Amerindians proves their earlier incapacity. Not so; that is due to the destruction of the earlier Indian elite, for elites always lead.

As regards the European settlers, they were dazzled by what they did (not) see. Still, their accounts remain eyewitness primary sources and must be accorded

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more credit than those of the mere system builders from northern Europe. The Spanish accounts often prove incoherent and episodic when "read philosophically" and thus cannot be credited; better a "conjectural history" rooted in common sense. In fact, the at times awkward prose of, say, Toribio Motolinía proves his believability and certainly attests to his humanity. The priests who usually wrote these accounts were credulous and "superstitious." Perhaps so at times, but at least they understood the native languages and cultures by having lived with the Americans, which foreigners had not. All readers of this book will be struck, as was this reviewer, by how many of the problems that we often think of as modern were already on the table two and a half centuries ago. For this reader, at least, the greatest merit of Cañizares-Esguerra's book is to humble students by revealing the deep roots of many of the questions that we argue over so passionately today, as if we had first raised them.

In the process, Cañizares-Esguerra introduces us to debates between scores of intellectual figures that he has reconstructed mostly from unprinted sources painstakingly tracked down in the archives and libraries of three continents, a major feat of original research. Figures whom he particularly makes jump out at us are the Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada (whom I for one have clearly underrated), the arrogant yet supremely challenging Cornelius de Pauw, the meteoric Italian Lorenzo Boturini, whose "lost" collection is a thread that helps hold much of this book together, the duet of José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez and Antonio de León y Gama, the singular José Ignacio Borunda, Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, the Catalan Jesuit refugees in Italy after the expulsions of 1767, and certainly the founder of the Archive of the Indies Juan Bautista Muñoz, even if the author, without analysis, gets patriotically carried away by having him anticipate the nineteenth-century German historiographic revolution.

In the telling of these debates, two authorial procedures become evident. First, Cañizares-Esguerra only rarely furnishes the reader with our contemporary take on a given debate question that perchance has since settled or reoriented the problem at hand. I often wished for this angle of analysis, but the author's strategy is postmodernist; indeed, he occasionally even puts the word "truth" in quotes, as if to say that truth can only be gauged within the terms of any given debate context. Second, the author systematically assumes that any given person's posture on a particular question resulted from his sociopolitical position and his relation to his opponent rather than emerging from the terms of the problem itself, a stance that occasionally has the effect of releasing the author from any responsibility for critiquing his sources. There are other cavils I might raise, the most glaring of which is that Cañizares-Esguerra's work, while defining religious values as the heart of New Spain's "patriotic epistemology" (p. 267), has nothing substantial to say about religion in that epistemology or in national life, and as little to say about his many clerical sources' religious existence. Indeed, their religious status is often mentioned only in passing. This is a work of secular inspiration through and through.

Nonetheless, by stitching and weaving these figures and their debates into an impressive tapestry of intellectual life in Spain and its colonies, Cañizares-Esguerra has left a monument of intellectual history that will ultimately be read by, and inspire, all Atlantic and Latin American historians. It is not only the range of the work that impresses but also its depth, as the author plunges in to refine previous arguments so as to respond better to his sources. Occasionally the push for attention to Latin American thought appears archaically cantankerous, as when he suggests that the clerical baroque, which often enough suggested that all the historiography on New Spain be pitched because it was wrong, be our present-day inspiration for reexamining what passes for orthodoxy in Hispanic studies. But anyone who can praise that baroque for its "aggressive modernity" (p. 343) and get away with it through serious analysis, as does this scholar, has our admiration and thanks.

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NANCY LEYS STEPAN. *Picturing Tropical Nature*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. 283. $35.00.

Studies of the ways in which the tropics have been constructed have become a major publishing passion of late. We have had works dealing with travel accounts, art, tropical medicine, botanical transfers, and exotic gardens, as well as nineteenth-century anthropology and its related photographic and anatomical activities. The reason for all this activity is, of course, partly related to the burgeoning of postcolonial studies. The tropics were constructed by scholars, travelers, artists, doctors, and botanists from the temperate regions. They were thus the tropical "other," the environmental touchstone by which the temperate self could be defined. Tropical environments were also seen as reflecting the human temperaments of those who lived in them, embracing unbridled passions, a prolific human biodiversity, dark groves of mysterious psychological states, hidden horrors of disease that reflected frightening zoological and entomological phenomena, as well as a seemingly paradoxical lassitude, a fatalism that precluded the energetic achievements temperate peoples so readily attributed to themselves.

Of course, such a set of negative images did not arise fully formed from the earliest times when travelers, adventurers, conquerors, and scientists encountered the tropics. At first depicted as El Dorados, they were tropical Edens by the eighteenth century. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that the tropics supposedly shifted from glorious garden to region of gorgeous gloom. Only then did all the more

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negative characteristics come to be attached to them, culminating in Claude Lévi-Strauss's evocative and untranslatable notion of the *tristes tropiques*. This darker vision of the tropics coincided with the growth of formal imperial rule, the deepening of "informal" influence on South America, and the emergence of disciplines like anthropology, geography, and tropical medicine.

Nancy Leys Stepan, whose books on race and eugenics have been rightly acclaimed, has now moved into the field of the analysis of illustrations to add to this growing literature on the tropics. She concentrates mainly on South America, and in particular on Brazil, with only brief excursions into other so-called tropical areas of the world. Her premises are the by now familiar ones that the projection of nature is an imaginary construct rather than an empirical description, and that tropical nature constitutes a foil to other forms of nature, closely rooted in political, aesthetic, and other designs. She goes further to suggest that since illustrations of nature are the essential and influential tools of such projects, these depictions have to be analyzed as a key part of the argument. She uses W. J. T. Mitchell's notion that all media are mixed media in order to move back and forth between illustrations and text. Stepan heads off on a fairly winding track that takes her to Alexander von Humboldt, Alfred Russel Wallace, notions of racial degeneration and transformation (closely bound up with debates about miscegenation), tropical pathologies, and twentieth-century problems of identification and definition, as with Chagas disease, culminating with the new constructions offered by Roberto Burle Marx in his gardens in Rio and elsewhere. Hence she touches on issues of media theory, environmental concerns, race, anthropology, medicine, and the culture of garden design.

Stepan marshals some intriguing material, and it is all handled with verve and style. The sections on medicine and medical photography are particularly acute, although, when trying to explain the prevalence of photographs of elephantiasis or filariasis, the author fails to state the obvious. Malaria, cholera, and yellow fever were simply not amenable to photographic treatment of this sort. More important, Stepan does not seem to follow her argument through to its logical conclusion. The tropics were never portrayed as a single entity, constructed in a binary way from the temperate regions. There were indeed empathetic travelers as well as racist charlatans. There were multiple visions and a lot of doubt. Even the practitioners of tropical medicine were never fully convinced that it was an appropriate category. Moreover, the very frontispiece of the book reveals the fundamental paradox. Two women sit in a French "winter garden" surrounded by monster plants. The tropics certainly demanded to be tamed and brought to order by Western science and technology, by various forms of exploitation as well as by Western scientific forestry (barely mentioned here). But they also offered appealing botanical "others" that people of northern climes wished to possess and marvel at, whether the victoria regia lily, which became something of a cliché, or the Amazonian passion flower, which invaded every garden and greenhouse of significance. These were the attractive floral forerunners of rhythm, music, and dance in the twentieth century.

There are other paradoxes too. Brazil is not even fully in the tropics and Rio is right at their edge. Ceylon (Sri Lanka), which is as resolutely tropical as you can get, retained its Edenic reputation right through the era of imperial rule, as any examination of illustrations, photographs, or guide books of that island reveal. In short, there are many tropics as well as many temperate regions, and the reactions of one to the other are equally heterogeneous. Nonetheless, Stepan's book makes a notable contribution to the debate. It is pity therefore that it has some failings of accuracy and citation. It is irritating to find that names of authors and titles of books are misrepresented. In the end, if tropical nature is supposed to be exuberant, heterogeneous, and somewhat unruly, these words can equally stand as a description of this book.

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ELLEN FITZPATRICK. *History's Memory: Writing America's Past, 1880–1980*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 318. $39.95.

Ellen Fitzpatrick asks if the historiography of the 1960s—the scholarship produced by the generation of young historians who entered the profession in the 1960s and 1970s—has been as "new" as both its practitioners and its critics have made it out to be. And the answer she provides is, essentially, "no."

Fitzpatrick observes that when we speak of the historical studies of the 1960s and 1970s as "the new history," we presume that a dramatic transformation took place in the discipline involving theory, method, perspective, subject, and commitment. When we talk of the "old history," we usually have in mind a history of "consensus," written from the vantage of the governing classes, narrowly focused on politics, and intended for a scholarly audience. When we refer to the "new history," we think of historians revealing conflict, writing "from the bottom up," harnessing social-scientific approaches and sensibilities, attending to relations of class, race, and gender, redeeming the experience and agency of the exploited and oppressed, and seeking to connect their work to the struggles and issues of the day. The image of the new historian is that of a pioneer, a populist, and a radical, opening up new territory, standing with the people, overturning tradition.

Fitzpatrick does not deny the accomplishments of and contributions made by the 1960s and post-1960s generations. But she wonders at our historical amnesia, "presentism," and failure adequately to recognize and appreciate the equally critical labors of previous

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generations of American "new historians" even as we celebrate the influence of certain European schools, most notably the British Marxist historians and the *annalistes* (a practice to which I admit having contributed). She asserts that the Americans deserve better treatment, and in affording it we will benefit by having a more critical picture of the history of our profession.

Fortunately, while Fitzpatrick frames her book in terms of our apparent historiographical ignorance, she does not turn the work into yet another tirade against the now graying 1960s generation. Rather, she wants to remind us of the spirit and originality of, as well as the endowments bequeathed by, late nineteenth and twentieth-century historians (each generation of which declared its own intentions to foment a "new history"). To do so, she renders a series of redemptive narratives of our predecessors' efforts to create a more social and democratic understanding of America's past. She begins by noting that even the founding of the American Historical Association in 1884 represented a political act: "it was intended to bring together intellectuals and concerned citizens determined to understand both the contours of history and the state of modern politics" (p. 13). Fitzpatrick then treats the "new history" of the Progressive-era historians, not only the writings of Frederick Jackson Turner, James Harvey Robinson, and Charles Beard but also those of W. E. B. Du Bois and others. Next, she presents two chapters on work in the 1920s and 1930s on Native Americans, workers, and the South, giving special, but not exclusive, attention to the labors of Norman Ware and Caroline Ware. Finally she addresses the "Myth of Consensus History" in the late 1940s and 1950s, highlighting the work of the Marxist Philip Foner and a series of critical studies on the Communist Party and closing with remarks on certain historians' efforts in the 1960s to declare a scholarly break with the discipline's past.

Fitzpatrick's narrative is necessarily selective, but her selection is smart. I was disappointed that she did not look at the relationship between the several generations' critical scholarship and the influence they may or may not have had on history teaching and textbooks. Doing so would have given us a better sense of their relative influence in the profession, as well as a better understanding of how my own generation failed to recognize their endowments. Also, a closer look at the contests of the 1960s within the discipline would have helped—especially since the book's subtitle promises to take us up to 1980. Nevertheless, Fitzpatrick's chapters are well written, her prose is clear, and her exegeses are critical yet balanced. She does a good job of relating her chosen scholars to the times in which they lived; and yet, while she lauds their critical innovations and achievements, she does not ignore their respective biases, stupidities, and evils. As a relative latecomer to United States history, I learned a lot from reading her book, and I think it would make a good addition to course syllabi in American historiography.

Nevertheless, as useful as her chapters will be in introducing students to critical twentieth-century American history writing, is Fitzpatrick right? Are we, in fact, guilty of standing on the shoulders of others but ignoring their presence/presents? And, if so, doesn't every generation try to do in its forebears to claim the affections of Clio?

HARVEY J. KAYE
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THOMAS BENDER, editor. *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 427. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.50.

From 1997 to 2000, seventy-eight scholars took part in a series of four conferences at New York University's Villa La Pietra in Florence, Italy. Sponsored jointly by NYU and the Organization of American Historians, the Project on Internationalizing the Study of American History sought to promote ways of situating American history in a broader—global—perspective. The sixteen essays in the book under review provide, in the words of editor and project director Thomas Bender, "a selection that collectively and coherently represents the work of the project" (p. viii). Five of the volume's eighteen authors are associated with NYU, seven are located elsewhere in the United States, and six hold appointments at foreign universities.

Although all the authors share the goal of "deprovincializing the narrative of American history" (p. 5), they differ widely in their approach to this goal, and their essays vary in quality and interest as well. Encompassing theoretical pieces on how to escape from over reliance on a national framework for American history, specific reinterpretations of American history in broadened context, and examinations of some of the practical difficulties facing those seeking to promote the internationalizing of American history, these essays give the reader a great deal to ponder. Unfortunately, this interesting information is not always easy to assimilate: although some of the essays are clear and to the point, several display prose that is so dense, jargon-laden, or abstract that untangling it requires multiple readings.

Among those essays that I found most compelling are the four by François Weil, Winfried Fluck, Ron Robin, and David A. Hollinger that focus on the practical difficulties of internationalizing American history. Weil and Fluck both suggest that the very volume and diversity ("fragmentation") of scholarship by American historians of the United States pose a serious barrier to that scholarship's assimilation abroad. Robin and Hollinger question some of the basic assumptions shared by most of the volume's contributors, including in particular the desire to play down the nation as a concept essential to the study of American history. Although it is impossible in a short review to discuss each of the specific interpretative essays, I especially liked Daniel T. Rodgers's examina-

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tion of American Progressivism within a European context (a theme central to his recent book, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* [1998]). Noting that early nineteenth-century European thinkers such as Alexis de Tocqueville had seen the United States as representing the wave of the future, Rodgers describes the half-century from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s as "an age of social politics" (p. 250) during which American reformers borrowed many of the ideas of their more precocious (and often more influential) European counterparts.

Hanging over this entire project—and largely unresolved by these authors—are two major interpretive questions. The first is the salience of the concept "nation" for the study of history in general and American history in particular. Although Bender insists at the outset that the contributors to this volume do not aim to replace but rather "to contextualize the nation" (p. 12), several in fact come close to dismissing "national" history as both anachronistic and inevitably chauvinistic. By contrast, Hollinger responds that nations have been important historically, asserts that "the national project of the United States is part of the primal stuff of history to be engaged" (p. 383), and points out that "to study the nation is not necessarily to be an ideological nationalist" (p. 385). Curiously, given their stated goal of transcending national history, the authors pay little attention to the substantial scholarly literature on nations and nationalism and show little interest in exploring the complex meanings of "nation," which can denote a people, their political manifestation (the state), or a place (a country). Throughout the volume, most contributers use the term "nation" almost totally unselfconsciously in the second and third senses, interchangeably with "state," "nation-state," and "country."

The second looming but unresolved question concerns the relationship among "transnational," "global," and "comparative" history, which hold out very different ways of decentering the American past. Most of the authors seem more attracted to the idea of studying transnational trends linking Americans with non-Americans in the past than to that of contextualizing American developments by comparing them with developments elsewhere. But they rarely explain this preference; indeed—with the notable exceptions of Ian Tyrell, who suggests that the "internationalization of American history must *include*, rather than supersede, comparative history" (p. 176), and Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, who call for a global comparative perspective to overcome the "manifest limitations" of traditional comparison, in which "the issues studied comparatively tend to arise from questions important to American historiography . . . [rather than] from the historiography of others" (p. 64)—the authors pay remarkably little attention to the place of comparison in a newly broadened American history.

If there is now widespread agreement on the desirability of "deprovincializing" and "internationalizing" American history, the debate on how best to achieve this goal is likely to continue for a long time. This edited collection does not provide all the answers, but its appearance is a welcome sign that an increasing number of historians are grappling with this important topic.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

LAUREN BENTON. *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900.* (Studies in Comparative World History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 285. Cloth $65.00, paper $20.00.

This is a bold, sweeping, and highly innovative book. At a time when it seems almost impossible to keep up with the breadth of monographic literature, never mind integrate historiographies written in other languages, Lauren Benton shows us not only that it *is* possible, but that it is vital. The sheer scale of this book, and its conceptual achievements, will make it a landmark in world history.

Benton's subject is the ways in which empires grapple with the complexities of institutional life in settings far from the metropolis, where cultures frequently counterpose themselves to "Western" projects. Traditionally, historians had diffusionist models that saw institutionalization of social conflict radiating out from imperial hubs. Benton takes institutions seriously but turns them on their heads, showing how the makeup of legal life in colonies was shaped by myriad local forces: colonizers, subalterns, and mediators of various sorts. Try as they might—and Benton shows that this was not the uniform drive—imperial powers could not efface the compromises and syncretic mixtures that emerged on colonial grounds. Indeed, more often they gave up this effort, in part because "legal pluralism" (a portmanteau concept that runs through his book) was so functional in handling the social differences that prevailed in African, Asian, and Latin American colonies. Moreover, these differences did not stop with the differences between autochthonous peoples and Europeans but also existed among Europeans themselves, comprised of vagrants, settlers, convicts, and even conquered settlers from other European powers. In other words, the author takes seriously the idea that the fringe may have been part of empires but did not necessarily replicate imperial designs. This was so because legal relations brought communities together even as they distinguished them from each other, and the tension in turn motivated long-term legal change.

For Benton, however, this does not mean that imperial jurists fanned out across the globe only to encounter incommensurable, radically different legal orders. Benton makes a persuasive case that in the legal pluralism at the fringe there is nonetheless an "order" that can be described as a kind of outcome of efforts to link cultures and commodities across long

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distances. Indeed, legal pluralism, in which European courts coexisted with local versions of judicial dispensation, was necessary for global exchanges to occur. For instance, in chapter two, Benton challenges the notion that precolonial African legal regimes were somehow radically different from European institutions, arguing that African practices of customary law were in some sense suited to models of bondage that could later be refashioned for other purposes by Europeans. This was so in part because Iberians themselves were steeped in hybrid, complex legal systems and had adapted to many influences. Hybrid orders fused and fought with other hybrid orders. In the end, this kind of ongoing interaction and legal negotiation migrated across the Atlantic and framed the ways in which law enforcers dealt with maroon communities in the New World through treaties and bargaining with runaways. Pluralism is what enabled the cross-cultural exchanges to transpire in the first place.

In all this, Benton explores how nonstate, religious, kin-based, and "ethnic" affiliations provided the bases for institutional development. But does this mean the "state" was an afterthought? Not quite. The real point for Benton is that the imperial state was not an automatic outcome of imperial consolidation. Rather, state-like institutions formed, if at all, in response to developments on the ground and were not part of a predestined, natural plan to create more "stateness." Moveover, whatever state structures did emerge, as in French Senegal or British India, did not eradicate the hybrid, confusing and mixed features they tried to eclipse. Indeed, some European magistrates had to tolerate, and even subsume, the pragmatism of local administrators schooled in the real worlds of colonial justice. In the end, however, there was a drift to state "hegemony": not, as is commonly argued, from the center outward, but in response to colonial "politics of legal ordering" (p. 253).

If colonial state formation did not conform to some imperial grand design, postcolonial nation-building efforts were no more coherent, although by the nineteenth century jurists and litigants conspired to harden the rules of law. Paradoxically, they did so as much because extraterritorial forces (neighboring states, foreign merchants) compelled territorial rulers to consolidate a domestic legal order. Nation-state formation for Benton was a highly internationalized process. In a brilliant chapter (seven), Benton shows how Uruguay, in the wake of a long civil war, created a codified system of laws precisely because foreigners simultaneously fought for stronger enforcement of, and protected exemptions from, sovereign rules. She concludes with some comparisons with extraterritorial influences on legal modernization in the Ottoman and Qing empires. In this sense, the dynamic of law as the combinative and divisive force in cross-cultural relations was a conceptual bridge that crossed the divide between colonial and postcolonial struggles.

All this adds up to a nuanced, subtle case for studying global processes through local conflicts and arrangements. The scope, from Canada, to Bengal, to New South Wales, to Uruguay, is simply breathtaking. The author balances a command of secondary literature with a wealth of new documents, primarily from London and Uruguay. Benton follows legal cases and "small struggles" to show how litigants and legalists fought over the meanings and scopes of laws that were supposed to established social boundaries in colonial settings—with profound effects on "big" structures.

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PETER KARSTEN. *Between Law and Custom: "High" and "Low" Legal Cultures in the Lands of the British Diaspora—The United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, 1600–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 560. $95.00.

Peter Karsten enjoys dichotomies and uses them as organizing and explanatory devices in his legal history. "Heart" contested "head" in his last book, *Heart Versus Head: Judge-Made Law in Nineteenth-Century America* (1997), which argued for a more religious and humanitarian bias in American legal development than conventional wisdom had allowed. Here "high" and "low" legal cultures struggle with each other in a much larger legal world. In Karsten's new book, we encounter the British diaspora, juridically divided between Karsten's United States and an agglomeration called "CANZ" (Canada, Australia, New Zealand).

Here is another monument to empirical research, Karsten's signature as a legal historian. Here, too, is a plain-speaking author who starts with questions and deals answers. Karsten wants to know why CANZ jurists were more closely tied to English law than his jurisprudence of the heart suggests was the case in most of the nineteenth-century United States, and whether diasporic "high" legal cultures influenced each other, particularly the United States on CANZ. He wants to understand the dynamic and fractious interaction between received "high" law and "low" customary law (popular norms) that "created what The Law actually *was*" (p. 14) throughout the diaspora. Finally, Karsten wants to know whether the norms of the diaspora's indigenous populations were accommodated in, or had any influence on, the processes by which those populations were displaced.

Karsten gleans answers from a forest of detail—his research net is cast formidably wide. He has examined three domains of legality across the full multiplicity of U.S.-CANZ jurisdictions: land (property law), agreements (contract), and accidents (tort). He leaves some gaps in the diaspora, both geographic and substantive. Southern Africa appears in driblets, the Caribbean is absent, and so is slavery (a subject to which Karsten feels he could not add). Some interpretive decisions can be second guessed: English law is made too much a monolith (just as CANZ's acronymic presence suggests another, the United States' a third). Plural

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cultures of law through the mid-eighteenth century belie a dichotomy of either high law or low custom there. The relationship of metropole to diaspora is one way: we don't hear much about blow-back effects. Finally, readers interested in labor contracts should also read Robert J. Steinfeld's *Coercion, Contract and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century* (2001). They will find less in common than Karsten's citation of Steinfeld's earlier work implies.

What does Karsten find? As "proud bearers of the Common-Law tradition" (p. 512) on the imperial circuit, CANZ jurists felt less free, and less inclined, to veer from English norms. American precedents were sometimes cited, but opportunistically rather than systematically. Low culture penetrated high through legislative, not juridical, action. And everywhere low legal culture was distinctively unfriendly to indigenous populations.

Karsten writes with a genial authority that, if not always convincing, reveals an author justifiably enthusiastic about his mission. At moments his account becomes personal, even intimate, as if the book were also a diary of discoveries. But there is also something of an "in progress" feel to his multiple questions and answers, to his many middle-order generalizations and reluctance to commit to an explicit or overarching interpretive frame. Karsten's closing pages emphasize the vitality of popular norms in settler legal and political cultures, but surely this is something we already know. Karsten's chapters do not have conclusions as much as summaries of what has been learned empirically. The book itself does not really conclude at all, but pauses (for breath?) amid new thoughts.

Carping does not do justice to what is truly important here. First, time and again we are returned to the relationship of indigenous to settler. If Karsten will not nominate this as his book's metanarrative, I will. Karsten's detailed work on land is wonderful, and the integration of United States with CANZ research is entirely convincing. Here is profound irony, for those who like irony in their history: the dispossessed at the core of the migrations that populated the diaspora took their norms to the United States and CANZ and mobilized them relentlessly to dispossess others. "High" law, Karsten shows, was if anything on the side of the indigenous. The crown respected, while the settlers and their local governments ignored, indigenous rights. Popular norms, not law, did the dirty work.

Second, Karsten demonstrates the crucial importance of putting U.S. history in a world frame. Commonwealth scholars know that a United States besotted with its exceptionalism is provincially ignorant, particularly of the anglophone settler cultures with which it actually shares so much history. With enormous energy, Karsten has set about remedying the matter.

CHRISTOPHER TOMLINS
American Bar Foundation

PATRICIA SEED. *American Pentimento: The Invention of Indians and the Pursuit of Riches.* (Public Worlds, number 7.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 299. $29.95.

Notwithstanding John H. Elliott's continuous pleas for early modernists to recognize their potential historiographical import, comparative studies of the British and Spanish-American Atlantics have so far remained remarkable for their absence. In her own idiosyncratic and richly creative way, however, Patricia Seed has cast parochial, microhistorical sensibilities to the wind and has offered a sweeping narrative of the remarkably different ways the English and Spanish (and also the Portuguese) went about conquering and dominating Native American peoples.

The book under review is clearly a sequel of Seed's *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (1995). In *Ceremonies of Possession*, Seed identified five different ways Europeans (the English, the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Dutch) claimed sovereignty over the lands they conquered in the New World. The English, she argued, took lands without enclosures to be empty; thus for them only fences and intensive farming signified rightful colonial possession. Spaniards, on the other hand, drew on Islamic precedent and protected the land holdings and political and judicial structures of their newly colonized subjects while seeking to remind the vanquished of their subordination through earmarked taxation and exclusionary laws. In this new book, Seed explores in greater detail these two strikingly dissimilar ways of interacting with Amerindian populations and the political fallout for indigenous peoples struggling today for land and "human dignity" in the territories of the former British and Iberian empires. Hence her use of the quirky yet suggestive word "pentimento" in the title: painted-over layers on a canvas, like historical memory itself, can resurface to become visible over time.

Seed's account of English colonialist discourses and practices manages to bring together great many seemingly unrelated subjects into a satisfying whole. The reason why the English saw Native lands as "waste," "wild," or "empty," ready for the picking, was intimately connected to long-enduring English views of property. In common English law, property was sanctioned and contested through visible signs of labor (fences, oxen plowing), not written documents. Although English colonists did not find fences and oxen plowing in Amerindian lands, they did find agriculturalists. The English, however, gendered these practices (only females planted and tended crops, whereas males were mere "hunters"), thus conveniently dismissing signs of Native agricultural labor on the land as female activity. No matter what and where (North America, Australia, South Africa), the English always found "empty" territories, systematically displacing entire populations.

By and large, the Spanish did not displace Amerin-

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dians but created laws and institutions to defend the lands of those they conquered from land-hungry colonists. But as Spaniards did so, they humiliated the Natives, instituting visible signs of subordination as well as discourses of cannibalism and savagery that intentionally sought to demean the vanquished. This tradition was Islamic. So, too, Seed contends, was the tradition of assigning property of the subsoil (mines) to the state. Ritual humiliation and Islamic understandings of property caused the Spanish crown to feel entitled to Amerindian labor, which it distributed among colonists to bolster the economies of silver production. The Portuguese at first did not follow the Spanish pattern. They inaugurated a form of colonial extraction through trade that left the land and labor of local populations unharmed. This model did not succeed, and the Portuguese eventually embraced the ways of their neighbors in the Iberian peninsula.

Both in *Ceremonies of Possession* and in this book, Seed has broached a subject that, although obvious, is often neglected: namely, the impact of Islam in the European colonial expansion to the New World. Although retrenchment into old-fashioned essentialisms and Manichean categories seems, in the wake of September 11, 2001, temptingly reassuring, books like Seed's remind us how thoroughly hybrid the constructs of the "West" and "Europe" actually are.

Seed writes clearly and with enviable poise and authority. Her penchant for generalizations will most likely irritate some readers, but it is precisely this tendency that makes her book ideally suited for undergraduate courses (and calls for a paperback edition). One can only hope that Seed's wide-angled scholarship and transnational sensibilities prove a model for others to follow.

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ERNST VAN VEEN. *Decay or Defeat? An Inquiry into the Portuguese Decline in Asia 1580–1645.* (CNWS Publications, number 96; Studies in Overseas History, number 1.) Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, Leiden University. 2000. Pp. iv, 306.

For better or worse, the historiography of Portuguese Asia has been dominated by scholarly works examining two starkly contrasting periods. A plethora of studies has detailed the development of Portugal's seaborne empire under Vasco da Gama, Afonso de Albuquerque, and others, while just as many trees and ink have been sacrificed to describe the seventeenth-century decline of the Estado da India. A dominant trend has sought to link this decline to the "Spanish Captivity" that began with Philip II's conquest of Portugal in 1580 and ended only in 1640 with the restoration of an "indigenous" dynasty under Dom João IV. As its title suggests, Ernst van Veen's study contributes to our knowledge of this second period. His obvious challenge is to provide new answers for some very old and frequently answered questions. Van Veen's self-professed twist is to gauge the degree to which Portugal's reversal of fortune in Asia was the result of internal decay, as opposed to the more traditional view of defeat by the superior power of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

Van Veen's work is the inaugural volume in a new series produced by the prolific cottage industry devoted to the study of European expansion at the University of Leiden. The book contains ten chapters: the first five seek to illuminate the Portuguese presence in Asia, while the final five concentrate on the appearance of the VOC and the subsequent period of Luso-Dutch struggle. Does van Veen deliver on his pledge to offer new insights on the nature of "decay or defeat" for Portuguese Asia? Well, he both succeeds and fails. It is hardly surprising that the author seeks to make the case for decay more than defeat here. After all, since the halcyon days of C. R. Boxer, the traditional view has held that Portuguese decline was overwhelmingly a case of defeat at the hands of the superior resources of the VOC. Instead, van Veen seeks to synthesize the results of monographic studies of the recent past by James C. Boyajian, Teotonio R. de Souza, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and others into something approaching a new interpretation of this familiar story. Using Boyajian's work on the New Christians, he argues that this group played a notable role in financing Habsburg adventures but notes that "satisfying the need for silver of the Habsburg monarchy became a more attractive proposition than investment in the *Carreira da India*" (p. 7). This development supposedly did much to undermine the economic underpinnings of the empire. As for the VOC, van Veen correctly points out that the exceedingly efficient protocapitalist and military juggernaut of the traditional literature was, in fact, far from the case for much of this period. Finally, incorporating Subrahmanyam and others, van Veen argues that it was the intra-Asian geopolitical dynamic—the rise of the Nayaks of Ikkeri on the Kanara coast of India, Shah Abbas in Persia, the Tokugawas in Japan, and the Manchu dynasty in China—that largely undermined the Portuguese and assisted the Dutch. While none of this is new or groundbreaking, at least van Veen presents it in a coherent fashion.

Overall, however, the book remains largely a Dutch perspective on the struggle. Van Veen has not consulted the major archival collections in Lisbon or the incredibly rich holdings of the Historical Archive of Goa (HAG). Such materials would have allowed him to examine his decay versus defeat "paradigm" in a much more definitive fashion. Surely, his chapter on the *Reis Vizinhos* (neighboring kings) would have benefited from consulting the archival collection of the same name at the HAG and available on microfilm in Lisbon. Perhaps as a result of neglecting Portuguese archival sources, van Veen reiterates other parts of the "Black Legend" of Portuguese Asia that are just as

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badly in need of revision as the tenets he addresses. He declares, for example, that as opposed to the "dynamic developments in Dutch society" at this time "Portuguese society was stagnant" (p. 236). More troubling is the fact that van Veen adheres to the century-old orthodoxy regarding the almost inevitable decline of the Estado that culminated in the loss of Cochin in 1663. He thereby ignores the crucial reforms pursued by the Portuguese crown especially after 1668, reforms that had yielded impressive results indeed by 1683. This reform campaign argues convincingly against the outdated view presented here of a decadent Portuguese crown and empire unwilling or unable to reform itself in particular during the second half of the seventeenth century.

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JUDITH A. CARNEY. *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 240. $37.50.

This book seeks, through an interdisciplinary and cross-cultural perspective on the history of rice cultivation in the Atlantic basin, to recover "a significant African contribution to the agricultural history of the Americas" (p. 1). Rejecting the conventional interpretation that "assigns Europeans the role of ingeniously adapting a crop of Asian origin to New World conditions," Judith A. Carney argues instead for the "transfer of rice as the diffusion of an indigenous [African] knowledge system" (pp. 1–2). West Africa was a site of independent domestication of a separate rice species, *Oryza glaberrima*, by A.D. 300. Carney convincingly demonstrates that complex systems of tidal floodplain, irrigated coastal estuarine, and upland rainfed rice cultivation were already established between the Senegal River and present-day Ivory Coast before the arrival of Europeans.

In the Americas, enslaved Africans grew rice of the Asian *sativa* as well as *glaberrima* strains in terrains similar to those of West Africa, both for their own subsistence in provision grounds and as plantation crops in places as diverse as Brazil, Peru, the Guianas, Surinam, El Salvador, Louisiana, and South Carolina. In South Carolina, to the end of the American Revolution, all aspects of rice cultivation, from land preparation through sowing, weeding, threshing, milling, winnowing, and cooking, bore a strong imprint of African practices. The only people familiar with rice culture were slaves; European settlers as yet possessed no detailed understanding of Asian systems. Hence it was Africans who supplied the critical knowledge that enabled planters to shift from initial rainfed production on uplands to wetland cultivation in inland swamps, and eventually to irrigated floodplains. Slaves used their expertise, Carney argues, to mitigate the conditions of their enslavement.

Two of the book's main strengths are its detailed description of present-day West African rice culture, informed by field work in the Gambia, and its astute analysis of historical accounts of rice cultivation in West Africa and the Americas. Another strength is Carney's recognition that African agricultural expertise embodied gendered knowledge systems. In the Gambia, rice was solely a women's crop; elsewhere in West Africa, cultivation involved a division of labor between men and women. Everywhere women were responsible for seed selection, sowing, processing, and cooking. Enslaved women in Carolina and Georgia engaged in the same tasks.The near universal tendency (in both past and present) to undervalue women's work by classifying it as "unskilled" is a main reason why African contributions to colonial agricultural development have been dismissed. As rice production increased, slavery transformed the female task of milling with mortar and pestle into long, grueling labor that both women and men were forced to perform. African men's inexperience in traditional women's work likely contributed to marked variations in the quality of output.

A main weakness of this book is the treatment of the transatlantic slave trade. Carney utilizes the works of Peter H. Wood, Daniel F. Littlefield, and David J. Richardson, which demonstrated that slaves from rice growing regions were indeed present in South Carolina but does not convincingly relate the timing of their forced migration (with the exception of the third quarter of the eighteenth century) or their proportions in the total enslaved population to the chronology of Carolina rice agriculture. Peoples from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and the Windward Coast made up less than half of all slaves imported to South Carolina, and they were a distinct minority in the early years of rice culture. How they may have transmitted skills and knowledge to the majority who came from regions such as Angola with no tradition of rice culture is not considered. South Carolina planters did express a preference for slaves from rice-growing areas, but recent studies of the slave trade demonstrate that a combination of African supply and strategies of competing European shippers largely determined the mix of peoples sent to New World destinations. (Parts of the Chesapeake, for example, received higher percentages from Senegambia than did the Carolinas.) Arguments that a higher percentage of females were brought to South Carolina than to the Caribbean and that they commanded higher prices—revealing the crucial role of African women in plantation rice culture—are also not substantiated. Moreover, the proportion of women among slaves shipped from Senegambia was significantly lower than among those taken from non-rice-growing areas.

Nonetheless, Carney's hypothesis surely merits further research and testing in multiple locations. Although the case this book makes for the "transfer of an entire cultural system" (p. 2) to South Carolina is not fully proven, it would be unfortunate if scholars simply devoted their energies to pointing out weaknesses. The many continuities between rice cultures in West Africa

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and in slave societies in the Americas are too numerous and too compelling to be easily dismissed.

LORENA S. WALSH
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SAM A. MUSTAFA. *Merchants and Migration: Germans and Americans in Connection, 1776–1835.* (Modern Economic and Social History.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate. 2001. Pp. xvii, 284. $74.95.

The American Revolution freed the United States from the British navigation acts. For the first time, the former thirteen colonies could trade directly with continental northern Europe. Between 1776 and 1835, direct trade between the United States and the Hanseatic ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck developed haphazardly but nevertheless grew substantially. Frequently, the volume of this trade was second in importance only to the volume of trade with Great Britain. Sam A. Mustafa explores the development and growth of the U.S.-Hanseatic trading connection through the extensive correspondence found in surviving letterbooks, account books, and family papers of the merchants involved in the trade. It is important to note that, despite the book's title and the nature of the primary sources used, this book is not about migration, nor about how merchant-shippers ran their import/export businesses, nor about how merchant consuls-in-residence dealt with the legal issues brought to them by fellow merchant-shippers who had run afoul of a foreign government's legal system. Mustafa's purpose is more narrow: namely, to highlight the role merchants played in the evolution of political and diplomatic ties between the U.S. and various German states.

The author provides a valuable service by clearly explaining the technical meaning of important legal and political concepts dealing with transnational trade that are not necessarily familiar to general readers, such as free goods on free ships, treaties of amity and commerce, most favored nation status, trade reciprocity, and the model treaty approach. He also explains the very important, but often misunderstood, distinction between a consul and a minister-in-residence. Unlike the latter, consuls did not have special diplomatic privileges and were not exempt from local laws but did have the right to transact business and represent foreign merchants in local courts.

Unfortunately, a compilation of merchant correspondence by itself has limited general interest. Mustafa's attempt to overcome this limitation creates two problems. First, in order to flesh out the larger historical story around this merchant correspondence, the author relies on aged secondary sources. For some issues this may not be a problem, but on occasion it leads to assertions and conclusions that are out of date or have been overturned by more recent scholarship. In addition, some important shocks to U.S.-German trade go unmentioned, such as the effect that the 1816–1817 "year-without-a-summer" and the financial panic of 1819 had on trade.

Second, in order to give this merchant correspondence relevance in the shaping of larger historical issues, Mustafa pushes the view that merchant correspondence was an important part of the diplomacy between nations, and that trade was the reason why nations made treaties. This view produces an uncomfortable framework for assessing the evolution of diplomacy and cannot be well sustained by the author's evidence. For example, Mustafa views the failure of the U.S. actively to pursue and consummate a treaty with the Hanseatic ports as making no sense in light of the substantial trade with these ports. Likewise, he views the active pursuit and consummation by the U.S. of a treaty with Prussia—the first treaty the U.S. made with any German state—as making no sense because there was little direct trade between the U.S. and Prussia. By contrast, Mustafa views the failure of the U.S. to consummate its pursuit of a treaty with Austria as making perfect sense because there was little direct trade between the U.S. and Austria. While the author alludes to the possibility that larger geopolitical-military and sovereignty-symbolism issues might matter more to the making of treaties than the smoothing of commercial trade, he gives little consideration to such views. By contrast, what seems obvious to the reader but apparently not to the author is that any treaty connection with Prussia, even a trade treaty, might prove beneficial in that Prussia could be a serious political-military counterweight to the British. The Hanseatic ports could offer nothing, real or potential, on this score.

Overall, the evidence offered of some powerful merchant-diplomacy nexus is not compelling. As such, the unintended double meaning of the title to chapter five, "The Invisible Diplomacy of Merchants," will be readily apparent to the reader.

FARLEY GRUBB
University of Delaware

HANS-JÜRGEN GRABBE. *Vor der großen Flut: Die europäische Migration in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1783–1820.* (USA-Studien, number 10.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2001. Pp. 458. € 71.00.

Migration studies have traditionally isolated a particular group in its time and place and then studied the motion of that group using letters, port and local tax records, and, in the case of German emigrants, the *Ortssippenbücher* (collections of family papers, organized by locale.) Sometimes the migration of the group is juxtaposed against larger patterns of conflict or socioeconomic changes, sometimes not. Hans-Jürgen Grabbe, however, has assembled this kind of documentary trail not simply for one group or region but for the whole of northwestern Europe over five decades studded with wars and changes in colonial status. It is an ambitious approach, and the result is a remarkably useful book.

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Historians of early U.S. immigration often struggle with the problematic nature of ships' papers and port records. Documents on one side of the Atlantic do not necessarily match those on the other, and population statistics in early American cities frequently imply a much higher rate of immigration than surviving papers would confirm. This is particularly the case with Philadelphia and New York. Grabbe concedes these difficulties in his first chapter and provides an impressive summary of the varying estimates of early American immigration.

While Grabbe casts a very wide net on the European side of the migrations, his American focus falls heavily on the Delaware Valley, because it "absorbed the majority of immigrants from central Europe and Ireland in the years after 1783" (p. 18). What we have, therefore, is a kind of double funnel: a broad array of Europeans concentrating on a few North Sea ports of departure (Britain, Holland, and the Hanse ports of northern Germany), entering primarily in the region between Baltimore and New York, and then fanning out across the North American continent.

It is a welcome trend of the past decade to find historians exploring the "meaning" of migration: is there a logical framework within which we can understand the reasons for people moving from A to B? This requires attention not simply to what people did in their homeland and what they did once they got off the boat somewhere else. Historians like Georg Fertig, Marianne Wokeck, and now Grabbe have sought to place migration at the center of human work and behavior. In chapter six, Grabbe provides an excellent analysis of emigration at both the micro and macroeconomic levels. We learn of the different pricing structures in different harbors: some charging per person, others per family, with children sometimes "discounted" if the correct palms were greased. Grabbe examines everything from the layout of typical passenger ships to the popular fright stories circulating among late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century people about the horrors of crossing the ocean. (A German publisher in Göttingen even produced a warning pamphlet full of vivid descriptions of suffocation, disease, and the molestation of the unwary below decks.) If the reader is not fully acclimated by that point, Grabbe includes an appendix of memoirs from men who came down to the docks to buy filthy and desperate indentured servants right off a ship, even though sickness had already claimed the lives of 115 passengers.

At the macroeconomic level, Grabbe summarizes the "push" and "pull" factors, juxtaposing things like the infamous "lying letters" from those who had already emigrated with local changes in cost of living, the availability of credit, and the price of ships' passage in several harbors. After 1815, the striking combination of falling passenger costs and continental economic recession provided the impetus for a new wave of U.S. immigration. (A German emigrant in 1830 paid less than a third of the cost his father might have paid in 1800 for the same journey.) And this trend continued, leading to the "great flood" the book's title references.

This level of detail continues through seven chapters, examining early U.S. immigration within the context of trade patterns, within political and religious frameworks, and as a factor of the greater transatlantic labor market. It is hard to imagine a more comprehensive treatment of the subject in fewer than 500 pages. This book deserves to become a standard reference.

SAM A. MUSTAFA
Ramapo College of New Jersey

LIAH GREENFELD. *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 541. $45.00.

A scholar known for her previous work on the origins of nationalism, Liah Greenfeld now argues that nationalism was the critical factor in turning societies toward economic growth. Like Max Weber, she believes that traditional society devalued economic activity. Rather than looking to Protestantism as the force that broke down this opposition, however, Greenfeld believes that "the factor responsible for the reorientation of economic activity toward growth is nationalism" (p. 1). Nationalism did this by promoting "the type of social structure which the modern economy needs to develop": that is, an egalitarian form of society, although Greenfeld does not explain in what sense societies that employed economic nationalism were "egalitarian." In addition, because "nationalism implies international competition," it justifies self-sacrifice for the sake of the nation (p. 23). People pursue economic growth to strengthen their country against other countries.

Greenfeld argues that modern, as opposed to traditional, societies pursue economic growth as an end in itself, not as a "rational" strategy. Her argument, however, is contradictory. She also contends that modern societies pursue economic growth for nationalist reasons. The latter strategy could easily be considered economically rational in the sense that the means are oriented to achieve an understandable goal. As in her book, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1992), Greenfeld makes England the model. In the seventeenth century, England simultaneously developed as a merchant capitalist power and as the first nationalist society. English nationalism "allowed the economy's emergence from its traditionally subordinate position in relation to political and religious institutions" (p. 57). The Dutch in the seventeenth century, by contrast to the English, "did not choose to become modern. They did not make a fetish of ever-continued growth . . . They remained economically rational instead . . . In other words, they were not a nation" (p. 90).

The central problem with this book is that it is unclear how nationalist ideas changed the economy. As Greenfeld acknowledges, her argument implies that

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ideas change economic behavior, but she also denies that this is the case: "one must keep in mind (especially since the present thesis is likely to be accused of doing so) that the birth of the spirit of capitalism and new economic consciousness could not, in and of itself and thin air, produce advanced economic structures" (p. 145). This raises the question of how nationalism did influence economic development. Apparently, an economic ideology was not necessary for economic growth. The Dutch, according to Greenfeld, lacked one and still produced the first successful capitalist economy. In the British case, too, a nationalist economic ideology did not precede economic growth. The British generated a favorable view of capitalism while capitalism was growing.

France, Greenfeld's "first convert" to economic nationalism, raises further questions. Why should such a nationalist society not have had more vigorous economic growth? Greenfeld blames the Physiocrats because they turned against mercantilism, which reputedly had made England great (pp. 150–53). Somehow England thrived under mercantilism while France did not, apparently because France had an underdeveloped economic spirit. This analysis seems flawed. England, despite the rhetoric of its pamphleteers, was, in the end, one of the least mercantilist and most individualist of European societies, as Greenfeld admits (p. 223). The French mercantilist policies were often motivated by fiscal demands, which Greenfeld never deals with, and were frequently disastrous for the French economy. Greenfeld does not even try to explain why France did not grow more vigorously after the revolution swept the Physiocrats away and nationalism became a major force defining French society. Apparently, even an upsurge of nationalism did not help France grow economically.

Greenfeld's argument might have more credit if she looked more closely at how economic nationalism was supposedly put into practice. She mentions monopolies granted by English monarchs, free trade policies for agriculture advocated by the Physiocrats in France, and Friedrich List's arguments for tariffs in Germany. But none of these are looked at systematically, and could be contradictory if taken together. For a book supposedly about economic history, there is precious little on economics or economic policy here. The 134-page section on Japan deals with the Meiji reformers' ideology of nation building; there is almost nothing about their economic policies, besides saying that they favored protectionism. Most of her evidence consists of the statements of journalists, speculators lobbying for privilege, and political figures, not business people or even government officials involved in economic policy. "Economic nationalism," then, comes off as a rhetorical position, not a political program. From Greenfeld's unfocused analysis, it is difficult to see why some advocates of economic growth who invoked the nation were successful and are to be praised and why others failed and are not to be emulated.

Greenfeld's only evidence for her argument is the coincidence that nationalist rhetoric flourished in England, Germany, Japan, and the United States at roughly the time that these societies experienced the growth of capitalism. But there is no causation here. Nationalism and economic growth could also occur independently of one other. Nationalism typically implied "international competition," which Greenfeld applauds. But she passes over in silence imperialism, two world wars, and fascism. Nationalism may have inspired economic modernization, but it certainly inspired economically destructive policies as well. Greenfeld's neglect of this side of nationalism weakens her argument, to say the least.

In the end, Greenfeld admits that "not every nationalism has a built-in component of economic nationalism" (p. 476). Furthermore, even nationalisms that are economic have no clear economic program: "It was not individualism that made Britain the economic superpower in the first place, and it was not the collectivistic and authoritarian managerial methods of *Staatswirtschaft* that gave Germany the ability and the spunk to challenge it. It was the transforming spirit of nationalism, which in one case worked in tandem with individualism and in the other harnessed to its goals the methods of *Staatswirtschaft*" (p. 223). But if nationalism may or may not be associated with economic growth, and if the policies that economically oriented nationalists advocate can be anything from free trade to war, what explanatory value is there in her theory?

In short, this is an impressively wide-ranging, provocative treatment of important questions that is maddeningly unsystematic and inconclusive.

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DEMETRIUS L. EUDELL. *The Political Languages of Emancipation in the British Caribbean and the U.S. South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. x, 238. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

Demetrius L. Eudell has chosen a significant subject for comparative study. Scholarship on colonial experiences around the Anglo-Atlantic world has recently proliferated, yet most of it focuses either on the processes of colonization, the development of racial slavery with its ensuing economic growth, or revolution. Historians interested in abolition, emancipation, and postslavery societies have had fewer opportunities to engage in cross-cultural comparison. This book fills a historiographical gap and pushes forward the field of comparative emancipation. Its promise, however, is greater than what it delivers. Many readers interested in one or the other of the colonies being studied will not find the depth that they seek, while those interested in comparative emancipation will find less context than is required for a work of this scope.

The book focuses on "the political languages of emancipation" in two places: Jamaica and South Carolina. Eudell chose them because "the transition after

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slavery in the British Caribbean and the United States began in these locations" and each maintains a "significant place . . . in the development of slavery and postslavery politics" (p. 14). Perhaps this is sufficient as a basis for comparison, but skeptical readers need more detail about which characteristics these societies shared and why other places were excluded. If Jamaica "was synonymous with the West Indies," as the author suggests, the book ought to show us several examples of parliamentarians making this point (p. 14). Alternately, it might have been possible to demonstrate the absence of references in parliamentary debates to other Caribbean islands. In either case, a clearer explication of regional representativeness or the lack thereof is required.

Eudell describes the ways in which the special magistrates appointed to oversee the 1830s transition from slavery to freedom in the Caribbean understood their roles. Sent from Britain, these men frequently came into conflict with the island's planter elite. Despite receiving compensation for their lost slave property, the planters wanted to ensure the continuation of the racial hierarchy that kept them in power. In this case, economic interest competed with social status. In South Carolina, the Freedmen's Bureau, a branch of the War Department, was utterly unsuccessful at creating a racially egalitarian society in the 1860s. As in Jamaica, the planters could easily serve their own economic interests; unlike Jamaica, the American South did not have a black majority. Looking principally at the language the two groups of whites used, Eudell concludes that change for blacks was not easy and took considerable time. He is, of course, right. But there was more at work in Jamaica and South Carolina than looking solely at language can reveal.

Indeed, this book's biggest flaw is a nearly complete inattention to social and economic context. The five chapters are organized around ideas, which means that readers get little sense of chronological development. Though the places being compared were at the same point in the emancipation process, the events described and ideas discussed still took place thirty years apart. Much had transpired in those three decades. An 1865 worker revolt in Morant Bay, Jamaica, is regularly referred to without ever being explicated. Indeed, the author declines to tell readers what happened: "without going into the details of the event, which have been excellently chronicled elsewhere, it is important to emphasize that the importance of *being heard* was a central one" (p. 150). Most readers will know nothing of Morant Bay; for Eudell's argument to be credible, a far more contextualized narrative needed to be provided. Ideas do not exist in a vacuum, which the author realizes, but he chooses not to share the context with his readers. Even the footnotes, where further explication could have taken place without disrupting the argument, consist almost entirely of document citations and references to secondary sources.

The language that blacks used in both places was the universalist language of the European Enlightenment. Concerned with freedom and equality, blacks in Jamaica and South Carolina understood the terms to apply to them. Many of the Europeans who populate these pages had other ideas. Eudell does a fine job of pointing this out, but only in a few places; it would have been useful to have a more explicit discussion of the contest over the uses of Enlightenment ideology that run throughout this book. Scholars of the Enlightenment's intellectual history could have contributed much to such a discussion, just as they would have come away with a greater sense of the impact of these ideas on blacks, who were generally not considered in their implementation. Despite raising a number of important issues in a variety of historical fields, this book leaves readers with too many incompletely answered questions to become the final word on this important comparative subject.

ALAN L. KARRAS
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SEYMOUR DRESCHER. *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. vi, 307. $50.00.

Seymour Drescher has been one of the major participants in the rich international debate on British antislavery initiated over thirty years ago by the republication of Eric Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* (1964). His position in the discussion has been guaranteed through his refutation of Williams's economically determinist "decline thesis" of West Indian slavery following the American Revolution and his connection of abolition and emancipation to the drive of an antislavery movement deploying techniques of popular mobilization, thus locating it on the leading edge of a more general democratizing tendency. Drescher's explanation offers a political rather than an economic imperative and sees more than a religious impulse at the root of abolitionist success. In developing these interpretations, Drescher has evidently been sceptical of prevailing historiographical views; the thrust of his writing has been to establish the weight of one set of arguments *as against* another. His books and articles have been courteously polemical as well as deeply researched.

Initially the book under review might seem to take up a topic tangential to Drescher's work in the mainstream of antislavery studies. It deals with the substance and implied role of analyses drawn from the emerging "social sciences" in British debates over slave and free labor in the century after 1760. Later chapters consider social and economic analyses of the aftermath of British emancipation as that experience of free labor was deemed relevant to other slave societies. Drawing on political economy, population theory, "racial science," epidemiology, and texts of Adam Smith and Thomas Malthus and the tradition of commentary and social analysis that they inspired,

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Drescher also presents contemporary views of Sierra Leone and Haiti. These societies are understood as social experiments, predating most emancipations, seeking alternatives to plantation slavery, and providing opportunities for a kind of social science in action.

The definition of "social science" is broad and accommodates formal treatises, essays, periodical articles, pamphlets, and parliamentary speeches. The argument is directed to demonstrating that the claim for free labor as universally superior to slavery was rarely sustained by contemporary social analysts as it became central to the antislavery persuasion by the 1820s. Even Smith, the proximate source, was inconsistent on the point, Drescher suggests, and the passage of time revealed to Jean-Baptiste Say, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and Herman Merivale a growing number of historically contingent variables influencing the comparison of free labor and slave societies. This was true whether the point of comparison was profitability of enterprise, levels of production, or rise and fall of laboring populations. Nor did the British political class easily adopt the optimistic view of free labor. They, too, understood the significance of structural features such as varying man/land ratios and the possible impact of agency in the form of skilled management of labor or state tariff policy.

The book reaffirms that in Britain before the 1840s (the case was different in France) "racial science" did not grant racial difference an absolute character or allow it to justify slavery, either in terms of inherent inferiority or particular biological immunities that supposedly especially fitted Africans for hard tropical labor. Yet, overall, Drescher represents abolitionists as adhering to a free labor ideology that failed to demonstrate its claims intellectually or in practice in Sierra Leone and Haiti. The final chapters, on writings about the postemancipation West Indies, suggest a loss of confidence in the virtues of free labor in a tropical environment and a turn to harsh racial stereotyping. These are conclusions that connect this book to Drescher's earlier work; emancipation was achieved not because of the intellectual power of the antislavery case but as a result of the impact of popular political mobilization. When political currents shifted, the free labor ideology was exposed.

The argument is cast in terms of alternative categories of explanation and certainly challenging on the significance of free labor ideology. But neither here, given the "social science" focus of the book, nor elsewhere has Drescher satisfactorily settled the relation between religion and antislavery political mobilization; the prioritizing of the political remains premature. Indeed, the very approach of alternative modes of explanation is open to discussion. A strong strain in abolitionism saw the virtues of free labor intertwined with and sustained by a "civilizing" process among the slaves, apprentices, and free laborers entailing religion, education, the work ethic, and commercial relations. The relative failure of the Smithian free labor strand did not necessarily destroy the ideological attractions of antislavery as long as the movement was strong enough to resist the terms of debate being restricted to the narrowly economic and racial. No doubt, in the spirit of all Drescher's work, the debate will continue on the theses of this lively book.

DAVID TURLEY
University of Kent

TONY BALLANTYNE. *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*. (Cambrdige Colonial and Postcolonial Studies.) New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xi, 266. $72.00.

The new history of British imperialism still struggles to overcome certain obstacles. These include a residual metrocentrism and, in reaction, a postcolonial reluctance to transcend the national packaging of history. Another obstacle is that willingness to acknowledge the centrality of racialism in nineteenth-century imperial thought is not always accompanied by a willingness to explore its implications. Finally, the cultural turn, and extreme empirical reactions to it, mean that myth and history are too seldom allowed to influence each other. Tony Ballantyne's study of Aryanism in the British Empire successfully surmounts all four of these obstacles. Beginning with the remarkable philologist William Jones, who learned Sanskrit in less than one year in 1785–1786, Ballantyne traces Aryanism in India, New Zealand, and the British Isles. This may seem an eclectic selection of sites, but the three countries were in fact the centers of British Aryanism. He shows that this was a negotiated and renegotiated product of the colonial encounter, used by Indians and New Zealanders—including indigenous Maori—for their own purposes, as well as by British—and Irish.

Aryanism asserted, first, that at least some Western Europeans and some Indians, together with a varying selection of other peoples, descended from a common stock. Ballantyne takes other historians, including this reviewer, to task for failing to recognize fully the "Indocentrism" of this belief. He successfully demonstrates that Aryanism was derived from the study of the *Rig Veda*, the Sanskrit master-text, and utilized for anti-imperial as well as pro-imperial purposes by Indian thinkers as diverse as Dayananda Sarasvati, Balwantrao Tilak, and Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar. He does not, however, explore its equally interesting use by a modernizing Maori elite in the twentieth century. Instead, he focuses on a remarkable development in nineteenth-century Maori religious thought: disconnecting the Bible from European-style Christianity by emphasizing Judaism and the Old Testament. A largely indigenous concept of "Semitic Maori" thus preceded the European notion of the "Aryan Maori" popularized by Edward Tregear in 1885.

Aryanism asserted, second, that Aryan peoples were racially superior to others. In his commendable attempt to historicize Aryanism and to show that it was not simply a tool of European hegemony, Ballantyne underplays its racialism. Indeed, it is not always clear

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that he considers Aryanism to be racialist at all, which seems a little worrying. At one point (p. 40), he suggests that some versions of Aryanism were Monogenist and follows a growing convention in excluding Monogenism, as distinct from Polygenism, from racialist thought. The convention is contestable. Monogenists posited non-European equality in the past or the future, not the present. It is better seen as a "soft" racialism, with Polygenism as "hard." In any case, Aryanism did not fit at all comfortably into Monogenist frameworks of the brotherhood of all. Its remarkable powers of inclusion did distinguish it from other racialisms, but some folk always had to be left out. Britons, Maori, and Northern Indians could all agree on their racial superiority to Dravidian southerners or Australian aborigines. Aryanism was not always Eurocentric, but it usually was. Non-European Aryans derived their virtue from being allegedly European-like. That the Aryan homeland, somewhere north and west of the Himalayas, was non-European did not in practice preclude Eurocentric racialism. Adam, Eve, and Jesus himself were also technically non-European, which does not seemed to have helped European Christianity's cultural relativism very much. The Aryan "new Adam," in Leon Poliakov's phrase, was notionally Asian, but so, too, was the old.

Ballantyne's book has its share of errors and infelicities. "Sanskritocentric" is almost enough to put me off neologism. Tregear beat A. K. Newman to the alleged echo of the swastika in Maori artistic motifs. An article cited as claiming that Tregear was first to the Aryan Maori thesis in fact states that "Polynesian Aryanism, or something close to it, was postulated by a dozen earlier writers." In general, it needs to be said that Ballantyne is much better at chastising his precursors for their errors than at recognizing their positive contributions to his project. In a book of fewer virtues, these vices might be serious. But this book is simply too good for such flaws to mar it much.

Ballantyne does not deliver on his promise to take his tracing of Aryanism beyond the drawing rooms of the elite, nor does he fully develop the concept of "webs of empire." But he does add Indian and New Zealand drawing rooms to those of the metropolis, and he does present these countries as reciprocating agents, not passive subjects, in the discourses of empire. To do this, he has had to achieve something rare and remarkable: a meshing of the study of myth and history, and an intense and sophisticated engagement with at least three complex historiographies. This is no token attempt at transnational history. It is the real thing.

JAMES BELICH
University of Auckland

ADAM MCKEOWN. *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900–1936*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 349. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.00.

This is a magnificent book, a tour de force all the more impressive for being a young scholar's first work. Like other landmark works that attempt to define a new approach to historical study, this, too should be generating a buzz. It will be read, studied, and picked apart. And, rightly so, it will be much admired and probably imitated, and it will be misunderstood. All this confusion because Adam McKeown has crafted a study that looks familiar yet feels different, based on extensive research but also speculative, that perhaps over reaches in places. It is erudite, provocative, compelling, and, ultimately, successful in achieving its intended goal, which is to redefine how world history should be constructed.

Putting it another way, there is more than one project speaking and interacting with a multiplicity of academic audiences. McKeown's original research project—still evident and embedded in this book—is to enlarge the boundaries of Chinese history to encompass the Chinese in the diaspora: that is, wherever Chinese people have migrated and settled. His second project is to disrupt the model of traditional migration studies that describes a simplistic, monodirectional movement from homeland to relocation in a new place and simultaneously to problematize nation-based approaches. He names this the "global approach to Chinese migration," which not only traces the global movement of people, goods, and capital but identifies transnational activities that articulate with more locally defined activities and identities.

To bring these projects together, McKeown selects three very distinct and prominent Chinese immigrant communities in the Americas—Peru, Chicago, and Hawai'i—during the pre-World War II period, distinguished by their internal characteristics as well as by their surrounding social and political environments. In doing so, he demonstrates his theory about global migration and also produces a credible comparative history of diasporic Chinese communities, while making a convincing case that Chinese history need not be nation-based. Because the communities examined are in the Americas and the comparison asks questions about identity formation, racial construction and hierarchies, ethnicization, and stereotypes (implications and ramifications in the production and reproduction of "Chineseness") as well as interrogating occupational structures and relationships with dominant and other marginalized groups in each society, this book intersects in interesting ways with Latin American Studies, the new American Studies, and Asian American Studies.

But McKeown is still not done, because he has one remaining and very large ambition, which is no less than to illuminate a new approach to the burgeoning field of world history. It is at this point that one really begins to see and understand the bold and innovative mind of this talented historian, for to bring all these projects together into one coherent and compelling whole, McKeown has to find a narrative framework, or

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what he calls "large patterns of global order that emerge at particular moments in world history."

He locates the global order and the moment as the Chinese diaspora to the Americas at the turn of the twentieth century, when immigrants (predominately male) established far-flung communities connected by transnational networks consisting mainly of a common set of familiar voluntary associations that Chinese worldwide can access and adapt to meet their need to survive and their desire to prosper. World history, McKeown argues, should not be simply conceptualized and superficially presented as a series of national histories, as it is typically done, because the grand and powerful themes that define the human experience, such as migration and ethnic relations, "cannot be adequately addressed until nationally based studies are put in a global context."

Because McKeown covers so much ground, literally, in this study of Chinese migration and the early twentieth-century global order, it is often not easy to follow his discussions, especially for those not already familiar with the national history of Peru and the regional variations of U.S. history in the Midwest and the Pacific. Sometimes he introduces a topic early, such as severe gender imbalance among the migrants, but he does not necessarily explore the issue thoroughly in all three cases or pick it up again at obvious points in the later discussion. Indeed, it would be easy to find fault with a work of this scope and magnitude by nitpicking or calling attention to omissions. But it would be difficult to argue against the project as a spectacular success in reorienting the approach to the study of world history.

EVELYN HU-DEHART
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CLAUDE MARKOVITS. *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947: Traders of Sind from Bukhara to Panama*. (Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society, number 6.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 327. $64.95.

This stunning book deserves a very wide audience indeed. Ostensibly about two groups of merchants hailing from quite small towns in Sind, now in Pakistan, it in fact addresses a host of general historiographical problems while remaining firmly grounded in a surprising mass of empirical data. Claude Markovits touches on such diverse matters as indigenous economic activity under colonialism, world-system theory, distinctions among global, national, and local connections, and the much-debated matter of diasporas.

The two hometowns are Shikarpur and Hyderabad (men coming from here were commonly known as Sindworkies) in the Sind region, which was conquered by the British in 1843 and in 1947 became part of Pakistan. These Hindu merchants (though, as this book makes clear, to categorize them thus is problematic) fled to India after partition, and their fate since then makes up the brief epilogue to this book.

Those who have tried to study the activities of Indian merchants, or merchants from any other place for that matter, either before or during colonialism will be well aware of the difficulties of finding sources. These people, especially before colonialism, governed their trade by oral contracts, and secrecy was an important part of their method of competing with others. Colonialism at least had the fortunate consequence of producing more written records, and Markovits has very diligently mined these in a wide variety of places. Court records relating to inheritance disputes are a prime source.

The central contribution of this book is the discussion of "diaspora." This much-abused notion is here analyzed in a considerably more sophisticated way than has been done previously. Two themes stand out. First, the author rightly rejects the notion of a unitary South Asian diaspora. We need to disaggregate the data, as he does in his study of these two groups. Second, he claims that the category does not apply to most South Asians who leave their homeland. According to him, a diaspora "involves a long-term physical separation from an imaginary or real homeland," while the South Asian experience consisted of "circulation" rather than "emigration" (pp. 4–5). In the case of these two Sindhi towns, the heads of the various firms usually remained in the towns, and the members who traded far and wide sent home remittances, came home to get married, left their wives in their hometowns, and invested in land and property there. This, we are told, is characteristic of a merchant network, not of a diasporic community.

A third major theme is Markovits's discussion of the means by which these communities were bound together. Previous studies have stressed kinship or religious identity, but, at least in the case of these two, the key bond was locality: in other words their origins in one of the two central towns. Yet despite this, disputes within the two groups, over debts and inheritances, were common enough; this is a useful corrective.

Several other themes run through this stimulating book. Markovits emphasizes the far-flung nature of these networks. They went far beyond the extent of the British Empire to operate wherever opportunity presented. Thus for these networks the framework was local and global, but not national. Both were skilled in identifying and exploiting niche markets. The Hyderabadis battened on the new European tourist trade, which expanded greatly once steamships arrived and the Suez Canal was opened. They began by opening shops, or stalls, in Cairo to sell "oriental curios" to transiting passengers. From this base, their network expanded to become virtually worldwide. Two other topics are politics and the creation of trust within networks. As to the former, these merchants took an interest only when their status was threatened. In such cases, they used to good effect their status as British subjects. The matter of trust is more complicated. Markovits finds that affective ties and rational calculation went together in a complementary fashion. This

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is another example of how this book covers themes of very wide importance, for previous studies have often seen these two as opposed.

I hope this book is very widely read and discussed. It considers, and elucidates, a host of general matters that should be of interest to a great many readers.

MICHAEL N. PEARSON
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BRIAN KEITH AXEL. *The Nation's Tortured Body: Violence, Representation, and the Formation of the Sikh "Diaspora."* Durham, N.C.: Duke Univesity Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 297. Cloth $64.95, paper $22.95.

It is fair to ask whether there is a Sikh diaspora. In a 1999 study entitled *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood*, Darshan Singh Tatla carefully considered the question. Over ninety percent of the global Sikh population resides in India, and most Sikh emigrants have gone abroad voluntarily. If a forced dispersal is the criteria for a diaspora, Tatla conceded that the Sikh case did not fit. But if the sense of a contested homeland is sufficient, then it does. What made Tatla's answer particularly interesting was his position that Sikhs abroad did not constitute a diaspora until June 1984, when Indian troops attacked their most important shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, Punjab. It was at that point that Sikhs in Britain, Europe, North America, East Africa, and the Far East lost their sense of a secure homeland in India and became psychological exiles. Until then, Tatla said, these people belonged to emigrant communities but not a diaspora.

Brian Keith Axel, in the book under review, is concerned less with the appropriateness of the term than with its usage. Its application to Sikh and Indian emigrant communities is recent, he observes, dating from the 1990s. It has displaced the term "Indians overseas" (which Axel identifies with the British colonial regime in India), while it coexists with postcolonial terms such as "Indian communities outside India," "people with their roots in India," or "people of South Asian descent." Axel identifies the use of these terms with a sense that we live in diasporic times. Underlying themes in his study are globilization and localization, transnational identities, and the challenges to their integrity now faced by nation-states. Within the notion of a diaspora, he believes, are elements of threat and promise. The threat is perceived by the nation-state (both the home and receiving countries) while the promise is felt by migrant communities.

As his title states, Axel deals with representations or images that are, he believes, vital in the contemporary existence of the Sikh diaspora. He explains in the introduction that his book is not a study of Sikhs in their overseas communities but of the constitution of the diaspora with its local differences and generalized forms. This means that he is satisfied to look closely at one Sikh neighborhood in Britain and does not mention Canada, the country with the second largest emigrant Sikh population. Nor does he tell us much about the Sikh populations in Britain, the United States, or elsewhere. Axel also explains in his conclusions that his book is not about the practice of violence, and he does not have a word about the most notorious act of violence in the recent history of the diaspora, the terrorist bombing of Air India flight 182 out of Toronto and Montreal on June 23, 1985, with the loss of 329 lives.

Axel identifies four elements that figure in the present identity of the Sikh diaspora: the Sikh maharaja who ruled Punjab before the British came, and whose image contains hope for the future; the colonial legacy with its conflicting recognition of the Sikh community and India's territorial integrity; images circulating among Sikhs of the victims of Indian police torture, which feed a Sikh sense of persecution; and the creation of Sikh Studies centers at several North American universities, partially funded by members of the diaspora community but controversial because a vocal element in the community has judged their programs to be anti-Sikh. In Axel's analysis, the Sikh diaspora and the movement for an independent Sikh state of Khalistan are inseparable. The memory of the maharaja, the cartography of an imagined Khalistan, pictures of the tortured bodies of Khalistani militants, and attacks on the publications of Western-educated Sikh Studies scholars are widely shared among Sikhs and show the force of the Khalistan ideal in the diaspora. "Khalistan," Axel says, "has become integral to the constitution of the Sikh diaspora *as a diaspora*."

In developing his points, Axel takes an eccentric path. Much of chapter two concerns the 1854 meeting of Queen Victoria and Maharaja Duleep Singh and the portrait of Duleep Singh that the queen commissioned from the German painter Franz Winterhalter. Chapter four contains an extended discussion of the size of a pint of beer served in a Sikh pub in Southhall, London. To follow him, Axel's readers need patience with abstract and academic language. Nonetheless, his book rewards a close reading.

HUGH JOHNSTON
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SIMON A. COLE. *Suspect Identities: A History of Fingerprinting and Criminal Identification*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. 369. $35.00.

Who knows what techniques of identity control will be deployed in the war on terror? The hope is that any such techniques will prevent future terrorist attacks; the fear is that they will be used to identify, track, or imprison a broad range of people, some of whom may well be innocent. Simon A. Cole offers a history of the first such technologies introduced in the nineteenth century to establish the identity of people across time and place—fingerprinting and *bertillonage*, or the use of characteristic body measurements—as well as showing the link between these and their late twentieth-century counterpart, DNA typing. He inscribes these earlier developments in a broad social history of

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modernity, emphasizing the breakdown of traditional communities and the anonymity associated with urban life, as well as the rise in a biological understanding of social phenomena such as crime.

Since the early nineteenth century, there has been a growing belief that criminals are born rather than made, and so the innate criminal needs to be removed from society as early as possible. Until anthropometry or physiognomy were perfected, however, the clearest indication of such a criminal nature was recidivism. Establishing the quality of recidivism in turn required the identification of the same person in different places and under different aliases, as well as distinguishing different people bearing the same name or of similar appearance. Cole does not adopt the position that fingerprinting presented itself as the appropriate solution to a longstanding social problem. Instead, he argues that fingerprinting, like *bertillonage*, was a solution to a new problem of urban promiscuity and fears about criminal epidemics, issues that did not exist in traditional small communities (where, not to get too nostalgic, the stranger was automatically suspect). While the high-profile cases of imposture (lost heirs returning to claim their fortunes) exercised the bourgeois imagination, the bulk of the work with such identification techniques was in gathering and ordering information on a country's "criminal classes."

As Alphonse Bertillon realized only too well, when so many people are concerned, the crucial problem is one of organizing files for ready reference and retrieval rather than the way chosen to describe people's physical appearance as such, although the latter had to be standardized for the classification system to work. His anthropometric measurements allowed classification according to head size and other parameters of the body, with criteria being selected to give manageable subgroups for comparison. Starting in the middle of the nineteenth century, Henry Faulds and William James Herschel came up with the first workable systems for organizing fingerprints, and as the century came to an end, police departments around the world had to decide whether to opt for anthropometry or dactyloscopy. Cole argues that fingerprinting was far from an obvious victor over *bertillonage*, which, due to its association with anthropology, was always regarded as more scientific. In the end, it seems to have been the relative ease with which an untrained officer could take good fingerprints compared to the stringent demands of Bertillon's measuring system that allowed the technique to win out. Cole, however, resists such a reductive interpretation and prefers to put the victory down to the maneuvering of the various professional groups involved, suggesting that American law enforcement agencies made fingerprinting very much their own and disengaged it from associated eugenic or other biological discourses. Despite the ensuing decline in biological research based on fingerprints, Cole reminds us of the longstanding and continuing interplay between race and identification. Fingerprinting found its first American application among the Chinese and African-American populations, which were regarded as racially homogeneous and therefore difficult to describe accurately on passes and criminal records. Indeed, experts continue to search for the means to identify race and gender using fingerprints, as they do with DNA.

Overall, Cole offers a well-researched and balanced book, particularly in its treatment of the nineteenth-century rivalry between fingerprinting and *bertillonage*. What makes this interesting is Cole's insistence on relating the techniques and their destinies to social forces rather than just the technicalities of the systems. Nevertheless, his attempts to connect the history of fingerprinting to the world beyond criminal identification break down in the later part of the book, especially when it comes to the rise of DNA typing (genetic fingerprinting). In general, the wider social and political scene has already faded out of Cole's description by the 1930s, which makes me wonder why he chose to take on DNA typing as well, given that he did not really have a parallel story to tell about it. Moreover, the similarities and differences between fingerprints and DNA typing deserve at least a book in themselves, as they raise complex historical and philosophical issues. Cole is rather quick to draw parallels and slow to point out differences. While fingerprints might have been thought to indicate a criminal nature, no one considered them to be its cause, while many people ascribe this very role to DNA. In terms of style, the book is well written and readable, although the references to sociology of science are sometimes a little telegraphic for an audience that is not composed exclusively of historians or sociologists of science.

JONATHAN SIMON
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GEORGE Q. FLYNN. *Conscription and Democracy: The Draft in France, Great Britain, and the United States.* (Contributions in Military Studies, number 210.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. x, 303. $68.00.

Having looked at various aspects of the draft in the United States in three previous academic works, George Q. Flynn here widens his horizons in order to engage in a comparative examination encompassing conscription in Britain and France as well. The overall aim is to explain how these three democracies have dealt with "the dilemma of involuntary military service in a free society" (p. 1) in the twentieth century.

Conscription, of course, is not a uniquely twentieth-century phenomenon, and the first chapter provides a brief survey of various antecedents. There follow chapters dealing successively with compulsory service in World War I, the interwar decades, World War II, and the Cold War in the context of decolonization. The book then becomes thematic in nature, with chapters devoted to how systems operated, questions of deferment, physical and psychological testing, the economic effects of conscription, conscientious objection, and

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the politics of compulsory service. Each country is dealt with in turn within each chapter, the order of precedence varying and roughly equal space being devoted to all. Based on a solid array of published primary and secondary sources—although there are a few curious omissions—and unpublished documents drawn from relevant archives, this is a top-down policy study rather than an examination of the conscript experience.

Transnational studies in contemporary Western history are still the exception rather than the rule as far as dissertations and entry-level academic posts go, which means that they tend to be undertaken by scholars who have established themselves through works dealing with a single country and are now branching out. This is not a bad thing, demonstrating as it does a laudable willingness on the part of the authors concerned to take on new challenges. There are, however, risks involved, chiefly deriving from the fact that, even after extensive study, knowledge and understanding of new subject areas may still be less extensive than, and perhaps be distorted by, what is known of the original subject area. Judging by the organization of his chapters and the extent of his research, Flynn has made serious efforts to avoid privileging the United States experience and displaying a lesser grasp of European as compared to American history. Unfortunately, there are still problems.

The use of the term "draft"—not standard a part of the British or French lexicon of conscription—in the book's subtitle aside, these problems come in two main forms. There are errors in detail, such as misspelled names and terms, incorrect dates, and questionable assertions (e.g. defining the Territorial Army as a "local militia" [p. 34] and including Indochina as part of the British Empire [p. 67]). There are also a few overly confident generalizations, such as the claim that Britain was less troubled by issues of class than America in the twentieth century (p. 193). These problems may be related to inadequate editing, which has allowed a rather large number of poorly constructed sentences to pass muster. At times this sort of thing can lead to statements that actually run counter to the author's intent, as when he writes—but probably does not mean—that by the 1950s, Indochina along with North Africa had "received considerable settlement from France itself" (p. 68). Typos unfortunately appear to be an inevitable part of contemporary publishing, but in this case the sheer extent of the writing problems seriously undermine the positive impact of the work.

A further difficulty relates to the conclusion, which, like earlier chapters, is divided up by country. In each case, the contents of the main body of the work are summed up quite adequately, but aside from a few opening remarks there is little attempt to tie the three strands together. The author has clearly mastered the mechanics of conscription, and with varying degrees of success has placed the various systems in their political and to some extent social context. It is therefore a pity that more was not done in the way of final reflections on the meaning of the three case studies as a whole rather than as separate entities.

This quite ambitious book is the product of serious research and contains much interesting material. Its a pity that greater care was not taken by the publisher to assure that it lived up to its potential.

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Shu Guang Zhang. *Economic Cold War: America's Embargo against China and the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1949–1963.* (Cold War International History Project Series.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center. 2001. Pp. xvi, 375. $49.50.

In this book, Shu Guang Zhang has produced an illuminating account of U.S. and Western economic diplomacy toward the People's Republic of China (PRC) at the height of the Cold War. Drawing on exhaustive research in American, British, Chinese, and Russian archives, the author provides the first comprehensive treatment of the origins and development of Western embargo policy against the PRC from the late 1940s to the early 1960s. Offering penetrating insights into alliance politics, the utility of economic sanctions, the impact of culture on foreign policy, and the clash of opposing political ideologies, Zhang's engrossing monograph is a valuable addition to the literature on new Cold War history.

The book explores a number of key themes pertaining to Sino-American relations during the formative decade and a half of the Cold War. Zhang explores the origins of the multilateral trade embargo with special emphasis on the role of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations in mobilizing Western support for a wide-ranging export control program on trade with the PRC. In particular, he convincingly underscores the divergent perceptions of the embargo shared by the United States and its leading Western European allies. From the outset, American officials clearly envisaged much more stringent restrictions on exports to the Sino-Soviet bloc than the European governments were prepared to accept, given their historic trading links with the Far East. In fact, a major bone of contention between the allies was the existence of a separate and much harsher list of restrictions on trade that was applied solely to the PRC and not to other Communist countries: the so-called "China differential." During the 1950s, the United Kingdom emerged as the staunchest critic of U.S. export control policy, favoring a relaxation of the China embargo despite Washington's efforts to convince the Western European and Japanese governments to "hold the sanctions line." In May 1957, the Macmillan government—citing a worsening domestic economic position and political pressure at home—unilaterally ended the China differential, much to the chagrin of the Eisenhower administration.

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Another central theme of the book relates to the effect of the Western embargo on the Chinese economy and the foreign policy aims of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). As such, Zhang examines whether or not economic sanctions against the PRC fulfilled the desired objectives of Western and especially American policy makers by the early 1960s. He concludes that the embargo had a profound influence on the economic policy objectives of the CCP in the 1950s. Most significantly, Zhang argues that Western sanctions against the PRC played a crucial role in stimulating Mao Zedong's "Great Leap Forward" initiative of 1958 designed to transform the Chinese economy fundamentally and narrow the gap between the PRC and the industrially advanced Western nations. In September 1958, according to the author, Mao "proudly declared that the embargo 'has not hurt us a bit but has been of great benefit to us'" (p. 218). On the question of whether economic sanctions achieved the objective of preventing the transfer of sophisticated technology from the West to the PRC, Zhang suggests that the U.S.-led embargo delayed the development of the military and industrial sectors of the Chinese economy in the long run. Consequently, although Beijing acquired the atomic bomb in 1964, Western export controls on nuclear and heavy industrial raw materials critically prevented the PRC from becoming a formidable geopolitical challenger to U.S. primacy in world politics.

Zhang also presents new evidence to support the claim that the Western embargo was a major factor in the collapse and eventual breakdown of the Sino-Soviet alliance in 1962. He clearly demonstrates that the restrictive nature of the sanctions that were implemented by the United States and its allies against the PRC forced Beijing to look to the Soviet Union for assistance in circumventing the embargo. Much to Mao's dismay, however, the Soviet leadership was not forthcoming with adequate economic aid. As a result, the embargo indirectly drove a wedge between Moscow and Beijing and fostered a new era of independence and nationalism in Chinese foreign policy. This was undoubtedly a major turning point in the history of the Cold War, and, in the words of Zhang, American officials believed that the "collapse of Sino-Soviet economic co-operation ... devastated Beijing a lot more than Moscow" (p. 250).

In short, this is an outstanding work of contemporary history, thoroughly researched and elegantly written. It will be of great interest to students and scholars of the Cold War and modern Chinese history.

IAN JACKSON
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MATTHEW JONES. *Conflict and Confrontation in South East Asia, 1961–1965: Britain, the United States and the Creation of Malaysia*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 325. $60.00.

When Truman-era secretary of state Dean Acheson observed in 1962 that "Great Britain has lost an empire and has not yet found a role," he was not ridiculing the weakness of America's foremost ally but lamenting what he perceived as the loss of the order and stability that imperial influence represented in his foreign policy designs. Matthew Jones has written an important study of Britain's imperial demise in Southeast Asia and the complex Anglo-American relationship that affected diplomacy toward Malaysia and Indonesia. In doing so, Jones shows not only how Britain and the United States struggled to deal with emerging nationalist movements but also how American efforts in Vietnam and British efforts in Indonesia became linked and yet produced very different outcomes.

Britain was trying to extricate itself from the heavy costs of imperial defense by creating a secure Greater Malaysian Federation that would include Malaysia, Singapore, and territories in northern Borneo. Importantly, the key British military base at Singapore would be safely within this anticommunist bastion. As Jones points out, this plan "overlooked the significant local impact such a reordering of states would necessarily produce" (p. 28). Indonesia, led by the troublesome Sukarno, was afflicted by chronic domestic political instability, a significant communist movement, and hypersensitivity to perceived imperial-style meddling.

In a conflict known as the "Confrontation," Sukarno ordered Indonesian forces to raid various northern Borneo provinces and even landed forces on the Malaysian mainland. To counter this challenge, Britain increased forces to contend with the incursions, which caused increasing rather than decreasing imperial costs. The British turned to Washington for support but found that the United States, especially during the Kennedy administration, did not want to take a hard line for fear of pushing Indonesia into communist hands. The situation began to change in the new Johnson administration following Kennedy's assassination, when key personnel were more concerned with Vietnam than Indonesia.

In Vietnam, the removal of Ngo Dinh Diem in November of 1963 was followed by a series of unstable governments coinciding with weak European support for American efforts in Indochina. In addition, the British, rather than continue to complain that the United States was not taking Sukarno's aggression seriously, now argued in talks with American officials in February 1964 that "what South Vietnam is to you, Malaysia is to us" (p. 258). By resolutely equating the two issues, Jones argues that British policy makers succeeded in gaining U.S. support for their efforts in creating an independent Malaysian federation against Indonesian opposition. Sukarno himself put the finishing touches on the change in American policy by denouncing the United States in his Independence Day speech following a visit of Malaysian Prime Minister Adbul Rahman to Washington in July 1964.

Jones argues that Britain was thus able to deflect

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American criticism for not providing even a token force to the Vietnam conflict. This was a double-edged sword, however, because it then became all the more important to Washington that Britain maintain its Malaysian presence—something that London was trying to reduce. Nevertheless, Jones notes, the argument that British forces were already engaged in combating Indonesia's threat to Malaysia did allow the British to avoid entanglement in "the far more costly exercise in containment" in Vietnam (p. 304). Despite American financial aid to Britain, the inevitable reckoning came in 1967, when London announced it was pulling out of Southeast Asia.

Jones leads the reader through numerous meetings as diplomats and politicians discuss Malaysia-related problems, and the narrative's direction seems to get lost in its own wealth of small detail in these early chapters. While some editing to streamline the manuscript would have sharpened the argument, the concluding chapters largely succeed in pulling together many strains of the story to provide meaning and context for the whole. In addition, despite the wealth of detail, some subjects, like Singapore's decision to opt out of the federation and Brunei's continual problems, cry out for more attention.

Jones could do more with the only partly developed concept that, from at least the mid-1950s, the United States was encouraging London to maintain its imperial influence far beyond Britain's own power to do so. In my work, I trace this tendency back into the Truman administration. Ultimately, as Jones's work reveals, such encouragement caused the inevitable British collapse to be more sudden and severe and the damage to Britain's finances more serious. Further, it seems clear that American policy equating American and British interests caused long-term resentment of the British Empire to be passed on unnecessarily to the United States.

These are only minor criticisms of a very solid monograph. The strength of this useful study of Anglo-American relations is clearly in its voluminous multi-archival research and the success Jones has in connecting the complex themes. Jones's work is an important contribution toward illuminating the international history of Western involvement in Southeast Asia.

JOHN T. MCNAY
University of Cincinnati

AKIRA IRIYE. *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 246. $29.95.

This book examines the development of international organizations—nongovernmental and governmental—from the late nineteenth century to the present. Written by the distinguished historian Akira Iriye, the book employs a fairly narrow definition of a nongovernmental organization (NGO): "a voluntary nonstate, nonprofit, nonreligious, and nonmilitary association" (p. 2). As a result, some major organizations do not fall within its purview. These include international religious bodies (except when their activities are secular) and multinational corporations. Nevertheless, Iriye has left himself plenty of ground to cover. Although, as he points out, only five international NGOs were in existence in 1850, thereafter they grew rapidly in number until, today, there are almost 30,000. These groups range from the International Red Cross, the International Council of Women, and the World's YWCA in the nineteenth century to their more recent counterparts like Amnesty International, Doctors without Borders, Friends of the Earth, and Greenpeace. The governmental bodies include the agencies of the League of Nations and of the United Nations as well as the Fulbright program. Iriye focuses particularly on organizations committed to humanitarian relief, development aid, peace and disarmament, cultural exchanges, human rights, and environmental protection.

Through his examination of the important work performed by these organizations, Iriye develops a very innovative thesis. "To the extent that international organizations effectively reflect transnational concerns and in turn strengthen the sense of global, human interdependence," he writes, "they may be said to be creating an alternative world, one that is not identical with the sum of sovereign states and nations" (p. 7). And Iriye clearly believes that they have reflected these concerns and fostered human interconnectedness. By contrast, he argues, nation-states—thanks to their geopolitical and military rivalries—have divided the world. While emphasizing this contrast, Iriye leaves little doubt of his own preferences. "International organizations," he writes, "have proved quite successful at reconciling differences because their only weapons are ideas, a sense of commitment, and voluntary service. They have not spent billions on arms, nor have they engaged in mass killing. They are civilized societies, and so they have a mission to turn the world into a civilized community" (p. 193). In recent decades, he argues, they have made some headway in this direction.

Iriye develops these points well and manages to wend his way gracefully through a blizzard of organizations toward his goal of providing an alternative framework for modern history. Again and again, he shows how the traditional model of interstate conflict falls short of explaining the fullness of international developments. For example, the Cold War paradigm cannot account adequately for the massive international relief efforts that followed World War II, on both governmental and nongovernmental levels. Moreover, he indicates the growing connection between NGOs and the United Nations. He also provides deft coverage of global trends among workers, educators, students, women, scholars, the disabled, environmentalists, and a variety of other groups.

In a book covering this broad a range of organizations, issues, and decades, it is hardly surprising that

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some items seem underdeveloped. For example, the earliest international peace group mentioned is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (founded during World War I); thus, there is no attention paid to the pioneering work of the League of Universal Brotherhood (founded in 1846). Nor, for that matter, does the author take note of the European Nuclear Disarmament movement of the 1980s (which organized the largest peace demonstrations in world history) or of the International Peace Bureau (the Nobel-Peace-Prize-winning organization with which most national and many international peace groups are now affiliated). Furthermore, one wonders whether the overall picture of international organizations would be quite as benign if multinational corporations were included among them. Finally, at times, Iriye's claims for the efficacy of international organizations seem too modest. Is it true, as he maintains, that international organizations "did not change the geopolitical drama of the Cold War" (p. 95)? Existing scholarship indicates that they did have some impact on Cold War nuclear arms control treaties, diplomacy, and military conflicts.

Even so, this is an extremely important book. Not only does it highlight the rapidly expanding role played by international organizations in world affairs, but it provides an alternative paradigm to the traditional, state-centered one for understanding the history of the modern world. When other historians plan their research, I hope they will join Iriye in giving appropriate attention to these harbingers of a global civilization.

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ASIA

CHARLES HOLCOMBE. *The Genesis of East Asia: 221 B.C.—A.D. 907.* (Asian Interactions and Comparisons.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, with the Association for Asian Studies, Honolulu. 2001. Pp. viii, 332. $24.95.

There are two general approaches to the history of early China. One considers the development of the Chinese states under the nominal Zhou dynasty, leading to the unification under Qin; the other starts with Qin and Han and studies the unified state over the following two thousand years. In each case, however, the view is in traditional Chinese terms, from the heart of the empire outward, and even the best attempts at avoiding Sinocentrism confront the fact that the overwhelming bulk of our information comes from Chinese sources, with all the prejudice that implies.

In the present work, Charles Holcombe looks at the development of East Asia from a slightly different perspective. His interest is with the region as a whole, and particularly with the interaction of the nascent states on the edge of the heartland to the influence of its civilizing power. Japan, Korea, and Vietnam owe much of their traditions to China, but the maritime states of the Philippines and Southeast Asia, and the inner Asian frontier lands of Mongolia and Tibet, drew from alternative sources of culture.

As Holcombe observes, a major force for unity in East Asia has been the system of writing. Developed primarily in the region of the Yellow River, Chinese script spread steadily to the south and to the northeast. In south China, it confirmed the physical expansion of Chinese influence by military means and by colonization, and the absorption of that region and its people into the world of Han. In Korea and Japan, it aided the development of local culture, and at the same time it carried the great influences of Confucianism and Buddhism. In the longer term, moreover, the strength of Chinese literacy meant that even when non-Chinese rulers controlled its territory they fell under the sway of the local culture. In contrast to the Roman Empire, where a decline in literacy weakened the authority of the classical world, the Chinese scholars and officials maintained their influence even under alien rule.

Besides the abstract power of writing, however, the physical geography of East Asia adds to the potential hegemony of China Proper. The expanse of the North China Plain, from the Yangzi River to the Great Wall and from the Taihang Mountains to the sea, is a great source of power. The government that controlled that territory and its vast population could look with authority at the neighboring lands of the south, west, and north, and this key economic area was the basis for every great Chinese dynasty. With the Grand Canal to draw economic resources from the south and the Great Wall as a secure frontier for aggression to the north, a city such as Beijing can be not just a Chinese capital, but a center of power for all East Asia.

Holcombe's view is enhanced by his knowledge of the Period of Division between Han and Tang, as shown in his earlier work, *In the Shadow of Han: Literati Thought and Society at the Beginning of the Southern Dynasties* (1994). His discussion of the cultural and political influence of unified Han and Tang is contrasted to the centuries when China was weakened and divided. With this perspective, he analyzes the interaction of culture and politics, not only in times of imperial hegemony but also in the period when competing states in the heartland of China and on the edge of East Asia shared, adapted, and developed their own interpretations of a well-spread and powerful tradition. As he observes, like the present age of Western and/or American dominance, the Sinicizing power of East Asia produced local reactions and opposition. The peoples of Japan, Korea, and Vietnam could not ignore the authority of China, but they could resist it and adapt it to their own purposes, and the tension of that process created their own special societies.

Holcombe ranges widely, with discussions of land tenure, trade routes, migration, and military technique. His work is hardly a narrative history, and the millennium he covers is too great a span of time for detailed discussion. The comparisons of China with its

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neighboring peoples and civilizations, however, give a new and important perspective to our studies, and Holcombe's work should provide an excellent starting point for further argument.

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DAVID ROBINSON. *Bandits, Eunuchs and the Son of Heaven: Rebellion and the Economy of Violence in Mid-Ming China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 283. $40.00.

David Robinson's book is a succinct and incisive analysis of the "economy of violence" in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) based on an in-depth study of the Rebellion of 1510. Robinson lays out his thesis and the organization of the book in a opening chapter that surveys a broad range of literature in the field of late imperial Chinese studies as well as European history. He also addresses many of the most important issues that confront historians of late imperial China, including the need to overcome longstanding inherited biases from Chinese elite scholarship and the growing trend toward placing late imperial Chinese history in more equitably balanced, less Western-centered, comparative perspective. Robinson defines the economy of violence as "the administration or management of concerns and resource related to violence in society—when and why people resort to violence, licit or illicit, and how such actions are perceived" (p. 2). Specifically, he examines a "constellation of issues" related to banditry and rebellion in the capital region from about 1450 to 1525, a period bounded by the tumult of the dynasty's formation and the onset of serious dynastic decline. In Robinson's hands, the concept of the economy of violence proves to be a very powerful tool for analyzing the much-neglected topic of violence and coercion in late imperial China. Perhaps most significantly, in contrast to James W. Tong's *Disorder under Heavens: Collective Violence in the Ming Dynasty* (1991), this study demonstrates that "violence was fully integrated into Ming life, during good times and bad" (p. 5).

Another concept central to this work is the "man of force." Here the author follows a very healthy trend that has emerged in the study of late imperial China: the reevaluation of the biases in elite descriptions and characterizations of Chinese society. Robinson wisely eschews the normal elite pejoratives used to describe individuals who depended on the use of force for their status and influence, because these labels imply a degree of "rootlessness or marginality." As this work convincingly demonstrates, "men of force" could be members of established families and often had connections to the upper echelons of society and government. Dropping the dismissive terminology of the Chinese literati elite is not merely a matter of semantics; rather, it is a crucial step toward an improved understanding of China's past. Ironically, Robinson continues to use the term "pettifogger," though he acknowledges the elite bias, rather than the more neutral "litigation master" used by Melissa Macauley in *Social Power and Legal Culture: Litigation Masters in Late Imperial China* (1998). Clearly, there is a need for greater dialogue within the field. If the term late imperial Chinese history is to have any meaning, it is time for Ming and Qing specialists to bridge the artificial dynastic gap in late imperial studies. Robinson's illumination of the role of "men of force" will lead scholars in this direction.

Overall, this is an excellent piece of scholarship, but I offer one suggestion and one comment. If, as one hopes, Robinson continues to work on the coercive power of the state in the Ming, he would be wise to expand his theoretical framework. For example, Douglass C. North's work, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (1981), especially his explanation of the state as "an organization with a comparative advantage in violence" and his discussion of the "problem of agency," would contribute to deeper understanding of the late Ming dilemma of controlling "men of force." My comment involves Robinson's uses of Tong's work as a foil to his case study. (In the interests of full disclosure, I am Tong's classmate, and I played a minor role preparing the maps used in his research.) Tong's thesis may not accommodate Robinson's rich account of the events of 1510, but a detailed case study, no matter how well done, does not entirely refute Tong's argument, which was based on examination of 630 incidents of collective violence. The observation that the reliance on local gazetteers may have colored Tong's study may be correct, but, in my opinion, these two excellent works of scholarship should be viewed as complementary rather than contradictory methodologies. Both scholars elucidate important components of the complex repertoire of violent behavior during the Ming. That said, Robinson's book is a most commendable piece of scholarship that will be required reading for scholars of late imperial Chinese history and all scholars interested in comparative history.

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WILLIAM T. ROWE. *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 601. $59.95.

In his own words, William T. Rowe does not "shy away" from drawing broad comparisons. "The big ideas conventionally identified with the development of elite consciousness in early modern Europe—statism, liberalism, and individualism among them—were not, I would suggest, the prerogative of Europe alone" (p. 456). To avoid such comparisons would be to "cavalierly discard one of the most potent frameworks" of analysis developed by historians of the West and also to ignore the degree of global integration already present in the eighteenth century. Still, he

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acknowledges, the usefulness of such comparisons is limited. Rowe's ultimate goal "is to comprehend, as fully as possible and on its own terms, the ground of consciousness occupied by Chen Hongmou and his colleagues in the late imperial official elite" (p. 4). No matter what one thinks of the bold comparisons, the ultimate goal justifies the heft of this volume. It is Chen's own language, examined in each case with reference to particular moments and particular policy discussions, that might persuade readers of his fundamental modernity.

Rowe treats Chen's words and actions topically, seeing them as representative of a generation of scholar-officials who participated in and argued about the momentous social changes that China experienced between 1720 and 1760. Under the general headings of "Being a Man," "Creating Prosperity," and "Ordering the World," topics range from "First Things" and "Food" to "Production," "Accumulation," "Governance," and "Civilization." The topical approach allows Rowe to develop Chen's ideas and policies with respect to one issue at a time, cross referencing them with respect to others. With each topic, Rowe complements and challenges the increasingly sophisticated studies of institutions, ideas, and social behaviors in this exciting field. He also allows a new image of an exceptionally influential man to emerge from his life's work while holding up other views of his life and work to scrutiny.

Most historians of late imperial China would agree with Rowe that three types of tension—between Confucian moralism and "statecraft" (*jingshi*) pragmatism, between the roles of state and local institutions in ordering the world, and between individual moral choice and prescribed family or community obligations—help to explain the ways in which things did or did not develop over time. The nature and degree of tension between market forces and social control is hotly debated. For Rowe, all of these tensions were apparent in Chen's personal predilections as well as his policy positions and initiatives as governor of various provinces and in the positions he took on academic arguments concerning traditions of Confucian learning. Seeking consistency across these disparate fields, Rowe finds a man who defined his class as one of special obligations rather than special privileges (p. 297). He finds an activist who identified with "conservative" Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in opposition to "empirical" textual scholarship while borrowing ideas from Ming activists Wang Yangming and Lü Kun, who believed in individual moral autonomy. He finds a governor who, famous for his association with theories of encouraging local initiatives to offset state control, consistently encouraged the initiatives of free market entrepreneurs and leaders of entrenched kinship groups while micromanaging the state's engagement with both. Rowe weaves his web of consistency by describing a world in which wide local variations of wealth, production, "commercial circulation," scholarly traditions, education, and ethnicity intersected with threads of discourse running from the tenth to the twentieth century.

The descriptions and explanations of policies toward famine relief, price stabilization, public schools, and economic growth are compelling studies in themselves. Rowe argues persuasively that Chen believed in immutable economic principles and, at the same time, displayed "a finely tuned empirical sensitivity to geographic and temporal specificity," a relativism that was "arguably the key defining feature" of late imperial statecraft (p. 206). Rowe cites many recent works that point in the same direction. But his argument that Chen and his contemporaries were "in the process of moving toward a newly heightened sense of the importance of the individual, versus the collectivity" (p. 108), and that this sense applied equally to women and to men, represents a perspective profoundly at odds with those who have seen Chen as part of a "regressive cultural project" in the mid-Qing period (p. 297). Differences on these and other issues will surely be joined further, to the collective benefit of the field, as any scholar with a different perspective will have to take note. This is a large, important, and most welcome book.

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ALAN RICHARD SWEETEN. *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province, 1860–1900*. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, number 91.) Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan; distributed by University of Michigan Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 281. $50.00.

This study provides valuable insights into not only the role of Christianity, specifically Catholicism, in nineteenth-century China but also the workings of the Chinese bureaucracy and local society during a time of general disintegration precipitated by, or at least exacerbated by, Western intrusion. The period under examination is marked by two pivotal events in Sino-Western relations: the treaty arrangements of 1858–1860 that permitted and protected Christian missionary work in China's interior, and the Boxer Rebellion and China's humiliation by the allied powers in 1900. In response to the growing foreign crises, the Chinese imperial court in 1861 established the Zongli Yamen (Office for General Management of Foreign Relations), and it is the well-preserved archives of this agency that Alan Richard Sweeten utilizes to challenge three assumptions that he feels have governed earlier studies of Christianity in China: that Christians regularly faced gentry-led harassment, that they were marginalized troublemakers, and that they formed separate enclaves in their communities.

Sweeten constructs his argument about the deficiencies of earlier scholarship primarily on the work of Kenneth Scott Latourette and Paul A. Cohen, work done in the 1920s and 1960s, respectively, ignoring for the most part more recent studies that have moved

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beyond these pioneers in the field and addressed some of Sweeten's concerns. Some of these studies are listed in the bibliography, but there seems to be little use made of them. His point about the Christian presence in rural China is well taken, however, and he has marshaled evidence from the Zongli Yamen's archive on Christian affairs and disputes (Jiaowu jiao'an dang) to make a strong case that Christians in the rural areas of Jiangxi province (located in south central China) during the late nineteenth century lived as much in harmony as in conflict with their neighbors, much like non-Christians did.

After delineating the history, structure, and socio-economic background of Catholic congregations in rural Jiangxi, the author devotes separate chapters to examining four types of conflicts involving Catholics: over the construction of churches, lineage and family affairs, property disputes, and criminal activity. Although this organizational scheme, topical rather than chronological, allows close analysis of particular types of conflicts, it does not give the reader a sense of the historical progression of Christian relations within communities. Did conflict increase or decrease over time? Chapter recapitulations, where one might expect this question to be addressed, are generally silent on the matter. In the final chapter, Sweeten does look at the historical record of one particular village, and here he concludes that over time Catholic and non-Catholic villagers learned to compromise and coexist with one another. Whether this village's experience is applicable to the whole province is unclear.

In contrast to consistent anti-Christian propaganda and activity led by gentry in major urban centers, such as Jiangxi's capital city, Nanchang, Sweeten finds that the rural experience was one in which conflict was precipitated more by ordinary people than the local elite, the circulation of anti-Christian literature was rare, and disturbances did not become long-festering affairs. Problems between Christians and non-Christians often occurred over secular, nonreligious issues, and accommodations were made to settle the conflicts. Those cases in which Catholics were attacked on religious grounds usually revolved around their abandoning traditional ancestral worship practices or refusing to pay fees for local festivals or the upkeep of local temples. Whether the case was religiously inspired or not, however, an individual's or a group's identity as Catholic often complicated matters because of larger Sino-Western treaty relationships. Then, too, the French Catholic missionaries often tried to come to the defense of Catholic converts and injected the charge of religious persecution into their negotiations with Chinese authorities.

Sweeten also utilizes the Zongli Yamen archival sources to present in detail the role of subofficial institutions in maintaining order at the local level. This is particularly true in the chapter dealing with Catholics involved in criminal activity. From the Chinese documents, we get an overall picture of the chain of command handling Christian cases, from the Zongli Yamen in Beijing through provincial, prefectural, and county offices down to subofficial levels such as the *baojia* (mutual responsibility units) and *dibao* (headman). The *dibao* in particular, Sweeten shows, was the crucial figure in these cases and an essential security link between the county magistrate (the lowest-level imperial appointee) and local society. This aspect of his study yields insights that will be of interest to all historians of China, not just those who look at Christianity and its impact on Chinese society.

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CATHERINE PAGANI. *"Eastern Magnificence & European Ingenuity": Clocks of Late Imperial China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pp. xvi, 286. $44.50.

Since David S. Landes's *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (1983), historians have been well aware of the distinctiveness of this European invention and its apparent significance to European superiority. Focusing on the introduction of European mechanical clocks to China in the late sixteenth century, Catherine Pagani sets out the meanings for Chinese and Westerners of clock production for the Chinese market. She stresses that clocks were seen primarily as status symbols rather than timepieces in both China and Europe in the sixteenth century. Jesuit missionaries brought clocks to display their greater knowledge, which they deemed an indication of their religious faith's superiority. Emperors delighted in the mechanical clocks; these instruments and related automata were symbols of political power and, later, as they became available beyond the court, of social status and wealth. European clocks figured as one of the few items Europeans could find a market for in eighteenth-century China, although clock sales could not reverse the net flow of silver into the empire to pay for the porcelains, silks, and teas that streamed to Europe. Finally, Pagani examines the aesthetics of clock production and discerns the perceptions that Chinese and Westerners held of each other based on the particular characteristics of clocks produced in China and Europe; she argues that the differences in clocks produced for the Chinese market by Chinese and Europeans vividly illustrate the inability or unwillingness of Europeans to learn about Chinese preferences because they considered themselves superior culturally.

When Jesuit missionaries gave clocks to the Chinese emperor, they were following a gift-giving practice between European courts in the sixteenth century. Since God had begun to be conceived as the eternal clockmaker in the fifteenth century, there were diplomatic and religious reasons for the Jesuits to present clocks at the Chinese court. Imperial interest in clock making was affirmed by the development of imperial clock making and repair at workshops where the skills of European clock makers came to be important,

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especially in the eighteenth century. The clock offers a revealing perspective on Jesuit efforts to share religious and scientific features of European learning with the Chinese court, in the process demonstrating some of the attitudes of cultural accommodation that sparked criticism of their efforts by other missionaries and the Vatican.

Under the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, the imperial collection of clocks and watches grew dramatically; a 1736 estimate includes more than 4,000 produced by Europeans alone. Production and repair in China also increased within imperial workshops and then spread to other parts of the country, especially to Guangzhou (Canton) and Suzhou. Chinese clock makers were organized in guilds that retained significant European influence into the early twentieth century, when apprentices still received instruction in French. Missionaries commented favorably on Chinese skill and ingenuity. By the mid-nineteenth century, it appears that imports had fallen because the opium trade had reduced available foreign exchange and Chinese craftsmen had increased domestic production. Chinese clock makers copied imported clocks and watches, creating very expensive clocks as well as simpler ones for a broader market, with production in the mid-nineteenth century reaching roughly 1,500 clocks and watches annually.

While the majority of clocks and watches in the imperial collection were made in London, the Swiss makers, most famously those of Geneva, were the ones who produced the highest quality products. During the nineteenth century, their willingness and ability to adapt their products to Chinese tastes allowed them to surpass English makers in this market. For their own markets, European clock makers in the second half of the eighteenth century employed a decorative style drawn from their view of the Far East. This *chinoiserie* was in turn copied by Chinese makers, who sold their works as European-style products.

This study explores the meanings of cultural objects previously not well studied to challenge some fundamental assumptions regarding the differential formation of the cultural systems that allegedly distinguish China and Europe. It alerts us to the salience of the cultural contexts within which European technologies and products were introduced into China and the ease with which ill-placed cultural assumptions can cause scholars to misinterpret historical change. Pagani's argument that Chinese craftsmen were able to learn new techniques confounds Landes's views on clock making and suggests that the significance of such abilities for broader economic changes is less important than he assumes.

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Marcia Reynders Ristaino. *Port of Last Resort: The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 369. $60.00.

More than a quarter century ago, a generation of scholarship on the Western experience in modern China, focusing mainly on missionary work and diplomatic affairs, gave way to a more China-centered approach to the nation's recent history. Since then, the study of the foreign encounter with China, with a few notable exceptions, has been largely marginalized. Marcia Reynders Ristaino's work on the diaspora communities of Shanghai is a welcome divergence from this scholarly trend.

Unlike previous studies of Westerners in China, which have centered on the privileged and the powerful, this study treats two disadvantaged and dislocated groups: Jews and Slavs. At one point in the Republican period, they together numbered more than 50,000 people in Shanghai, while the most prominent foreigners in the city, the British, at the peak of their influence amounted to only about 10,000 (p. xiii). Nationality, economic status, religion, language, custom, and culture not only divided these groups from each other but also split each of them internally. Among the Jews, Sephardim, mainly from Baghdad, immigrated to Shanghai via India as early as in the middle of the nineteenth century and quickly established themselves among the wealthy of the city. The majority of the Jews in Shanghai, however, came later, as victims of the Nazi Holocaust. After Pearl Harbor, with the Japanese now controlling Shanghai, their ultimate asylum, at least for the duration of the war, was the officially designated ghetto of Hongkou. The Slavic refugees in Shanghai consisted mainly of so-called White Russians who had escaped the Bolshevik Revolution. This group also included Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, and Russian Jews, who had started to immigrate to China in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. These extremely diverse peoples shared one thing in common: all sought refuge in the world's only city that did not require an entrance document. Their shared fate in Shanghai ended with the victory of the Chinese Communist revolution in 1949.

Ristaino's book chronicles the half-century sojourn of these various groups in Shanghai. It is the only comprehensive account of the Jewish and Slavic episodes in that city. Readers shall find, among other topics, the story of the encounter of dissimilar branches of Judaism, the relations between Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews, the tensions and cooperation among various refugee organizations and interest groups, the severed Russian community, the struggle of ethnic minorities such as the Ukrainians for their own identity, and so on. Contention and conflict within the diaspora communities were entangled with the communities' relations with outside parties, mainly the authorities of Shanghai's divided city administration and, after the outbreak of the Pacific War, the Japanese. External influences, whether in the form of enticements or impediments, often complicated the character of these already variegated communities, making living in Shanghai a constant art of balance and deliberation.

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The book marries a narrative of diaspora politics with a recitation of the details of quotidian existence. It paints quite a graphic picture of life in the refugee camps and ghettos: how food was prepared on "flowerpot" coal stoves and how bedbugs, mice, roaches, rats, and mosquitoes were so abundant that one might turn on the lights at night to "see the zoological park in the midst of which one found oneself" (p. 130). Coping with daily life involved making ends meet and more; thus Russian dancing girls, Jewish curbside peddlers, black market gold dealers, and underworld spies—in addition to more "regular" types of professionals—all come in for scrutiny under Ristaino's lens. The research on which the book is based draws on an impressive array of source materials ranging from archival documents, police dossiers, and newspapers to personal memoirs and dozens of interviews with former members of Shanghai's diaspora communities. In addition to English-language documents, German, French, Polish, Japanese, and Chinese sources were consulted.

The book does not offer a theoretical analysis of its subject matter. Ristaino's main argument is that the diaspora communities were too diverse and complex to be understood by "any single comprehensive view or explanation" (p. 283). This may well be the case, but our foray into the subject should not be halted here. One obvious issue left largely untouched in the book is the insulation between the Chinese and the diaspora communities. Shanghai, even in its most international phase, when it was under the sway of the West, remained essentially a Chinese city. For half a century, the diaspora communities in question shared an area of only about thirteen square miles with millions of Chinese; most refugees lived cheek by jowl with their Chinese neighbors. How is it, then, that the two communities survived with so little reference to one another? The point of economic disparity setting the Chinese and the diaspora communities apart seems insufficient to explain the situation. Although available sources on the interaction between the Chinese and the diaspora communities are little more than memoirs and anecdotes, research on how and why the communities shut themselves off would certainly have broader interest and would be especially significant for the larger issue of cultural and ethnic integration, or disintegration, in the diaspora.

This work is an indispensable addition to the history of Western sojourners in modern China and the history of Shanghai. It will also be a useful reference for those interested in the issue of diaspora, the history of ethnicity, World War II history, and Jewish history.

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EILEEN P. SCULLY. *Bargaining with the State from Afar: American Citizenship in Treaty Port China, 1844–1942*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 306. Cloth $49.50, paper $19.50.

In the Chinese context, extraterritoriality traditionally connotes arrogant imperialists gaining carte blanche for their citizens in treaty enclaves. By claiming that Chinese laws were too barbaric for Westerners to submit to, imperial powers ensured that their citizens could escape punishment for crimes while abroad. Historians have recently begun to re-examine these assumptions, revealing a complex legal structure designed less to protect criminal behavior than to promote trade relations and exert social control. Eileen P. Scully examines how extraterritoriality reflected the debate over defining national citizenship, and how its American enforcers envisioned it as a tool of diplomacy, designed to model "proper" behavior to the Chinese.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the ideology that individuals carried with them "natural rights" independent of legal rights led citizens to believe that their government had a duty to protect them while traveling abroad. With the rise of imperialism in the nineteenth century, Western countries increasingly measured the level of "civilization" in a country by how well it protected those rights. Westerners expected diplomatic immunity for all official representatives, but in "uncivilized" countries, extraterritoriality extended that protection to all citizens.

Because extraterritoriality came to China at gunpoint and was an integral part of the unequal treaty system, historians have largely assumed that it always worked against Chinese interests. Scully argues convincingly that Westerners understood that they needed the cooperation of the Chinese if they were to expand their trade interests. Thus they were eager to show them that sojourning criminals would face punishment under Western laws. Americans, in addition, saw the consular courts and the special U.S. Court for China as models of an ideal law system that would persuade reform-minded Chinese to modernize. Such ideals blended as well with Theodore Roosevelt's concept of benevolent empire as with Woodrow Wilson's missionary zeal.

The courts ultimately did not accomplish their goals. The U.S. Court for China, which was supposed to enforce discipline and order and model democratic behavior to the Chinese, often found that it could not control all expatriates. Judges only retained their positions if they accommodated the interests of the local elite. Structural deficiencies also limited the effectiveness of the U.S. Court for China, which faced competition from consular courts, mixed American and Chinese courts, and appellate courts in the United States. Those who received the harshest sentences were American transients or vagrants without political clout who became sacrificial lambs for goodwill between the countries. The few Chinese who came before the court did receive fair treatment, but the court made no lasting impression on the rest.

Always reluctant imperialists, Americans never appropriated enough funds to enforce extraterritorial justice. Indeed, Scully argues that many foreigners

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claimed American citizenship as a way to avoid the law. Chinese compradors claimed citizenship to free themselves from the restrictions of the Chinese government. European owners of gambling houses and many prostitutes obtained fraudulent American passports knowing that there was little enforcement of the laws in the American enclaves. In fact, a brothel in Port Arthur was known locally as "the American Legation."

Scully makes clear that the majority of sojourners in China who gained privileges under extraterritoriality were nothing like the stereotypical idle expatriates, benefiting at the expense of the native population. Many were sailors, laborers, or operated small businesses. The criminal element had wide representation, and many Americans made their fortunes in gambling or drugs. This wide variety of social groups made the process of defining extraterritorial rights one of constant negotiation.

Scully's argument is sophisticated and crosses boundaries between Asian and American history. Nonetheless, while her interpretations of how the mission of the U.S. Court for China tied in with Progressive ideology ring true overall, her command of American historiography of the period seems more limited. Her interpretation of Wilson's motivations in particular seems to be based on Robert Freeman Smith's classic work, *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916–1932* (1972), and William Leuchtenburg's *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* article, "Progressivism and Imperialism" (1952). Quoting Robert Wiebe, she rather oversimplifies Progressivism in general as a "search for order" but does not cite Wiebe himself. Such generalizations mar an otherwise insightful analysis.

This is a good book, but the prose is dense and the legal and constitutional discussions are difficult. I would recommend it to graduate students and faculty who have time to chew on the issues and can translate them for an undergraduate audience. Scully has created a fascinating picture of the extraterritorial enclaves in China. She convincingly argues that the limits of extraterritoriality were under constant negotiation and reflected political and diplomatic initiatives while redefining citizenship. Scully's work is an important reassessment of both American imperialism and the unequal treaties. It is a challenging read but worth the effort.

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REBECCA E. KARL. *Staging the World: Chinese Nationalism at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. (Asia-Pacific: Culture, Politics, and Society.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 314. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Anyone who has read the Chinese periodical literature of the 1890s and 1900s will have been struck by the amount of space devoted to places whose names are seldom mentioned today in relation to China's history: Poland, Turkey, the Philippines, the Transvaal. Rebecca E. Karl argues convincingly that, in order to understand the nature of Chinese nationalism during this period, we need to see it in relation to what was going on in the rest of the world. This sharply contradicts the tendency of the existing literature to look at Chinese nationalism either in the context of China's reaction to Europe, America, and Japan or as an outgrowth of earlier Chinese culture. Thus Karl raises an important challenge to many conventional assumptions about the nature and origins of Chinese nationalism.

The 1890s and 1900s were a crucial period for the formation of Chinese nationalism. Karl makes two main theoretical points about this process. First, she argues that observing events in other countries that were experiencing some of the same kinds of pressures as China influenced the thinking of leading Chinese intellectuals. As a result, the shape Chinese nationalism took was contingent on the outcome of struggles elsewhere in the world. Second, she argues that we must not conflate nationalism with state building. The point is important because almost all the existing literature on Chinese nationalism does indeed conflate the two. Karl argues that there were two separate and competing ideologies, which she calls ethno-nationalism and statism, and these ideologies had quite different implications for the future of China.

At the same time, she presents a narrative of the formation of Chinese nationalism that is startlingly different from anything that has been written before and yet at times unnervingly convincing. She does this through a series of case studies, beginning with public concern about the threat that China, too, could become a "lost nation" like Poland. She then looks at how contact with the Chinese in Hawai'i helped to refigure the overseas Chinese as Chinese citizens who, because of their experiences of modernity, would play a central role in the construction of the modern nation. Next she considers how, by reading about the Philippine Revolution, Chinese intellectuals began to see that many of their problems were in fact shared by other peoples and to start using the new worldwide ideas of colonialism and revolution. When they tried to understand China's situation in these terms, they cast the Manchu Qing dynasty as a colonial power and therefore the proper object of a nationalist revolution. The Boer War, by contrast, sparked considerable debate over the relative merits of ethnonationalism (as seen in the Boers) or statism (as seen in the British), while the successes of the Boers provided an important model for the idea of a militarized society in China.

Most of the book is concerned with events that fed into the general ferment of ideas about nationalism up to 1905. The final chapter deals with the declaration of a constitution in Turkey in 1908 under the leadership of the Young Turks. By this time, attitudes in China had polarized, and writers treated events in Turkey merely as confirmation of their existing opinions on

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the relative merits of reform and revolution. Where events in Turkey did provide a model was for the role of the military, which now began to be equated with the people in leading the revolution.

Was the outcome of revolution in the Philippines or the Boer War really important in shaping Chinese nationalism? How important was it compared to other factors? This book raises as many questions as it answers and will undoubtedly give rise to much debate. It is nevertheless one of the few really innovative works of intellectual history to come out in recent years in this area. From the point of view of a China specialist, Karl shows an impressive familiarity and technical competence in dealing with a wide range of material. However, her work is clearly intended to appeal to a much wider audience of readers interested in theory. This means that it provides helpful background material, but also that it is not an easy read. Karl's book is, however, worth the effort since it provides a model for some of the alternative kinds of questions that world history should be prompting us to ask.

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Q. EDWARD WANG. *Inventing China through History: The May Fourth Approach to Historiography*. (SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 304. Cloth $66.50, paper $22.95.

This useful book outlines the rise of national history as a new intellectual and political discourse in modern China. Q. Edward Wang chronicles this heightened interest along two interrelated pathways. The first is a study of Chinese history from the nineteenth century to the eve of the Communist takeover in 1949, with special attention paid to the May Fourth generation. The second and more important line of discussion is an examination of the controversial relationship between Chinese intellectuals' pursuit of historical writing as a scientific, objective undertaking and their overt nationalistic views of China's past.

Like many other academic disciplines in modern China, the author tells us, the study of history was never a theoretical exercise. Instead, it has been a hotly debated political issue as intellectuals, in the face of foreign challenges and aggression, searched anxiously for a new cultural identity, as well as collective dignity in times of crisis. At the heart of the debate, according to Wang, was how to use Western-inspired scientific methods to study Chinese history in line with the ideals of modernity. To that end, Wang contends, intellectuals attempted to reconcile certain major conflicts: tradition versus modernity, the past versus the present, national values versus transnational values, and China's status as an equal partner of the West versus foreign domination—challenging tasks indeed.

Wang's narrative is part chronological and part biographical. By examining the education, careers, major writings, and aspirations of a score of intellectuals—including prominent individuals like Liang Qichao and Hu Shi as well as less familiar figures such as He Bingsong, Fu Sinian, Luo Jialun, Chen Yinke, and Yao Congwu—Wang argues that these liberal historians, in presenting a scientific interpretation of Chinese history, did not view modernity and tradition as mutually exclusive. Rather, their enthusiasm for scientific methodology (mostly source criticism) in history allowed them to look for elements in their own cultural heritage comparable to those in the West (the Qing dynasty's evidential scholarship was Hu Shi's often-cited example). Thus they were able to bridge the gap between Chinese tradition and Western culture, on the one hand, and to underscore the reciprocal relationship between tradition and modernity, on the other.

Modern Chinese historical writings, as Wang convincingly demonstrates, were often penned with a strong dose of nationalism. The transformation of one of the founders of scientific history in China, Liang Qichao, from an admirer of Western civilization to a devotee to his native culture was a telling example. Like Liang, many scholars increasingly saw Chinese culture as equal to that of the West, not an inferior imitator. Japanese aggression in the 1930s further politicized China's historical writings, forging a shared national identity among intellectuals. Fu Sinian, Yao Congwu, and others believed that national salvation took precedence over everything else, including scientific scholarship. Thus historical writings became a hostage of nationalism.

This well-researched book is one of the most comprehensive English-language surveys of modern Chinese historiography, but it advances no new theories or interpretations. The book repeats a common observation that historians often rewrite the past according to their current needs, and the information offered is already quite familiar to historians. What are original, however, are how the information has been systematically grouped under a few general themes and the author's ability to render a reflective overview of a hundred years of Chinese historiography.

Although Wang succeeds in highlighting the complex and ambiguous relationship between modernity and tradition in the writings of national history by Chinese intellectuals, he does not clearly define the key term "national history," which he uses with such wide latitude that its meaning becomes elusive. For instance, at times Wang seems to confuse the study of Chinese history as an academic pursuit with its study as a nationalistic endeavor. Not all academic undertakings are ideologically driven, as is fully evident in many of Chen Yinke's erudite publications. A major problem with the book is Wang's tendency to read nationalism into everything he sees.

Other reservations, briefly stated, include the author's inclination to overload the narrative with names (both Chinese and Western) and book titles, often not devoting sufficient space to a topic. A section on the "public sphere," a currently fashionable topic of dis-

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cussion, seems out of place in a book on historiography. Nonetheless, the book's rich documentation of Chinese historiography and the abundant information presented, especially material on less familiar but influential figures such as Fu Sinian and Luo Jialun, make it a worthwhile read.

CHANG-TAI HUNG
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YUNG-CHEN CHIANG. *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919–1949.* (Cambridge Modern China Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 299. $59.95.

In this illuminating study of the blossoming of modern social science in China in the decades before the Communist Revolution, the focus is on money. The quality of Chinese social research in the 1930s or so has been remarked on before; years ago, Maurice Freedman asserted that, outside the West, "China was the seat of the most flourishing sociology in the world, at least in respect of its intellectual quality" (*British Journal of Sociology* 14 [1963]: 1–19). Now Yung-Chen Chiang shows us what made this research possible.

Social science began to be taught in Chinese universities in the 1920s and 1930s, largely by Chinese who had studied abroad, many with American doctoral degrees. Underpaid and overworked, without time or means for social research, they could only repeat in their teaching and writing what they had learned in foreign textbooks and classrooms. As Xiaotong Fei, who would become China's leading sociologist, recalled, "in college, we . . . learned from books about Chicago gangs and Russian immigrants in America, but . . . little or nothing about the Chinese gentry in the town and the peasants in the village" (Hsiao-tung Fei, *Earthbound China: A Study of the Peasant Economy in Yunnan* [1945], p. viii). Developing a social science relevant to China would require outside funding, as this study, the first such to be based on American institutional archives as well as Chinese social science publications, shows convincingly.

The key to everything was American research funds, principally from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). This Chiang demonstrates with three well-done case studies of the most successful social science enterprises, each two or three chapters long and filled with telling detail. Yanjing University was a small, elite, missionary-founded college with American connections (and funding) and a social service orientation that led to an emphasis on sociology, and by 1925 its sociology department was offering perhaps a quarter of all the sociology courses in China. In 1928, they obtained a seven-year Rockefeller grant of 140,000 U.S. dollars, an enormous sum in China when a professorial monthly salary was not much more than $100. Chiang recounts the rivalry between the "social service wing" and the "sociology wing." The former, which emphasized social surveys focused on "social problems," was led by Leonard Hsu, a well-dressed enterprising administrator with several American degrees, an American wife, and Chinese political ambitions; it was he who snared the Rockefeller grant. The rival sociology wing, influenced by the empirical sociology of the University of Chicago and Robert Park (who spent a semester at Yanjing), favored "community studies" that looked at culture as a whole. This wing, led by Wu Wenzao, a Columbia University Ph.D., trained a talented group of students, including Xiaotong Fei.

At the Institute of Economics at Nankai University, Franklin Ho and H. D. Fong, both with doctorates in Economics from Yale University, where they had been fraternity brothers, did important work collecting price and other economic indices, which were published weekly, and studying local handicrafts industries. This work was supported by grants from the IPR and especially the Rockefeller Foundation, which in 1931 gave the Nankai Institute a five-year $75,000 grant to indigenize economics in China, focusing on rural projects. With such grants they grew to have a staff of thirty, including ten professors with American doctoral degrees.

The third group, most astonishing and delicious, were Marxist scholars led by Chen Hansheng, Western educated and secretly a Comintern operative. At times harassed by the Nationalist government, at times employed by it, from 1933 on Chen got generous funding from the IPR (money ultimately from the Rockefeller Foundation), which brought Chen to New York for several years when he was in danger in China in the late 1930s and again in the late 1940s. Chen and his group did much important field work on landownership in different parts of China, work informed by Marxist concepts and documenting unequal distribution of land and exploitation of peasants. Chiang brings this research from over fifty years ago into revealing dialogue with contemporary scholars on rural China, defending Chen more often than not. Of the three social science enterprises, Chiang judges that Chen's had the greatest scholarly output and impact. In all, this Communist was supported by the IPR for seventeen years.

We would expect dependence on American foundations to have harmful consequences on Chinese social science, yet Chiang's long chapter trying to demonstrate this seems curiously forced. He talks of academic rivalries and the prominence gained by entrepreneurial types. "Academic patricide" he labels a little matter of Xiaotong Fei using more deferential language in a letter to his foreign mentor Bronislaw Malinowski than he used, in a letter to someone else, about his Chinese undergraduate teacher Wu Wenzao. He finds occasional cases of racism—the IPR allotted Chinese smaller stipends than Europeans for living in the United States—and makes much of a remark in a Rockefeller Foundation document that a project for mass literacy in China "gives one pause" (because the literature might come from Moscow), which seems

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trivial next to the generous funding they did in fact grant the project.

The most serious charge is that the Rockefeller Foundation determined the research agenda of Chinese social science, and here Chiang has the proof. But to what effect? They pushed it to empirical research on Chinese society, and then in the 1930s to studying rural China in the hope that this research would have some practical use in rural reconstruction (this is what the "social engineering" of the title refers to). In the end, it is hard to argue U.S. funding gave a conservative bias to Chinese research when the most successful grant winner was openly Marxist. Perhaps the real lesson is a refreshing reminder of how foreign donors can be manipulated.

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Stewart Lone. *Army, Empire and Politics in Meiji Japan: The Three Careers of General Katsura Tarō*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. vii, 247. $65.00.

Katsura Tarō (1847–1913), one of the principal architects of the modern Japanese army, three times prime minister, and founder of one of two major parties that flourished in the brief era of parliamentary rule in the 1920s, ranks among the most significant yet poorly understood figures in Japan's political history. Japanese-language scholarship since the 1970s has shed considerable light on Katsura. In English-language studies, however, he has received little attention in his own right and is known primarily as a follower and heir-apparent of soldier-statesman Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922) and as the most prominent casualty of the Taishō Crisis of 1912–1913. Stewart Lone's book redresses past neglect. He argues that an understanding of this political jack-of-all-trades necessitates a broad reexamination of prevailing perceptions of military-civil relations, of war and imperialism, and of domestic politics in Meiji Japan.

Lone begins with Katsura's earlier career as an army officer possessing limited command experience but valuable administrative credentials acquired by studying in Germany. As army vice minister, he applied his expertise in implementing the sweeping reforms of the 1880s that transformed the Meiji army from a modest self-defense force into a mobile organization capable of deploying overseas. The second chapter recounts the first practical test of that organization in the war against China, a story told at greater length in the author's earlier work, *Japan's First Modern War: Army and Society in the Conflict with China, 1894–95* (1994). The third explores Katsura's role as a pioneering colonial administrator. Lone argues that, although Katsura's tenure as governor-general of Taiwan was extremely brief (1896), he made important contributions to the formulation of policies carried out by his successors. The fourth and fifth chapters examine developments during his years as army minister (1898–1900), which included intensifying great-power rivalry in China, mounting tensions between Japan and Russia over Korea, and the Boxer War (1900). During this period, Katsura developed a flexible approach toward parliament and its obstreperous parties, along with a taste and talent for politics. The sixth and seventh chapters treat Katsura's first, longest, and most eventful watch as prime minister (1901–1905), which culminated in Japan's war against Russia (1904–1905). Pursuing a line of argument developed earlier in the book, Lone challenges the notion of an inevitable war, underscoring both the reluctance of the Japanese military to confront Russia and the southward orientation of Japanese expansion prior to the outbreak of the conflict. Continental imperialism in Korea and Manchuria receives extensive treatment in the next three chapters, with an emphasis on Korea. As does Peter Duus (*The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910* [1995]), Lone argues that the annexation of Korea resulted from the failure of informal imperialism rather than a premeditated program of outright seizure. However, he underscores the commitment to informal methods, which he describes as "Cromerism," not only on the part of civilian statesman such as Itō Hirobumi but among those associated with the army, such as Katsura, Yamagata Aritomo, and Terauchi Masatake. The final chapter describes Katsura's "last hurrah" in his third stint as prime minister when he found himself caught between multiple, contending forces unleashed by the army's toppling of his predecessor in 1912.

Lone's challenge to entrenched notions of the Meiji army as monolithic, of Japan's early imperialism as planned and systematic, of the soldier-statesmen of this era as uniformly "militarist" and implacably hostile to parliament, and of Katsura as a loyal subordinate of Yamagata Aritomo is persuasive. At the same time, the balance of coverage is not quite what might be expected from the title. Throughout most of the book, Lone devotes the larger part of his attention to issues of empire and foreign policy. Apart from the first and last chapters, he gives space to domestic politics and army affairs insofar as they pertain to imperialism but otherwise limits his treatment of parliamentary bargaining and internal army politics, in which Katsura appears to have played a central role, to brief sketches. Since no single work can be comprehensive, selective coverage is unavoidable, and no one would question the importance of Meiji imperialism as a topic of inquiry. However, Lone's focus on empire sometimes upstages Katsura as the intended subject. This suggests that Katsura's career may not always offer the best vantage point to examine aspects of empire that the author has chosen to illuminate, and, conversely, that imperial history may not shed the clearest light on many parts of this versatile man's career. Nonetheless, Lone succeeds in drawing Katsura Tarō out from the shadows of better-known members of the Meiji political oligarchy. This, along

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with his reexamination of Meiji imperialism, represents a significant contribution.

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NICHOLAS B. DIRKS. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 372. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

This book by Nicholas B. Dirks explores the genealogy of our present understanding of caste and traces it to constructions of caste in British India. The book is divided into four parts. The first part lays out the argument of the book: that caste as we know it today is no remnant of India's ancient past but very much a modern phenomenon and a product of the colonial encounter. Dirks is not suggesting that British colonialism invented caste ex nihilo. Rather, this book traces the "career of caste" in colonial and postcolonial India. Parts two and three of the book flesh out the argument to demonstrate how changing imperial concerns produced and contributed to different understandings of caste. It is this history, Dirks suggests in part four of the book, that produced an understanding of caste that continues to shape present-day political debates as postcolonial India struggles with the cultural legacy of colonial constructs.

Caste identities and the place of particular castes in the social hierarchy, Dirks reveals, were very much products of political processes in precolonial India. While these hierarchies existed, they were by no means the only markers of social status or difference in indigenous polities. Even British accounts of India in the eighteenth century had little to say about the "caste system," as the East India Company state was much more concerned with military matters or revenue collection than in theorizing about indigenous social systems. The credit for our modern understanding of caste has to go to Orientalist scholars who relied on Brahmanical, textual sources for their appreciative understanding of India's "civilizational" ethos. A parochial, historically, geographically, and socially specific reading of caste then came to be represented as "India's caste system." Christian missionaries did not share the Orientalists' fascination with Indian tradition, but they picked up on the Orientalist understanding of caste as related to Hindu religion (read superstition), which they were seeking to supplant. The denigration of caste based on Orientalist readings in turn influenced James Mill's important *History of British India* (1820). The putative hold of caste on the Indian mind revealed to Mill an incapacity for rational thought and thus became part of his defense of the imperial project in India.

The revolt of 1857 fueled the drive to acquire more information about India. Caste, by now naturalized, became an important basis for the classification of this knowledge. New "sciences," particularly anthropometry, sought to relate caste and race. The "ethnographic state" collected more data on what it perceived as discrete castes. The colonial army and police used "scientific" evidence to classify castes as "martial" or "criminal." Through such encounters, Dirks argues, colonialism reduced the diverse identities and political organizations it encountered in India to a single reified term: "caste." The census and the question of separate political representation not only reinforced caste objectification but also divided Indian opinion on the subject. Mainstream nationalists including Mohandas Gandhi perceived political mobilization of lower castes as politically divisive. Other upper-caste nationalists rejected "casteism" because colonialism had associated caste with primitivism. Even political representatives of lower-caste groups accepted colonial categories. The debate on caste thus came to be trapped within the confines of what Partha Chatterjee described as a "derivative discourse." Contemporary debates over reservations for backward castes, Dirks suggests, continue a struggle with colonial constructs.

The greatest strength of this book perhaps is its location of the discussions about caste firmly within the domain of colonial politics and history. Not only does this strategy question the presumed immutability of caste, but it also undermines the contention of "Cambridge School" neo-revisionists, who seek to deny that colonialism played any significant role in shaping South Asian history. The primary focus on colonialism, however, does not allow for enough attention to the agency of Indians in Dirks's account. We learn little about the agenda of Indians—whether William Jones's informants or Colin Mackenzie's assistants—who very evidently contributed to the making of colonial knowledge about India. Second, and perhaps more serious, is the lack of attention to gender. Despite a token acknowledgment in the introduction, Dirks does not think it necessary to dwell further on the evidently gendered nature of constructions of caste in colonial India.

Despite drawbacks, however, this book nevertheless makes significant contributions to South Asian history and to a larger field of scholarship on colonialism, nationalism, and postcolonial theory. It is difficult for historians to introduce important issues arising from their research to scholars outside of their area. Dirks does so by including a fair amount of historical background in his chapters. While much of this is familiar to South Asianists, it is invaluable for students unfamiliar with the history of the area. This makes for a longer book, but such contextualization makes the work ideal for use in graduate courses or even in advanced undergraduate classes.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

KEN MOFFATT. *A Poetics of Social Work: Personal Agency and Social Transformation in Canada, 1920–*

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1939. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. x, 156. Cloth $40.00, paper $14.95.

At first glance, Ken Moffatt's book seems to be a traditional intellectual history of social thought during the interwar period in Canada. Using the established approach of group biography, Moffatt explores the ideas of four prominent people in the emerging field of social work: E. J. Urwick, Dorothy Livesay, Carl Dawson, and Charlotte Whitton. Together, Moffatt claims, these four thinkers represent a broad cross-section of Anglo-Canadian social thought, and, through their academic affiliations, they reflect the influential role played by both McGill University and the University of Toronto in the development of social work during the 1920s and 1930s. As Moffatt points out, the differences among these subjects are at times so pronounced that a comparative analysis could easily slip into rigid categorization—and even create stereotypes—along political or gendered lines. For example, the conservative social policies of Whitton and Dawson contrast sharply with the left-wing activism of Livesay, while the authority of such male university administrators as Dawson and Urwick highlights the gender discrimination that relegated female social workers like Whitton and Livesay to insecure and often marginal careers beyond academia. Yet for Moffatt, it is this myriad of voices, the "richness of interpretation about social life and the nature of social service and social work" (p.6), that gives the interwar period its coherence and, ultimately, its importance in shaping the developing profession.

It is here that Moffatt's study moves beyond collective biography and offers instead a revisionist view of social work history. Although those outside the discipline of social work might find some parts of the discussion inaccessible, this book is a welcome contribution both to the history of social work, and to the more general intellectual history of the interwar years. Until recently, social work history in Canada has tended to focus on detailing minute changes in legislation and welfare policy. Moreover, the influence of scientific and technological thought has often been seen as progressive, linked to professionalization and a corresponding shift away from older voluntary and morally based forms of social service. Moffatt challenges what he sees as the liberal, technological bias in this interpretation and argues that, in fact, the claims of scientific expertise were hotly debated among social workers, representing a wide range of experience and ideologies throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Applying the insights of postmodernist and feminist historiography, Moffatt rejects the idea of a single narrative of development and argues instead that knowledge is socially defined, and that a variety of ways of knowing could, and did, coexist. As his intriguing title suggests, Moffatt sees the social work knowledge base in the interwar period as a complex tapestry, woven together from strands of history, philosophy, biography, and literature as well as the social and natural sciences.

Within this tapestry of social thought, Moffatt detects one pattern in particular that both links his subjects together and ensures that their ideas provide a rich heritage for present-day social workers. In spite of the fact that Urwick and Whitton have been characterized as upholding Victorian values, Moffatt claims that all four of his subjects shared a modernist approach: they had faith in the possibility that personal agency could lead to social improvement. In their collective desire to promote social change and solve social problems, it was natural that modernists of all types would be attracted to the profession of social work. As Moffatt convincingly shows, however, his four subjects were among many who encountered a fundamental contradiction, one that created bitter divisions within the emerging profession. During the 1920s and 1930s, social workers hotly debated the role of technology in their profession and, more specifically, the tension created between the promotion of rigorous technique as the basis for social work practice and the tradition of value-based, humanist conceptions of social service. For Moffatt, these debates should also serve a purpose for the present. As today's social workers are increasingly pressured to embrace information technology, he argues, the discussions of the interwar period should provide an important reminder that poetry, religion, fiction, philosophy, and science all can contribute to a richer, more complex understanding of social change.

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PHILIP MASSOLIN. *Canadian Intellectuals, the Tory Tradition, and the Challenge of Modernity, 1939–1970*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. x, 357. $60.00.

The words "conservative" and "liberal" mean different things to Canadians than to Americans. Through Canadian eyes, virtually all Americans are liberals: that is to say, stout believers in individual freedom. Those on the right, the self-styled "conservatives," look to us like classic or libertarian liberals; those on the left are reform or egalitarian liberals. The majority of Canadians are equally liberals, but north of the border two other ideologies can also claim legitimacy, though they are perpetually minoritarian. These are socialism and toryism. While divided on the issue of social hierarchy, tories and socialists share an abiding belief in community. To them, people are more than atomized individuals; they also exist collectively, as an organic or corporate entity. Although a socialist party has never governed Canada, leftist parties have gained power in provincial elections. By contrast, Tory governments have been commonplace, and the Conservative Party is one of the two historic parties of Canada. Wisely, in a majority-liberal population, this body has called itself first, the Liberal Conservative Party, and, more recently, the Progressive Conservative Party. In Canada, such monikers are not oxymorons.

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In this book, Philip Massolin describes and analyzes the combined social and political critiques of eight conservative intellectuals of the twentieth century. They are tory-conservative in the Canadian sense, not libertarian-conservative in the American sense. They include political economist Harold Innis; historians Donald Creighton, W. L. Morton, and Hilda Neatby; philosopher George P. Grant; literary critic Northrop Frye; wealthy philanthropist Vincent Massey; and, perhaps the best-known of the group to American readers, communications theorist Marshall McLuhan. Among their common characteristics, according to the author, are a WASP-ish, even pro-British upbringing and outlook that frequently turned anti-American; an elitist uneasiness about mass democracy; and a visceral opposition to technology-based progress and modernization.

It is Massolin's thesis that these eight conservative Canadian intellectuals, individually and sometimes collectively, opposed the forces of modernization (by which he means urbanization, industrialization, mass-oriented consumerism, and cultural homogenization), fought the good fight, and lost. Despite their intelligence, eloquence, sincerity, and commitment, these antimodernist critics were no match for the ongoing march of history. American technology, liberalism, and continentalism prevailed over British tradition, conservatism, and imperialism. According to Innis, Canada consequently evolved not from "colony to nation," as the great Canadian Liberal historian, Arthur R. M. Lower, entitled his signature history of Canada, but rather from "colony to nation to colony" (p. 199): out of the British empire, straight into the American empire.

This is an ambitious book, but, sadly, it does not always deliver on its promise. Massolin is at his best in providing a detailed review of the literature, of the kind one expects in a better doctoral dissertation. He is less successful in moving beyond the analysis of specific texts to a coherent, insightful synthesis. The book subdivides into four parts: a critique of the modernist god of technology, featuring the insights of Innis, McLuhan, and Grant; a lengthy account of the evolution of Canadian universities from elitist, liberal arts enclaves to research-oriented, utilitarian-focused mass multiversities; a description of how the conservative "culture critics" (p. 191) utilized the Massey Commission investigation to involve the federal government permanently in the subsidization of Canadian artistic endeavors and cultural institutions; and, finally, a flawed analysis of the demise of Canadian conservatism-cum-toryism, as symbolized by the defeat of John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservative government, at least in part at the hands of John Kennedy's liberal administration.

Massolin tries to tie too many things together, and the center does not hold. In the first place, toryism in Canada was not dead in 1970—only sleeping. It is in the nature of conservatism to lose battles, but not to disappear. Second, he ignores the historical verity that it is precisely out of the dialectical dialogue between progressive reformer and conservative critic that one finds the best of civilizational creativity. Canada is no exception to the rule. Perpetually, the phoenix of the conservative critic rises out of the ashes of prior defeats—cranky and unbowed. The role may not be glamorous, but it is invaluable for civilized progress.

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JAMES F. BROOKS. *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2002. Pp. 419. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.50.

In this impressive study of the Southwest Borderlands over four centuries, James F. Brooks describes the emergence of a distinct region inhabited by peoples of diverse cultural traditions but linked by a political economy grounded in the captivity of women and children. Even before the arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century, he maintains, Native peoples constructed an intricate web of kinship and bondage through raids. Captive women provided exogamous mates, while children added to the population. Both represented a bond between their captive and natal societies that warfare underscored rather than countered. Some captives became adopted tribal members and/or wives, while others remained slaves, but the status of slaves was always subject to change and rarely extended to descendants. Trade fairs brought peoples together to exchange a variety of goods, but the barter of captives gave these events special meaning. Captives enhanced the honor and prestige, as well as the wealth, of the warriors who took them and challenged the peoples from whom they had been taken to retaliate. In a generalization that I do not think applied equally to all peoples in the Southwest, Brooks suggests that captivity defined a gender relationship of male dominance and female dependency, but this relationship clearly resonated with Iberian invaders.

When the Spanish entered the Southwest, they readily joined in the capture and purchase of Indian women and children. Brought into households as servants, captives extended the web of kinship as Native women bore the children of Spaniards. The lines among captive, slave, and kin constantly blurred, and many masters bequeathed property to their Indian servants because they were members of both household and family. Attempts by the Spanish colonial government to end the trade in Indian slaves did little good, since masters claimed that their wards were actually ransomed converts to Catholicism whom they could not in good conscience return to their people, and captives shunned emancipation from the people who had become family. Spanish women and children also became the victims of raids. Families managed to ransom some, but many others lived out their lives in

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Indian communities. Indian captives of the Spanish, Spanish captives of the Indians, and Indian captives of other tribes contributed to diplomacy and commerce as well as to the social network of the Southwest.

Rather than putting a damper on captivity, the Spanish *entrada* actually accelerated raiding. The Spanish introduced horses, which soon became a valuable commodity in the Southwest and the currency of the bride price. In many societies, a man's status rested in part on his ability to marry well. Raiding promised not only additional women but also the horses that could make more prestigious matches possible. Horses and the other livestock that the Spanish introduced, especially sheep and cattle, became the object of raids, and the disparity of wealth in Indian communities increased. The herds of the wealthy and the dependency of the poor presented new problems. In the absence of fences, livestock required herdsmen, a role that the poor assumed as laborers for the rich. As herds grew, the wealthy augmented their labor force with captive boys. But the poor often aspired to independence, so they, too, raided for livestock and captives. Raiding, therefore, served to redistribute the wealth that Spaniards, Navajo *ricos*, and others acquired, and it fueled the local economy of the Southwest Borderlands.

Efforts by metropolitan governments in Mexico City and, by the nineteenth century, Washington, D.C., had little effect on the capture and sale of Indians. Far from the seat of power, the Southwest had developed its own local political economy that rested on captivity. Consequently, Indian slavery in the Southwest continued for decades after the U.S. Civil War. For a time, the U.S. policy of ransoming captives actually stimulated the trade. With their status obscured and their bonds of kinship strong, many captives continued living in the houses of their masters, performing their usual tasks, and ignored efforts to liberate them. The extension of the national economy into the Southwest at the end of the nineteenth century ultimately overwhelmed this local economy and ended Indian slavery.

This is an extraordinary book based on an imaginative reading of the documentary record and a judicious use of anthropological theory. By weaving ritual, folklore, and individual stories together with legal, ecclesiastical, and statistical evidence, Brooks has produced a book that satisfies the heart as well as the mind. He succeeds admirably in his goal to rescue Indian history from the "tenaciously sunny romanticism" (p. 365) that not only placed Native people in a precontact Eden but also exempted them from active participation in Euro-American expansion. Brooks's Southwest is a place where Indians do far more than adapt; they shape the region through their own constant negotiation of power and identity. In presenting such a rich, complex, and compelling account, he challenges his colleagues to rethink the ways in which they write about the Native American past.

THEDA PERDUE
University of North Carolina

PAUL E. HOFFMAN. *Florida's Frontiers*. (A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 470. $45.00.

Sixth in the "Trans-Appalachian Frontier" series published by Indiana University Press, this splendid volume addresses what Paul E. Hoffman identifies as Florida's five frontiers. They extended from the first Spanish tidewater settlement at St. Augustine in 1565 to the completion of the U.S. federal range and township surveys north of the Caloosahatchee River in 1860. Among this work's special virtues are a treatment of southeastern coastal soils, rainfall patterns, and food resources, a rarity in Florida historiography, and the fullest attention yet paid in a general history to the interaction of Spanish, British, and early American occupiers of these districts with their Native counterparts, including the Timucua, Apalachee, and Guale people in the earliest frontiers, through the Chiscas, Yamassee (and Confederated Yamassee), and Apalachicoli, to the Creek Federation, Seminole, and Miccosukee in the last frontier.

Most of this study concerns itself with peninsular Florida, where the Spaniards, and the British during their interregnum (1763–1784), concentrated settlements and economies on the sandy northeast coastal plain. Far better soil was available in the piedmont (Georgia north to Virginia), but the Spaniards, who had an opportunity to move northward when the land was vacant except for its chiefdoms, for military reasons held to the peninsula's "worthless land and swamps," as even St. Augustine's founder Pedro Menéndez de Avilés called it.

The besetting result was food shortages, to which Hoffman turns repeatedly. Even taking into account the farm production of the Guale, Timucua, and Apalachee peoples, supplies of maize met no more than fifty percent of local demand. Importation of Canary Island farmers in the mid-eighteenth century provided no relief. Every Spanish governor for two and a quarter centuries struggled to make St. Augustine self-sufficient in food, but, even with an irregular subvention (*situado*) of specie and supplies from Mexico, the garrison, civil list, and Franciscan friars frequently were forced to forage for roots and other wild foods in the forests. Not mentioned by Hoffman until page 203, and then only in passing, are fish and shellfish. Why were Spaniards starving while surrounded by an abundance of seafood? As a boy in St. Augustine at the tail end of the Depression, this reviewer kept his family dinner table groaning with fish that he hooked, netted, or gigged in the ocean shallows or in Matanzas River. Why Spanish families could not, or would not, do the same is a puzzle not answered in this volume.

Food supply was only one of four problems encountered in creating a frontier. The second was accommodation with, which really meant paramountcy over, the chiefs of the coastal and interior Indians. That dominance collapsed in 1702–1704, when the Spaniards'

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implied guarantee of protection against enemies yielded to overwhelming British and Indian forces out of Carolina. The third problem was finding and exploiting local commercial resources. But here, too, the Spaniards failed in not even tapping the long-leaf pine trees for naval stores. The fourth problem is not named, as far as this reviewer can find. At the end of nearly two hundred years of occupancy and large investments from the Crown's coffers, Hoffman writes, "Spain's La Florida was little more than what it had been in 1565, a garrison precariously perched on a sand spit by the Atlantic Ocean."

The British in their time did little better with east Florida, where they bedded down on the same coastal strand, except that they expended a great deal more energy than the Spanish had in extracting crops from the sandy soil. Rice and cotton were cultivated by the slave and plow-using British, and Panton, Leslie and Company conducted a lively trade in pelts with the interior tribes, but only those few planters wealthy enough to produce indigo made a profit. When, in 1784, the British were forced to take ship, the province they left behind was "a desert guarded by Spanish Troops."

Hoffman's accounts of the thirty-seven-year Spanish restoration and of the U.S. territorial and early statehood periods follow the usual secondary sources. It should be noted, however, that his earlier narrative is laced with trenchant use of Spanish documentation, either in the original or on microfilm, with which he is famously familiar.

MICHAEL GANNON
University of Florida

MICHAEL P. WINSHIP. *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636–1641*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 322. $29.95.

In the forty years since the "antinomian controversy" in early Massachusetts last received a book-length treatment, historians have interpreted the event as a turning point in the development of modern economic values, gender roles, and forms of spiritual and literary expression. Michael P. Winship's new book challenges these interpretations of the controversy and even offers a new name for it. Winship argues that the conflict had little to do with antinomian beliefs that God's elect were freed from God's moral law. Rather, the two sides battled in the late 1630s over "how best to magnify the free grace of God," which all agreed was the only path to salvation, and Winship therefore suggests we call it the "free grace controversy" (p. 1). According to his lucid summation of the doctrinal issues, "the core energizing question of the controversy was whether or not you had to know that God loved you before you could trust the signs that you loved him" (p. 228). For the dominant party, one's growing ability to obey God's law was a trustworthy sign that God had offered the gift of grace, whether or not one had directly felt that grace. For the party that most historians have called antinomians, trust in such signs was unwise and insufficient. The direct personal experience of God's free grace was for them preeminent, and reliance on signs such as obedience and good works encouraged a dangerous form of hypocrisy.

For Winship, the controversy was as much political as it was theological. He draws inspiration from revisionist scholars of Britain's seventeenth-century civil wars, who have paid careful attention to chronology, personality, and historical contingency in order to set aside overdetermined structural interpretations of these shattering events. Winship argues that the antinomian controversy has been similarly overburdened by the weight of historians' determinism. He challenges scholars who have envisioned Puritan partisans clashing over structural opposites, regardless of whether these were "radical/orthodox; conservative/innovative; free market/agrarian; [or] patriarch/proto-feminist" (p. 2). Grounded more deeply in primary sources than any previous account, this book painstakingly reconstructs the chronology of the controversy, following its escalation month by month while carefully attending to the social and spiritual circumstances of the fledgling villages of Massachusetts and the politics of transatlantic Puritanism.

The most dramatic result of Winship's method is to reduce the significance of Anne Hutchinson. Hutchinson, the central figure in most accounts, becomes just one of a number of experimental thinkers in the Boston church who tested the boundaries of Puritanism's fluid and capacious set of doctrinal and behavioral practices that collectively defined orthodoxy. For Winship, three other figures deserve at least as much attention as Hutchinson. The first is Henry Vane, son of a privy counselor to Charles I and easily the most prominent colonist in early Massachusetts, whose willingness to speculate on radical doctrine was at least as pronounced as Hutchinson's, and whose magnetic personality drew a gathering of devoted followers. The second is John Wheelwright, whose doctrinal tendencies were not particularly radical, but whose confrontational personality enflamed the controversy at a critical juncture. The third, and most surprising, is Thomas Shepard, minister of Cambridge, long seen as a bastion of the orthodox party, but in Winship's eyes a fanatical heresy hunter bent on rooting out doctrinal deviations that might not have troubled other, more tolerant Puritans.

The book moves with clarity and ease through extremely complex theological and political issues, and the narrative reconstruction of the controversy is very convincing. Along the way, Winship pokes holes in all the structural arguments that have placed enormous weight on the controversy. However, this rigorous reconstruction may serve to lessen the conflict's historical significance. When structural interpretations made it central to the development of American capitalism, gender relations, religious culture, or literary expression, the antinomian controversy loomed

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large. Recast as a bitter squabble among ornery Puritans over difficult theological issues, a fight that makes sense only within the evanescent politics of a peculiar moment, the free grace controversy becomes harder to justify as a turning point in American history. But for specialists in Puritanism, Winship's book is a must read. It offers a provocative new account of an event that remains critical to understanding the evolution of the Puritan movement and the early history of New England.

MARK A. PETERSON
University of Iowa

TREVOR BURNARD. *Creole Gentlemen: The Maryland Elite, 1691–1776*. (New World in the Atlantic World.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. ix, 278. Cloth $85.00, paper $23.95.

Trevor Burnard argues that the social character of colonial Maryland evolved from a relatively egalitarian one in the earliest years to a hierarchical one by 1750. As a colonial elite emerged, however, it was snubbed by English aristocrats. While one cause of their disdain was a conviction that Maryland's striving fell short of the more impressive wealth of the Caribbean colonies, the English also remained unforgiving of the lowly origins of even the most successful Marylanders.

Burnard's designation of the Maryland elite as "creole" expands that term's traditional association with French Caribbean culture. Burnard defines as "creole" anyone born of European ancestry in the New World. Marylanders should be understood not only through their relationships with each other but also according to their place within the British Empire overall, and particularly in reference to their association with fellow creoles. Gradually they abandoned their preoccupation with English elites and identified more with the elites of other North American colonies. While Burnard deliberately excludes the American Revolution from this analysis and even underscores the enduring loyalty of the elite to the crown, discerning readers may conclude that the process he describes contributed to Maryland's ultimate participation in the War for Independence. His thesis also suggests that when the war began, there was less work to be done in fashioning an American identity than we have traditionally believed. The American self-image was yet unclear, but at least they knew they were not English.

Understanding the Marylanders and their fellow North American colonists as "creole" is an effective contribution to the continuing discussion of just how truly republican, radical, and subversive of social deference the American Revolution actually was. There is a strong suggestion here that their motive in revolting was to secure their superiority rather than any inclusivity. In order to understand the Marylanders fully, however, it is desirable to consider the Catholic origins and issues of the colony more than Burnard does. Although Maryland's original status as a haven for Catholic refugees did not legally endure, there were always Catholic planters seeking social and political recognition from their aggressively Protestant mother country. They remained tiny in number, but it is possible that they added to the English sense of the colony as a den of pretenders. The Catholic planters were also served by those most suspect of priests, the Jesuits, likely adding to the taint. It is limiting that the words "Jesuit" and "Catholic" do not appear in this book's index.

The one significant reference to Catholics is found in Burnard's debatable reconstruction of membership in the elite. The figure of £650 at the value of the year 1700 is the minimal qualification. This designates 461 men who died in four counties between 1691 and 1776 as eligible. Only six of these were Catholics, and four of them were dead by 1726. Such a formula is open to two criticisms. Different economic criteria may well suffice, as economic historians will suggest. It also ignores the mysterious intangibles of social factors in fostering recognition of elitism. For Maryland Catholics, the exhibition of wealth, especially land and slaves, was part of their effort to claim that the birthright of free-born Englishmen transcended religious affiliation. Yet, that freedom was not forthcoming until the Revolution. Raw wealth may have qualified Burnard's six Catholic planters for the elite, but other historical evidence suggests that they received recognition as such neither from their fellow Marylanders nor from the English. Elite status may be too intangible a concept to support a definition based solely on a hypothetical formula of net worth. Moreover, Burnard has ignored the question of why it might have become more difficult for Catholics to enter the elite after 1726.

Despite the inadequacy of some of his answers, Burnard has written a valuable book. He asks significant questions that are sure to elicit provocative responses. In particular, his emphasis on situating Maryland within the entire English imperial context is a welcome approach that will broaden our understanding of the entire system from which British North America withdrew in 1776.

THOMAS MURPHY, S.J.
Seattle University

JOHN R. FINGER. *Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition*. (A History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 382. $39.95.

This book is John R. Finger's contribution to Indiana University Press's "History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier" series edited by Walter Nugent and Malcolm Rohrbough. Finger's volume on Tennessee, like those on Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin, is a synthetic overview of the frontier era in one state. Although Finger is a recognized scholar of Cherokee history, which allows him to include extensive material on Native Americans, this book contains little that is new to scholars of Appalachia or the trans-Appalachian

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West. The absence of footnotes or endnotes make it obvious that the targeted audiences are general readers or students in courses studying Tennessee state history.

However, Finger does attempt to bring some scholarly perspectives that may be new to more general audiences. The first noticeable evidence of this effort is the book's title. All the other volumes in the series employ the singular "frontier." Finger argues that while recognizing that scholars have questioned the legitimacy of the term "frontier" itself, this is not the reason he wants to expand and complicate the term to a plural version. He insists the term "frontier" is still useful but argues that Tennessee's three regions are so different in the timing and character of the frontier phases of their histories that it is essential to treat them as three different frontiers rather than one. East Tennessee, the rugged, mountainous region that first challenged explorers and settlers from the Spanish Hernando de Soto to English land speculators, is the most "physically diverse" and "has witnessed the most complex frontier experiences," while the other two regions, the Cumberland plateau of middle Tennessee and western Tennessee with its border on the Mississippi River were settled later but developed trade and dominant commercial economies more quickly than East Tennessee. Other aspects of the different timelines of the three regions are the achievement of white hegemony over Native Americans and the complete integration of all regions into a market economy. In fact, Finger equates the end of the frontier eras to the removal of most of the Cherokee west of the Mississippi and the domination of markets, both occurring in the 1830s. Thus, he chooses to end his story in 1840.

There are several important and admirable qualities in Finger's approach to the synthesis of Tennessee frontier history. The most apparent is the attention he gives to the Native American struggles to preserve their land and way of life. Unlike many such accounts where Native Americans are introduced at the beginning only to disappear when white resettlement has banished them westward or to reservations, Finger details the various tribes involved in the struggle, their leaders such as the feared Dragging Canoe, and the ways they struggled with each other as well as whites when threatened. Finger never treats Native Americans as a homogeneous group that can be discussed monolithically. Yet, while I find his treatment of Cherokee history laudable, I wonder why the general tone of this volume seems to accept the inevitability, even necessity, of their defeat and removal. Finger insists that the Cherokee were not victims, but it is a stretch to believe that their dispossession, suffering, and removal allowed them agency and even some measure of success, as Finger suggests.

Another excellent quality of the volume is Finger's unifying stress on two major strands or themes that permeate his story of all three regions: one was the importance of frontier people's belief that unique opportunities were available for economic and social advancement, and, second, the continual struggle of the frontier people with the central government for local autonomy (the latter despite the fact that frontier people expected the central government to clear land titles, defeat Indians both legally and militarily, and build transportation systems). At the root of both these themes is the need for land, and Finger acknowledges it is this "greed" for land that shapes his story. The necessity of land determined the economies and cultures of both whites and Indians, as Finger points out, but his other two themes—the belief in opportunity and autonomy—are only analyzed from the perspective of white inhabitants of Tennessee, not from an Indian perspective. Ultimately, this makes his narrative read more like a traditional heroic, triumphal tale.

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University of Connecticut

LUCY ELDERSVELD MURPHY. *A Gathering of Rivers: Indians, Métis, and Mining in the Western Great Lakes, 1737–1832*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 233. $47.50.

Lucy Eldersveld Murphy presents the economic and cultural history of a region rather than the story of one community or Native American tribe. She focuses on the area bounded by the Fox, Wisconsin, Mississippi, and Rock rivers and inhabited by the Winnebago, Mesquakie, and Sauk Indians. Murphy compares midwestern history to that of the Spanish borderlands to highlight two paths cultural interaction can take: integration or segregation. She traces how one evolved to the other when Americans invaded the region following the War of 1812.

Part one centers on the spirit of accommodation that grew between Native Americans, the French, and métis through the fur trade. Murphy defines accommodation as "the creation of lasting, workable, multiracial relations or communities" (p. 11). She begins by describing the seasonal nature of life in Indian villages and then goes on to detail the formation of separate Creole communities—she defines Creoles as "all of the residents who participated in this culture regardless of race" (p. 47). The Creole communities were controlled by a few elite families who made both retainers and slaves of the less fortunate—white, Indian, or métis. A middling class of farmers and traders rounded out the population. The Indians produced the furs, and the Creoles served as middlemen between them and European suppliers of goods.

Part two chronicles what happened when whites from the burgeoning United States flooded in. A lead rush occurred when a wave of young, unattached men arrived in the 1820s. Later settlers brought their wives with them, and this is the point at which the transformation of the region's society began. It was the eighteenth-century Indian women who married French traders and established Creole communities that really made accommodation possible; without interracial

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marriages, segregation became a much stronger possibility. Despite American attitudes toward the Indians in terms of both race and gender, new instances of accommodation grew. Murphy argues that it was eastern policy makers who finally decided that Indian removal provided the only answer to racial competition and tension.

Murphy's study is noteworthy in two respects. First, she finds that the growth of the fur trade did not mean that Native Americans succumbed to dependency on European goods. In the late eighteenth century, they provided foodstuffs to explorers and hunters in order to diversify their economy. The Indians next turned to the mining of lead because the prices were much more stable than those of furs, they could trade it with other Indians in addition to whites, and they could use the lead to make ammunition. But it was their success in this endeavor that attracted Americans to the region.

Murphy also does an excellent job of comparing and contrasting the way changing circumstances affected Native American men and women. In eighteenth-century villages, women produced sugar and agricultural goods as well as processing furs. Men were away much of the time hunting, fishing, and engaging in war and diplomacy. In the nineteenth century, women continued to be important producers when they added lead mining to their role as family providers. Men still traveled; diplomacy remained important, and although the men hunted less, they began to serve as guides, mail carriers, and ransomers of escaped slaves and war captives. Thus market production did not make women subordinate, and gender roles remained fairly equal. But as the area became more settled, Indian men showed little interest in settling down and working for whites as agricultural laborers, while Anglo men thought that it was improper to hire Indian women as *miners of lead*.

This is a fine study. Both contemporary and modern maps clearly delineate the Fox-Wisconsin region, and carefully chosen illustrations allow readers to picture the Creole peoples who lived there. Through "A Note on Sources," Murphy demonstrates the care that she took in analyzing available material in order to let the Indians speak for themselves and to discover the point of view of Indian women. Over the past decade, scholars have studied the successes and failures of what Richard White has characterized as "the middle ground" in the region of the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley, and Murphy's work is a worthy addition to that of White, R. David Edmunds, Eric Hinderaker, Michael N. McConnell, and Joseph L. Peyser.

KIM M. GRUENWALD
Kent State University

PHILIP N. MULDER. *A Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 233. $45.00.

The mid-eighteenth-century revival known as the Great Awakening promoted an ecumenical spirit among evangelicals in New England and the Middle Colonies. Leaders such as George Whitefield insisted that the "one thing needful" was a genuine individual conversion experience, not adherence to doctrinal purity or ecclesiastical discipline. For a moment in the 1740s, New Light ministers and their lay followers embraced the belief that experimental Christianity and practical piety transcended sectarian differences. Thus, when Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist itinerants transported evangelicalism to the Chesapeake and the Lower South, they carried a common message: the necessity of the "New Birth." Moreover, their shared struggle as dissenters in a region where the Church of England was securely established further blurred denominational distinctions.

As Philip N. Mulder demonstrates, however, evangelical unity in the South was short lived. For a time, evangelicals stuck together in their common fight for religious liberty. For example, during the debates begun in 1776 over Virginia's constitution, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists fought alongside each other until they triumphed in 1786 with the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. But, alas, cooperation soon turned to competition with the emergence of a free marketplace of ideas wherein the former allies vied with each other for souls. In this new order, church leaders vied for market share by stressing beliefs and practices reflective of denominational distinctiveness. They insisted that differences among evangelicals mattered. Bishop Francis Asbury, for instance, warned that, by compromising their Wesleyan heritage, Methodists offered potential members no real choice; if evangelicals were all the same, one might as well join the Presbyterians or Baptists. Asbury called on the faithful to reaffirm their commitment to "Methodists' distinctive reliance on episcopacy and itinerancy," which, he argued, "represented the true application of New Testament ideals" (p. 3). As Asbury's admonition reveals, and as Mulder argues, by the end of the eighteenth century, denominationalism replaced ecumenism among evangelicals in the South.

Mulder's findings speak directly to the question of the separation of church and state. Accommodationists argue that the idea rests solely on Thomas Jefferson's metaphor of a "wall" of separation. They contend that the United States was conceived as a "Christian" nation and that, while opposing the establishment of a single sect, an overwhelming majority in the new republic wanted the state to promote the Christian religion. Mulder's evidence suggests, however, that such a perspective ignores the denominational character of American Protestantism. Denominations insisted on defining the Christian faith for themselves, considering any state promotion of religion, no matter how broadly formulated, to be sectarian.

While demonstrating a sound understanding of the literature on religion in the South, Mulder finds his own voice through assiduous research in denomina-

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tional archives. He discovers in Methodist bishops' papers, presbytery records, and Baptist Association minutes evidence that institutional concerns—ecclesiology, ordination, doctrine, discipline—contributed to a growing and abiding denominational identity within, and a heightened denominational competition among, Southern evangelical churches. At the same time, Mulder avoids a narrowly conceived church history by situating his study within the broader social and cultural themes of the late colonial and early republic. For instance, the American Revolution and state and federal constitutional conventions provide the backdrop for the evangelicals' cooperation in fighting for religious freedom. Then, with independence won and establishments toppled, the denominations took advantage of the democratization of American culture to engage in a fierce scramble to convert people to "*particular* fellowships and religious identities" (p. 110). As Mulder shows, denominational leaders faced an independent-minded laity who defined their own criteria for choosing among competing sects.

In a brief conclusion, Mulder suggests that alternating centrifugal and centripetal forces defined southern evangelicalism in the early republic as the mainstream denominations competed with each other for members while closing ranks and working together to resist common threats, such as that posed by Roman Catholicism. One could wish that he had expanded his thoughts into a full chapter exploring, at least, how Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists dealt with the opportunities and challenges presented by the new competitors arising from the Second Great Awakening of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this is a first-rate book that deepens our understanding of religious pluralism in America.

FRANK LAMBERT
Purdue University

ELIZABETH A. FENN. *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2001. Pp. xiv, 370. $25.00.

Elizabeth A. Fenn has written a remarkable book that deals with the smallpox epidemic from 1775 to 1782. The work spans all of North America from Boston to San Diego and Mexico City to York Factory. *Variola major*, the deadly virus commonly called smallpox, ravaged most of North America during a historic period that witnessed the American Revolution, Spanish exploration of the Pacific Coast, establishment of Roman Catholic missions, the growth of trade among American Indians, and the expansion of commerce between Natives and fur traders. By the second half of the eighteenth century, smallpox had already ravaged the indigenous peoples of the Americas, who had also suffered the wrath of influenza, cholera, malaria, diphtheria, whooping cough, scarlet fever, measles, and other maladies. By the era of the American Revolution, many Indian tribes had been decimated by disease, but the smallpox epidemic of the 1770s wreaked havoc on Indians and non-Indians alike, affecting people in a huge geographical area.

Fenn argues that the smallpox pestilence of 1775–1782 is worth studying because it was the first continental plague of *Variola* known in North America. During this period, many observers identified smallpox as the culprit killing thousands of people, and Fenn makes a strong case that *Variola* was the primary killer among numerous unidentified causes of death. She maintains that this epidemic is extensively documented in the historical record, although historians have not addressed the great devastation caused by the disease during the revolutionary era—in spite of the fact that smallpox killed far more Americans than British bullets. Although the book provides information on the Revolution, it also analyzes the spread of smallpox in Mexico (including New Mexico and California), the Great Plains, the Pacific Northwest, and Canada from Quebec to Vancouver Island. Fenn has researched a book of great breadth and depth that draws on written, pictorial, and oral accounts.

The volume begins with an overview of *Variola* before discussing George Washington's bout with smallpox and its influence on his role as General of the Army and his decision to inoculate his soldiers. Fenn describes the spread of smallpox in the new states and its influence on the course of the war, particularly engagements in Massachusetts, Quebec, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. She deals with the spread of smallpox by volunteers, patriots, loyalists, African Americans, and Indians. Fenn presents details about the disease among slaves fighting for freedom, British use of biological warfare, the role of women in the army, and prisoners confined to ships. She could have ended her work with the American Revolution and contributed to the historical literature, but she expanded her research into Canada, the Spanish Southwest, and the Pacific Northwest.

Fenn traces the spread of smallpox from Mexico City to New Mexico, where Comanche raiders transferred the disease to the northern Plains and Rocky Mountains. Comanche traded horses and guns with their Shoshone relatives, who in turn traded them to other Native nations. *Variola* moved with the trade from the Rocky Mountains and Great Basin into the Canadian Plains and Columbia Plateau, where it traveled down the river infecting hundreds of Indians from the Nez Perce to the Chinook. Fenn argues the disease traveled north and south of the Columbia, infecting Indians of the Pacific Rim. She argues that smallpox arrived on the Pacific Coast from an inland route, not from Spanish or British ships as previously thought. Her examination of smallpox among Native populations of the Canadian and American West is excellent, the first of its kind. She concludes with a concise interpretive epilogue, capping her well-written book with an informative analysis. This is a superb scholarly study, an original work that will become a classic. It provides a model for future historical studies examin-

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ing the movement of infectious diseases that have undeniably influenced the course of world history.

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DORON BEN-ATAR and BARBARA B. OBERG, editors. *Federalists Reconsidered*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998. Pp. ix, 310. Cloth $47.50, paper $17.50.

Doron Ben-Atar and Barbara B. Oberg have edited an important and interesting collection of essays by a group of well-known authors who are attempting to "reconsider" Federalism and the Federalist Party. This party, its leaders, and its ideology have been too frequently pigeonholed by historians as an institution, individuals, and ideas that attempted to foist aristocracy or even monarchy on the infant republic, that sought to protect the position, attitudes, and values of the colonial past or of revolutionary elites that feared immigrants and the French Revolution and that defended older ideals of republican virtue against the "liberal" ideals of the victorious Jeffersonians. Ben-Atar and Oberg in their introduction give the reader an overview of how historians have analyzed and evaluated the Federalists and their failure to grapple with the complexities of Federalism as a party, its influence on individuals, and its ideology.

Contributors to the first section of the book analyze the "Age of Federalism" and examine the actions of the Federalists while in power. Rogers Smith notes that the Federalists upheld the primacy of national over state citizenship, became attracted to the ideal of a perpetual allegiance of American citizens to their nation, and made serious efforts to restrict the rights of recent immigrants. In this essay he seems much less involved in "reconsidering" the Federalists than in developing, thorough solid analysis, their position on nationalism and immigration. Ben-Atar's work on Alexander Hamilton as a pirate of English technology underlines the fact that Hamilton never became a total Anglophile. His interest in the development of American manufacturing (a traditional view) overcame his desire to supposed commitment to Britain. These efforts ended with the outbreak of the French Revolution, but Ben-Atar gives us a new view of Hamilton's foreign policy and willingness to admit some, admittedly British and technologically trained, immigrants to the United States. Herbert Sloan raises an interesting argument about Hamilton's concern over the public debt. He notes that, by early 1795, Hamilton realized that the inability of the new nation to secure credit in the Netherlands meant that taxation would be the only method of creating a sinking fund that would guarantee the debt. But with excise and direct taxes being unpopular the nation had to pay high interest rates to raise funds for the quasi-war. This first section ends with Andrew Cayton's essay showing the Federalists' ability to deal with and negotiate with Spain, Britain, and the Native Americans, which led to national control of the old Northwest and Southwest. But he also observes that, while they conquered trans-Appalachia for the nation, Federalists failed to hold it for their party. The first section fails to do much "reconsidering" of the Federalists, but it does give us a solid account of their political actions during the 1790s.

In the second section, the contributors address the role of Federalism in the origins of American political culture. David Waldstreicher shows how the Federalists, while denying they had a style or even a form of political activism, through newspapers, pamphlets, organizations, parades, ceremonies, and other activities assailed their Democratic-Republican opponents as being antinational, French, and foreign. They used the symbol of George Washington very effectively in the debates over the Jay Treaty, and they certainly mobilized popular anti-French support during the quasi-war. In fact, Waldstreicher limns a party composed of rather tough, brass-knuckled political brawlers rather than one composed of perfumed aristocrats. Rosemarie Zagarri notes that neither the Federalists nor their opponents had much concern for women or gender issues. But she does present convincing evidence that the Federalists certainly seemed more receptive to female participation, as long as women remained in their "place." The argument makes sense, but, as Zagarri acknowledges, the Federalists certainly did not stage a Seneca Falls. Paul Finkelman's essay concerning Federalists, slavery, and blacks seems quite solid. He shows that the Federalists, although certainly not stormtroopers for civil rights, gave much more support to gradual emancipation and limited black rights in the so-called free states and seemed less supportative of slavery at the national level. Steven Watts focuses on three important Federalists—Timothy Dwight, John Adams, and Josiah Quincy—to come to grips with how at least some Federalists dealt with the supposed rise of liberal capitalism. Watts begins his argument by noting that early American conservatives had to balance ideals of family, self-control, and similar virtues with espousals of competition, self-interest and the market. He uses his three examples to illustrate that the mixture that resulted from balancing these ideals made Federalists much more complex than their usual portrayal as reactionary, antidemocratic traditionalists. Dwight attempted to solve the complex problem by keeping individualism under control—hence his ideal of a repressive ethic of personal conduct wedded to a market economy. Adams seemed to retreat into a sort of misanthropy that condemned all elites but refused to condemn the pursuit of gain. Indeed, unlike Dwight, he seemed even to discount efforts to control personal morality, but he remained suspicious of the impact of market capitalism. Quincy, the third example, accepted liberal capitalism, urged the Federalists to organize, and made a personal fortune in real estate speculation. The authors in this second section give more attention to reconsideration

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as they provide a different perspective on Federalist responses to gender and race and indicate a political toughness and ideological complexity usually missing from standard interpretations.

The third and final section deals with varieties of Federalism and contains two essays that consider individual Federalists and one that examines the Federalists as a party in Connecticut. Keith Arbour recounts the vicious Federalist attacks on Franklin and how William Cobbett, that Federalist immigrant from Britain, constantly referred to Franklin's infidelities and democratic ideals and attacked the Jeffersonians as paid followers of France. Cobbett certainly embodied the Philadelphia Federalist's distaste for old Ben. Andrew Siegel presents a much broader picture of the Federalists in the state of Connecticut. He shows that the Federalists received solid popular support in the state and postulates their eventual demise in the years 1816–1818 as due to the shift of the Episcopalians to the Republicans as they backed religious toleration; acceptance by the Republicans of many basic Federalists policies, including the Bank of the United States tariffs and a stronger navy; and the willingness of former Republicans and Federalists to work together through financial, manufacturing, and internal improvement corporations and projects. Alan Taylor, in the final essay, uses his considerable expertise to examine the careers of Henry Knox and William Cooper, two Federalist leaders who emerged during and immediately after the Revolution, and their two local opponents, Jedidiah Peck and Ezekiel Dodge, who eventually backed the Republicans and emerged to power in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Taylor illustrates the differences among the four men, showing how Knox and Cooper attempted to be considered "gentlemen" and how both used their prestige and connections and status for local advantage. Their opponents had connections and money, but they simply had little interest in playing the game of becoming gentlemen and retired both Knox and Cooper to the local political sidelines. The essays in this final section both reconsider and recount Federalists and their actions. Arbour's essay indicates the toughness of the 1790 Federalists, and Siegel's indicates how they performed effectively within a democratic framework. Taylor recounts how local Federalists attempted to become gentlemen and failed as local politicians.

James Banner, in an afterword that should be read both before and after reading the other essays, decides that the Federalists still need reconsideration. Banner points out that the Federalists never became a classical "court" party, that they also had strong local and state attachments, that many had liberal ideas and ideals, and that interest in Federalism did not end in 1820. I agree with Banner. Indeed, I would even note other ways and areas in which the Federalists might be reconsidered. They, at least in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and perhaps Rhode Island, established after 1800 very effective, mass-based political parties. One might argue that even at the national level, Federalist ideas and ideals continued to play a central role into the Jacksonian period. After the War of 1812, Republicans backed a Federalist agenda that included a larger navy, a national bank, and higher tariffs. Federalist John Marshall, and his court, played a vital role in the early history of the United States.

We still have work to do in reconsidering the Federalists and also in describing and interpreting the often messy political and ideological history of the early republic. The contributors to this volume have made some significant progress toward accomplishing this goal.

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JOANNE B. FREEMAN. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiv, 376. $29.95.

Joanne B. Freeman's book tackles the subject of political culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. According to Freeman, for national politicians, politics "was about friendship, not party; it involved honor as much as ideology; it relied on bonds of personal loyalty, not partisanship; and it was fueled by a concern for the public good, not by party spirit" (p. 260). Freeman sees national politics in the early republic as an unwieldly mess, and the code of honor as "a remedy for the barely controlled chaos of national public life." This code "formed the very infrastructure of national politics, providing a governing logic and weapons of war" (p. xviii). It was the culture of honor, Freeman claims, that brought stability to a highly contested political landscape. Freeman uses the concept of honor as both a focal point and an explanatory device to understand the political culture of the new nation. This culture of honor served both to define and to promote the nation's political elite. Ultimately, the intimate linking of the personal with the political produced alliances between friends that became "almost institutional" (p. 261), thus paving the way for party politics and a new kind of "warfare" based on partisanship rather than on personal reputation. Although Freeman declines to put a specific date on the demise of this political culture, its very success seems to have led to its extinction.

The book is organized around the different "weapons" of political combat: political gossip, the paper wars (fought through not-so-private letters as well as pamphlets, broadsides, and newspapers), and the duel. Each of these weapons had its own rules of conduct, part of a "grammar of political combat" (p. xxii) in which the meaning of a comment, a gesture, a letter, or a challenge was clearly understood by all the parties concerned. Chapter five places the election of 1800 within the culture of honor, demonstrating each of these weapons of combat in action. In each chapter, Freeman examines one politician and one document (or set of documents) "to expose the logic and impact

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of a specific weapon" (p. xxiii): William Maclay's diary, Thomas Jefferson's *Anas*, John Adams's *Boston Patriot* letters, and the Burr-Hamilton duel.

Freeman's analysis of her sources is intense, perceptive, and highly nuanced. She asks new questions of well-known documents and comes up with new conclusions that enhance our understanding of the men and the politics of this era. She also gives the concept of honor a more significant role in political culture, and illustrates that it was not confined to southern elites but in fact was a "grammar," understood by political elites in Boston as well as Richmond or Charleston. But was honor as integral to American political culture as Freeman contends? Her emphasis on its centrality points out the major flaw in this highly thoughtful, well-researched book: it is a study of a handful of national political leaders, not the rank and file or even those Freeman would term the "noncombatants." This is a top-down explanation of the poltical structure of the early republic that is all top and no down. Freeman does not consider, for example, whether this code of honor was understood, let alone embraced by the rank and file. Nor is her view of political culture particularly comprehensive even among the elites. Catherine Allgor's *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (2000) and Jeffrey L. Pasley's *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (2001) both demonstrate how integral elite women and non-elite white males were to the politics of the era. And in light of recent studies concerning the political culture of the early republic, particluarly Simon P. Newman's *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (1997) and David Waldstreicher's *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820* (1997), Freeman's political world seems to encompass a small, well-decorated room in an upper-class abode rather than the chaos that her elites supposedly constrained.

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Jeffrey L. Pasley. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic*. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. xviii, 517. $37.50.

Past is prologue; winners write the history; journalism is the first draft of history. Taken together, these three clichés explain much about the traditional historiography of American journalism. From the days of Isaiah Thomas, a firebrand editor in 1775 turned gentleman historian by 1810, the early histories of American journalism were written by successful editors and publishers who could discern in their own work the culmination of historical destiny. Frederic Hudson, who published the first comprehensive history of American newspapers in 1873, laid out a periodization scheme that shaped all subsequent histories. For Hudson, the great story was the transition from political party press to modern, independent, commercial press. The key period of transition was the 1830s, and the key historical actor was James Gordon Bennett, founder of the *New York Herald*. Should we be surprised to learn that Hudson served Bennett for decades as managing editor of the *Herald*?

Hudson's theme of transition in the 1830s from archaic past to modern present dominated journalism historiography for a hundred years. In his 1941 synthesis, Frank Luther Mott referred disparagingly to the pre-1830s period as "the dark ages of partisan journalism" and the transition to the modern commercial press as "sunrise." In recent decades, journalism historians have criticized the celebratory present-mindedness of this received historiography, and Mott's "dark ages" have drawn a few candles of scholarly light. Several recent historians have made the newspapermen of this era—Benjamin Franklin Bache, James Callender, William Duane—the subjects of excellent, though disconnected, biographies. Now comes Jeffrey L. Pasley to tie it all together. Pasley's book is the best ever written about journalism in the early republic and one of best about the broader political culture of that era. For journalism historians, it is a historiographical sunrise. For the first time, we can see, brightly and clearly, the vital importance of that era in the history of journalism. We can see how newspapers and partisan politics, one and inseparable, invented the party system in America.

In Pasley's account, American newspapers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were not just the appendages of party. "Party newspapers embodied the parties in a quite literal sense," Pasley writes (p. 12). And newspaper editors were the crucial party operatives. "Each editor was his party's principal spokesman, supplier of ideology, and enforcer of discipline in the area and political level he served" (p. 13). The partisan press and the political party began life as one. Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and other stock characters of the first party system appear, but the main actors are men such as William Duane, editor of the Jeffersonian newspaper *Aurora*. "No modern Democrat has ever attended a William Duane Day dinner, but they probably should have," Pasley writes. "The *Aurora* editor was at least as much a founder of the party as any president" (p. 195).

This book has two significant virtues. The first is conceptual. Pasley sees the political party in the early republic as a communication network. Governments, politicians, newspapers, editors, and readers were all part of a system. This portrayal of the history of the first party system, not as a story of ideas, institutions, and individuals but as a story of communication, is wonderfully revealing. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities," Pasley shows us specifically how the political life of the new nation was imagined into existence. The second virtue is the author's prodigious research. Some of the editors who populate the book are fairly well known. But Pasley devotes entire chapters to obscure characters, such as

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Mathew Lyon and Charles Holt, whose lives reveal more clearly than the lives of prominent editors just how the communication system of party worked. Pasley seems to have read every newspaper published in America between 1790 and 1820, from the well-known *Gazette of the United States* to the forgotten but delightfully titled *Forlorn Hope*.

Beyond its many detailed stories, the book is adorned with maps, tables, and graphs designed to reveal the big picture. Altogether, Pasley has given us a splendid model of political history conceived as communication history.

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ROBERT E. WRIGHT. *Origins of Commercial Banking in America, 1750–1800*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2001. Pp. xii, 219. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

Commercial banking emerged in America following the American Revolution. Except for a few failed banking experiments, there were no long-lasting commercial banks in colonial America. Historians have been challenged to explain fully the lack of banking in this early period and the dramatic growth of banking following the Revolution. Robert E. Wright's intriguing analysis of the beginnings of American banking seeks to address the question of "why did American banking arise when, and with the particular characteristics, it did?" (p. 3).

Wright's main argument is fairly straightforward: the need for "liquidity" in America's money and business markets, made most apparent by the economic demands and dislocations of the American Revolution, helped spur the development of commercial banking. Wright's early chapters focus on the problems of the colonial economy, particularly the lack of a uniform currency and the relative lack of capital markets. Wright examines certain contemporary attempts to alleviate these problems that were generally unsuccessful. Ultimately, it was the economic and financial crisis precipitated by the American Revolution, coupled with the business opportunities the Revolution offered, that helped usher in commercial banking.

According to Wright, the Revolution created three needs that commercial banks filled: an increased desire for greater commercial liquidity among numerous segments of the population, including merchants, artisans, and family farmers; a need for responsible government finance overseeing a reliable monetary supply; and the necessity of a new locus of social control with the crumbling of a deferential society. Wright is more convincing concerning the first two reasons than he is with the third.

Although revolutionary currency was inflationary, the American Revolution convinced many that a stable commercial paper was far more efficient and secure than the prevailing "bills of exchange." Further, commercial banks emerged to supply the necessary circulating medium following the shortage of hard specie. Wright's discussion on the role of banks as forms of social control needs to be developed further. Wright adopts a popular historiographic theme that contends the emergence of a more democratic and egalitarian society during the Revolution challenged the system of cultural deference that had characterized life in colonial America. He argues that society's leaders saw early banks as a way "to create an impersonal form of social control, based on contractual obligations" (p. 189). Wright's idea is intriguing but not developed here, and it remains at best speculative.

Wright's strongest contribution is in the first half of the book and his examination of the colonial and revolutionary periods. His discussion of the colonial banking and financial system clarifies the various forms of commercial exchange that dominated economic transactions. He makes a compelling case that the colonial economy was generally illiquid. His analysis of the complications the Revolution unleashed reveals the importance of that struggle to the growing need for a secure exchange medium. The interruption of British credit and the rising demand for marketable commodities triggered a growing call for more liquid commercial institutions. This need was filled with the chartering of several banks in larger cities, like the Bank of New York, which provided the needed liquidity.

The last two chapters of Wright's study, "Banking and Business in the 1790s and Beyond" and "Businessmen and Banking," are less satisfactory than the earlier chapters. Partly this has to do with the fact that these chapters, particularly the latter, are not essential to the book and do not flow organically from the earlier chapters. Further, the case study in chapter five is based on a very small sample (just three banks), and much of the evidence mustered is for the first few decades of the nineteenth century, well after the period on which Wright concentrates.

At times, Wright's prose distracts his reader. There are numerous passages throughout the book that use the terms "liquidity," "liquid," or "illiquid" several times in one sentence. Nevertheless, this does not detract from the book's larger contribution. Wright has presented a significant discussion of the role and activities of early American banks, the role of the Revolution in challenging traditional methods of commercial exchange and investment, and the emergence of a stable commercial banking system from this struggle. This work is recommended for economic historians interested in financial and banking history and the revolutionary period.

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SUZANNE R. THURMAN. *"O Sisters Ain't You Happy?" Gender, Family, and Community among the Harvard and Shirley Shakers, 1781–1918*. (Women and Gender in North American Religions.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syra-

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cuse University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 262. Cloth $39.95, paper $19.95.

Scholars of communal societies often measure a group's success quantitatively: how long did they last? How many members did they have? Suzanne R. Thurman asks a more provocative, qualitative question in her study of the Harvard and Shirley Shakers: were the Sisters happy? In this engaging and richly researched work, Thurman argues that, for the most part, the Shaker experience for women was empowering, and, indeed, happy.

Thurman advances Shaker scholarship with a comprehensive community study of the Harvard and Shirley, Massachusetts, villages. Drawing on town histories, census records, hymns, and the copious manuscripts left by the Shakers' prolific writers, Thurman seeks to illustrate the "complexity of Shaker identity, an identity not merely conceived in isolation *from* the world, but developed in reaction *to* and in interaction *with* the world" (p. 9, italics in original). Her focus is on gender, family, and community as the key facets of a multilayered Shaker identity; throughout her work she demonstrates how ideas about gender influenced the reimagined family and community the Shakers developed.

Eleven concise chapters explore the history and social organization of Harvard and Shirley from eighteenth-century founding to dissolution in the early twentieth century. Organized chronologically, the first chapters explore Shaker community origins and formation. Thurman emphasizes that, while living separately from the world, Shakers were still intertwined with it by business relationships, biological kin ties, and the adversarial activities of apostates and other opponents. From first founding, family, both biological and, later, celibate and communal, were key in providing Shakers protection from persecution, financial assistance, and labor. As individual households coalesced into Shaker communes, community formation was informed by Shaker theology, particularly in the notion of a godhead with both male and female aspects. Along with the practice of celibacy, Shaker theology and gender ideas created a climate where women were empowered. The androgynous ideal, embracing characteristics both masculine and feminine, allowed women to develop their talents in leadership, medicine, and intellectual endeavors. Examining the gendered labor found in Shaker communities, Thurman persuasively argues that the opportunities presented to women were much richer than previously imagined. Here we see that Shakers did not eliminate the family but rather redesigned it, following the impetus so many nineteenth-century reformers already knew: that the way to reform society was to reform the family.

While the first chapters depict a strong community, the middle chapters examine challenges to Shakerism's stability. The commencement of Mother's Work throws chaos into well-ordered Shaker lives. Thurman counters the argument that women instruments represented marginalized members of community caught in a power struggle. Reinforcing the androgynous ideal, female instruments strengthened the bonds of community and the role of women as interpreters of that experience. Thurman discusses additional challenges to community: as Shakers were increasingly looked to as a model of reform, worldly associations infiltrated Shaker lives. In interactions with intellectuals and Adventists and business dealings with the railroad and the seed and herb industries, the Shakers increasingly accommodated themselves to the world, weakening the community they had worked so hard to build. As membership declined precipitously in the last decades of the nineteenth century and financial difficulties threatened community viability, the community fragmented and shattered, diminishing the power and freedom women enjoyed.

In addition to its fine narrative, Thurman's work is enhanced by two appendixes detailing membership and population statistics for original members of Harvard and Shirley.The strength of this work is in challenging, refining, and extending our understanding of Shaker women's lives, gendered labor practices, the "Era of Manifestations," and the demise of community. Instead of isolating the Shaker experience, Thurman sets her study in the context of wider American society, drawing on recent scholarship on women's work, religious life, and the community. This study would benefit from a comparative look at women's experiences in other Shaker communities, but here Thurman leaves the door open for scholars to follow in her footsteps. Going far beyond statistics, Thurman's work penetrates into the heart of a communal experience: were its members happy? In Thurman's study, the answer is yes.

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DEBORAH PICKMAN CLIFFORD. *The Passion of Abby Hemenway: Memory, Spirit, and the Making of History*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 2001. Pp. x, 350. Cloth $40.00, paper $24.95.

This biography of Abby Maria Hemenway (1828–1890), who edited a local history of her native Vermont, is a recovery of a shadowy life. Deborah Pickman Clifford has used all that the skimpy record provides in order to understand the accomplishment of a woman driven by her vision of history and by her faith in the power of historical story telling.

After an early career as a teacher, Hemenway edited a volume of Vermont poetry and then, despite social and intellectual opposition, created the *Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer*, a quarterly historical magazine devoted to local history, written by volunteer local historians. Hemenway organized the work alphabetically by county, took subscriptions to finance the project, and aimed to consolidate the results into bound volumes.

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She planned to include every town in every county—an unprecedented ambition.

Despite a hiatus during the Civil War, Hemenway had published eleven numbers of the *Quarterly Gazetteer* by 1867, when she republished them as the first of the five volumes of the *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*. Although most of the histories were written by local residents, Hemenway wrote some of the essays and edited and added to others. They are mixtures of local lore, statistics, vital records, and family biographies.

Hemenway's subscription scheme never funded the work; she was always beleaguered by debt, uncooperative authors, and uncertain sales. Toward the end of her life, she was setting type herself, working with young cousins on her kitchen floor in Ludlow. Through it all, she got four volumes into print before she died, leaving the final volume for her sister to finish. A planned sixth volume never appeared.

All biographers are at the mercy of the available materials, and Clifford is unusually handicapped, for Hemenway's papers were destroyed by fire in 1911. Working with all the original sources she can muster, Clifford has written a sound, interesting life, though many important questions simply cannot be answered. How did Hemenway finance her work? How did she manage to support herself? Clifford is forced to many conditional judgments, most of which are sound, though she cannot resist ascribing emotions or ideas to Hemenway where no facts exist: "Abby's salary as a teacher, though admittedly meager, had at least promised a small security. But now she had rashly decided to throw all that over in order to publish books" (p. 68). Well, maybe, but we have no idea how she decided nor what her emotions were. We only know she stopped teaching and became an editor.

Not only was Hemenway notable as a single woman who defied the conventions of public life by undertaking a large historical project, she converted to Roman Catholicism in 1864, making her even more of an outsider. Clifford makes her Catholicism a central part of the biography, though it leads her to her one questionable judgment: "her newfound faith enabled her to choose a system of beliefs that justified (as New England Protestantism did not) the worth of a single, chaste woman" (p. 305). This sweeping judgment claims too much. Certainly such New England Protestants as Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth Peabody, and Emily Dickinson appeared to have no doubts about the "worth" of single, chaste women. Clifford does much better in arguing that Hemenway's sympathy with the French Catholics caused her to temper the Anglophile bias of some of her contributors.

The center of this biography is the *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*. Clifford is evenhanded in her assessments. She says that Hemenway let too many mistakes and typographical errors into her work and that she developed a sentimental myth of Vermont that persists to this day. Moreover, Hemenway thought that older people were "entitled 'to unquestioned belief,' " which caused her to accept memories uncritically (p. 225). Naturally, the *Gazetteer* was uneven: some of Hemenway's writers were thorough and accurate, some not. But she was not a passive compiler; despite the limitations in Hemenway's perspective, Clifford makes it equally clear that she demanded that women be in the histories and that the domestic arts be part of the historical record, and that Hemenway edited her contributors' work to make it more accurate and complete.

Hemenway's life is remarkable for its ambition and its fortitude. Clifford's well-documented biography argues that the nature and scope of the *Gazetteer* were visionary and that the volumes added immeasurably to our historical sources. Hemenway defied conventions; she ignored detractors; she convinced often-reluctant local historians to join her project, and she doggedly overcame obstacles that would deter anyone less committed to the recovery of the past.

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ROBERT JAMES BRANHAM and STEPHEN J. HARTNETT. *Sweet Freedom's Song: "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and Democracy in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 276. $29.95.

This study is a thorough discourse on the many utilizations of "America," the patriotic tune by Samuel Smith commonly known as "My Country 'Tis of Thee." Virtually all American school children learn the song with its original verses. Robert James Branham and Stephen J. Hartnett develop the point that in the nineteenth century, "America" gained such popularity that the tune was employed as a rallying cry in antebellum movements like abolitionism, women's rights, and temperance, as well as in some social and economic reforms of the Gilded Age.

As a narrative of the many forms of "America," Branham and Harnett's work provides a wealth of information. The versions of the hymn were many, and the authors have done their research to uncover almost every one of them (although others may rest somewhere in an archive or attic). The contents of most of the renditions were straightforward. A few, notably one by the writer Ambrose Bierce, had real bite. Written in regard to the corporate corruption of the late nineteenth century, Bierce's words are deliciously bitter and have a resonance for people concerned with the corporate atrocities of any age.

Students of American history will find the authors' work a useful source in regard to the many forms of a most important American hymn and its links to nineteenth-century social reforms. The links here are clearly drawn, and the mix of lyrics and social history is skillfully cast. Although discussion seeks to embellish the nature of various reform movements, the authors do not analyze contemporaneous views about the reform movement. Rather than examining how the song reflected conflicting elements within various reform efforts, they cast each of the reform movements

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somewhat monolithically. Here Branham and Hartnett convey a decided tone of enthusiasm for the reforms and view them as morally superior to the orthodox nationalism of Smith's original "America." Such an enthusiastic perspective appears to preclude dissections and analyses that probe differences among reformers, not the least significant of which involved their decidedly middle-class character, which cut a more narrow swath than the nationalism of Smith's original theme. The authors appear to assume that some reforms more fully represented popular sensibilities; this assumption is never tested.

Although it is not difficult for anyone to favor the antebellum reforms for which the authors hold such enthusiasm, a more analytical perspective could have enlivened more subtle castings of the contrasting views at work among those who made uses of Smith's hymn. The authors seem fully accepting of the notion that the song did indeed play a significant role in various reforms. Other views are not considered. Another unaddressed question concerns the importance of "America" in comparison with other patriotic hymns. No other song receives significant discussion or analysis. Like the righteousness of the reform movements in which "America" allegedly played a role, the song's significance appears an article of faith. Any views that the role of such songs was purely one of window dressing, and any discussions of lyrics denoting mere propaganda rather than ideology, are not considered.

As discussants of lyrics, the authors never considered one (in)famous line from Smith's original version: "Land of the pilgrim's pride." How William Bradford (or Perry Miller) must have bewailed the attachment of "pride" to such a group of seventeenth-century New Englanders has long been a point of bemusement to many scholars. "America's" actual music is another matter that receives little discussion. Somewhat cavalierly, the authors dismiss the melody as "childish, banal, embarrassing," thus apparently of no musicological significance. Branham and Hartnett could have considered the possibility that the stolid, uncomplicated nature of the music, like such wonderfully simple songs of the day as Stephen Foster's, was part of its appeal. Further, the assumption that the music of "America" was not significant overlooks such important composers as Charles Ives, who wrote a jocular *Variations on "America"* for organ, and William Schumann, who orchestrated the Ives piece. Such works and musicians go unmentioned.

Another question the authors might have explored more fully concerns why the song has not had similar resonance for the politics of the past century. Is it simply a matter of age? What is communicated in the music and in the rhetoric of nineteenth-century reforms that has become too distant to resound effectively? Why, in World War II or since September 11, 2001, has a call for "God" to "Bless America" become an apparently more profound rallying cry than is a firm declaration of America being a "Sweet Land of Liberty?" Such questions merit at least some speculation.

Although falling short as a study of music or of social history, as a discourse on an ever-evolving text with obvious political connections, this book offers students of nineteenth-century America a wealth of information about an aspect of the self-promotion efforts of social reformers.

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SHELLEY STREEBY. *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture.* (American Crossroads, number 9.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 384. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.95.

As a graduate student, I read Cecil Robinson's *With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature* (1963) and the simplicity of the work profoundly influenced my understanding of the importance of literature in understanding racism. The present generation of literary scholars is bolder than Robinson; going beyond stereotypes, they are wonderfully imaginative. But, I wonder if the complexity of the message and style of their books has the same impact as *With the Ears of Strangers* had for me.

Take Shelley Streeby's book, which analyzes dime novels, popular from about 1840 to 1890, in relation to the U.S.-Mexican War and mid-nineteenth-century empire building. Her purpose is to comprehend such fiction's impact on "race, nativism, labor, politics, and popular and mass culture in the United States" (p. xi). George Lippard (1822–1854) is featured in the first chapter and pops up throughout the book. A Philadelphia editor, journalist, and writer of cheap sensational literature, Lippard, according to Streeby, was the dime novel's foremost proponent of class struggle. Lippard's Gothic narratives, filled with scenes of massacres, rapes, and naked women, damn the rich and champion the poor. A product of Protestant Philadelphia, Lippard reflected the class biases and aspirations of the artisan class of that city. Likewise, Lippard's novels on the Mexican-American War are filled with blood, guts, and sex. While sympathetic toward the poor Mexican, according to Streeby, the Philadelphian supported the Mexican American War because of his paranoia about Catholic conspiracies and saw empire building as a solution to the evils of industrial capitalism. While Streeby's argument is plausible, my materialist leanings lead me to a simpler explanation: the sensationalized novel was for profit, and sex and violence always sell books.

Unfortunately, like most American scholars, literary or otherwise, Streeby has difficulties with the notion of race as it relates to Mexicans. Racism is not an American invention or phenomenon, and there are subtle differences between racism toward Mexicans and African Americans. For one, U.S. colonialism differs greatly from the colonialism of Third World countries. American race theory relies on assumptions based on the American experience. Streeby relies too

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heavily on the theory of U.S.-trained race scholars for her assumptions on race and does not support her arguments with documents.

This is troublesome because Streeby makes imaginative and provocative statements such as "These representations [in the dime novel] suggest that European immigrants, specifically the Irish, were being admitted into the national and racial 'community' at the expense of those, such as Indians and Mexicans, from whom territory was being taken away" that often tease the reader (p. 105). However, this phenomenon of inclusion has existed for most of U.S. history and race scholars can further appreciate this statement in the context of September 11, 2001, when many African Americans, Latinos, and others felt like part of "the national and racial 'community.'" Since Streeby was dealing with Mexicans, she should have detected similarities in incidents such as the Camp Grant Massacre of the 1870s, when Mexicans and Papagos participated in the massacre of Apache women and children; the complicity of Mexican elites, who willingly married off daughters to men socially beneath them; and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which made Mexicans legally "white" but was then deconstructed by state and federal courts and laws. The truth be told, Mexicans have had to struggle not only with American constructions of whiteness but also with their own colonial past.

This book is an excellent literary critique; however, it falls short as a history. Its flaws are evident in Streeby's treatment of Juan Nepomuceno Cortina and Joaquín Murieta. While her analyses of dime novels are provocative, they lack historical context. Streeby neglects the current historical literature on Cortina and the economic forces that formed the conflict. James Leroy Evans's "The Indian Savage, the Mexican Bandit, the Chinese Heathen—Three Popular Stereotypes" (Ph.D. 1967) and John Mason Hart's *Empire and Revolution* (2002) would have added to an understanding of the economic dimensions of empire building on the border.

Streeby closes the book with an analysis of John Rollin Ridge's *The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit* (1854). Murieta arrived in Alta California from San Rafaelito de los Alamitos, Distrito de Altar, Sonora, México, where he owned some land. When claim jumpers lynched his older brother and gang raped his wife, Murieta extracted his revenge. Streeby repeats the myths but does not delve into the reality that there were no less than forty-two "Joaquíns" and that Murieta probably lived to a ripe old age in Sonora. By not using current research on Sonora, Streeby's account is flawed; race has multiple dimensions, and the victim's reaction to racism is an important variable. Murieta was from Mexico, not from California, which is a variable that she should have raised.

Despite my nitpicking, this is an important book. Undoubtedly, if Streeby had written it as a "cultural history," it would have been far less imaginative. Its strengths are that the author fearlessly explores themes, stretches traditional paradigms, and brilliantly compares notions such as "Hacienda, the Factory, and the Plantation," drawing on the similarities between the Mexican peons and northern workers. Because of the broadness of her landscape, however, the reader often has difficulty in distinguishing detail, something that Streeby could have overcome with a more judicious use of historical documents.

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STEVEN J. RAMOLD. *Slaves, Sailors, Citizens: African Americans in the Union Navy*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 253. $32.00.

For decades, historians have debated and discussed the service of African Americans in the U.S. Navy during the Civil War. There has, however, been no consensus regarding the contributions of these men or even the numbers in naval service. A full understanding has been elusive for several reasons. Few of the navy's records differentiate between the races, and African Americans enjoyed greater acceptance in the navy than in the army. Additionally, blacks had already established a tradition of service in the navy and, during the war, they participated in the ships for the most part as equals. Steven J. Ramold has dealt well with these difficulties to present a clear narrative of African-American naval service during the Civil War.

Despite the fact that African Americans participated in every American war from the Revolution to the Civil War, black men never enjoyed unfettered access to the navy. When it needed men, the navy turned to African Americans, and the Civil War was no exception. At the beginning of the war, only 2.5 percent of the sailors in the navy were African Americans. In the early months of the war hundreds of African Americans fled to the Union ships for protection, but it was not until September 1861 that Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles judiciously authorized the use of former slaves on board Union ships. The employment of escaped slaves, however, was complicated by existing federal laws. While blacks from northern states could join the Union armed forces, the largest population of African Americans was concentrated in the South, and the Lincoln administration was hindered by the Fugitive Slave Act and the Confiscation Acts.

To build his argument, Ramold uses data from Joseph Reidy's ongoing and pioneering study. Doing chi-square and analysis of variance tests on Reidy's data and a wealth of other primary and secondary sources, the author draws a portrait of the average African American in the Union navy. Ramold concludes that these men were about twenty-four years old. Demographically about fifty percent of the sailors came from the southern states and were largely skilled laborers. Those from the northern states came from the service and industrial occupation groups. These professionally oriented men were largely from urban

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areas and comprised twenty percent of those who enlisted. The remaining men came from the border states.

The U.S. Navy, from the beginning of the conflict, offered blacks benefits that they could not find elsewhere: equality in pay and equal and overall fair treatment. The author argues that African Americans had much more in common with white sailors than with their black counterparts in the Union army. Unlike army service, the navy allowed African Americans to advance within the ranks according to their skills. Furthermore, they earned pensions and were paid at a rate consistent with civilian wages. Ramold does not sugarcoat their naval experience and acknowledges that these men also faced ambivalence and even racism, paternalistic treatment and condescension. He points out, however, there was little evidence of widespread racism within the service and no institutional racism. In fact, the U.S. Navy was so egalitarian that, for the remainder of the century, these liberal policies would open the door to careers in the navy for African Americans.

African Americans encountered an egalitarian existence in the navy because they shared the same burdens, boredom, food, schedule, and benefits and saw the same duty at the guns and magazines and faced the same death and disfigurement in combat. By contrast, early in the war the Union army used African Americans for fatigue duty and heavy labor. The army never offered these men the opportunities that they could find in the navy. Interestingly, according to the author's statistical analysis, African Americans also received better treatment in the navy's criminal justice system, which demonstrates that the navy was an egalitarian institution, balancing racial concerns and strong discipline into a system that worked effectively.

Ramold has made a decided step forward in our understanding of the naval service of African Americans during the Civil War. His work serves as a continuation and lucid extension of Reidy's work, which was incomplete at the time of its publication. Although this will not be the final word on this topic, every Civil War scholar should find this book interesting and worthwhile.

ROBERT M. BROWNING, JR.
Dumfries, Virginia

MICHAEL VORENBERG. *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment.* (Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 305. $29.95.

Historians have given surprisingly little attention to the intense debate over the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment. Too often, the Thirteenth Amendment is presented as an inevitable follow-up to the Emancipation Proclamation. In this well-researched volume, Michael Vorenberg traces the fortuitous events that led to the freedom amendment. Although there was growing emancipation sentiment in the North by 1863, there was no agreement as to how slavery should be eliminated. Moreover, as Vorenberg points out, the abolition of bondage did not necessarily confer any rights on freedpersons or establish racial equality. Even those who favored the amendment had diverse views about what further rights, if any, freedom entailed.

In recounting the Thirteenth Amendment's adoption, Vorenberg skillfully weaves a fascinating tapestry of legal theory, raw politics, racial prejudice, and concerns for the balance of federal-state power. He also shows how deliberation took place against a changing backdrop of military events, hopes for sectional reconciliation, and emerging Reconstruction policy. Both political parties were badly split over the amendment. Radical Republicans wanted explicit guarantees of equality. Many Republicans, however, appeared lukewarm toward the amendment and tended to stress its conservative character as a means to preserve the Union. Most Democrats, citing states' rights ideology and racial issues, were opposed, but some supported the amendment as an implicit slap at President Abraham Lincoln and the dubious constitutionality of his Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln himself offered little public support for the amendment. It is sobering to recall that in June of 1864, the House of Representatives could not muster the necessary two-thirds vote to adopt the Thirteenth Amendment, and that the amendment virtually disappeared as an issue during the ensuing presidential campaign.

An interesting corollary to the emancipation process was the question of compensation for slave owners. The Constitution recognized slaves as a form of property. During the early years of the Civil War, Lincoln repeatedly urged compensated emancipation upon Congress and the loyal slave states but could arouse no interest in such schemes. Vorenberg might profitably have explored whether a compensated emancipation would have eased some of the travails of the Reconstruction era. Still, it seems fair to conclude that, as a practical matter, years of bitter warfare overwhelmed the "conventions of property law—at least on the question of 'just compensation' for slaves" (p. 224).

Although this work adds significantly to the literature on the Thirteenth Amendment, Vorenberg is less convincing in his contention that the amendment caused a transformation in constitutional thought. The author argues that adoption of the emancipation amendment not only sparked a rediscovery of the amendment process but also opened the door for "a revolutionary new understanding of the meaning of constitutionalism" (p. 193) that downplayed the views of the framers. Americans, Vorenberg maintains, increasingly turned to amendments as a vehicle for constitutional change. The record, however, does not bear out this assertion. There were numerous proposed amendments before the Civil War. Their failure was due more to the difficulty of mustering the necessary support than to reverence for the framers. After

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Reconstruction, the Constitution remained unamended until 1913. Several recent proposed amendments, most notably the Equal Rights Amendment, have failed. Indeed, the adoption of only eleven amendments since the Civil War era highlights the difficulty of the amendment process and suggests the unlikelihood of formal amendment as a means of securing change. Equally suspect is Vorenberg's argument that the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment signaled endorsement of an unlimited amending process and rejection of original understanding jurisprudence. The framers, of course, provided an amendment mechanism and were aware that there would be necessary changes in the Constitution. Originalists believe that courts should be guided by the intention of the framers, insofar as that can be ascertained, in interpreting the Constitution. They prefer formal amendment to free-wheeling judicial activism as a means of adapting the Constitution to changing times.

Vorenberg's conclusion that the Thirteenth Amendment "could have become an even more powerful weapon than the Fourteenth in securing federally protected civil rights" (p. 241) seems problematic. This book contains ample evidence that supporters in the main consistently insisted that freedom under the Thirteenth Amendment meant something less than equal rights. Given the difficulty in securing adoption of the emancipation amendment, as demonstrated by Vorenberg, it is hard to believe that the framers and ratifiers intended to confer an unlimited federal power to engineer social changes. In this light, the Supreme Court's narrow interpretation of the Thirteenth Amendment is historically well grounded. In short, the notion that the Thirteenth Amendment provides the basis for an open-ended agenda of modern liberal sensibilities is wishful thinking.

Although readers should approach Vorenberg's ruminations about constitutional theory with caution, this is a fine study of the troubled steps to end slavery.

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JAMES G. HOLLANDSWORTH. *An Absolute Massacre: The New Orleans Riot of July 30, 1866.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 168. $28.95.

The New Orleans Riot of July 30, 1866, was one of the bloodiest events of the Reconstruction era. In less than twelve hours, white policemen and citizens murdered at least thirty-four Republicans and wounded over one hundred more. Most of the victims were defenseless African Americans; many were shot in the back and then pummeled by mobs as they lay prostrate. General Philip Sheridan, postwar military commander of Louisiana and Texas, labeled the riot "an absolute massacre." Although the riot ranks as one of the great atrocities of American history, historians have given it surprisingly little attention. James G. Hollandsworth helps rectify this with a rare book-length history of the riot, the first major study in nearly two decades. The result is a methodical but compelling narrative that follows the riot from its wartime origins through its impact on subsequent Reconstruction policy.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of Hollandsworth's narrative is its evenhandedness. According to the author, there were "no villains and no heroes, for everyone who participated . . . was both victim and instigator" (p. 4). The riot resulted from the volatile mix of Reconstruction politics in New Orleans. After former Confederates regained control of the municipal government in 1866, radicals within the Republican Party tried to thwart their resurgence by reconvening the state constitutional convention of 1864, enfranchising African Americans, and disfranchising "Rebels" so that Republicans could retain control of the city and state. When former rebels learned what Republicans planned to do, they determined to stop the convention from reconvening at all costs. As Hollandsworth shows, most native whites wanted a government based on white supremacy and could not stomach anything else. On July 30, the day the convention was to reconvene, former rebels—some of them empowered as policemen—lined the streets leading to the convention, taunting, threatening, and bullying the convention delegates. When a black delegate fired a revolver to ward off the mob, the riot erupted. The federal military, the only force strong enough to stop the riot, was safely bivouacked miles from the center of town. An appalling series of poor decisions, missed communications, and inconsistent messages from Washington paralyzed the military when it was needed most.

From this series of events, Hollandsworth concludes that all were to blame for the riot that ensued. Perhaps so, but to suggest, as Hollandsworth does, that all were equally culpable is unfair. White and black Republicans may have been guilty of political opportunism, but they were not guilty of the cold-blooded murder of defenseless individuals. If Hollandsworth really believes that those who contributed to the wholesale slaughter were victims, he needs to explain why.

Hollandsworth's analysis of southern whites' behavior does not completely satisfy. He traces southern whites' vicious racism to contemporary predictions, put forth by such white southerners as Alabama physician Josiah Nott, that African Americans would die out if not protected by slavery. One wonders if such theories gained wide currency among laboring whites, the men and boys who played the most active roles in the riot. To get at their racial sensibilities, Hollandsworth needs to explain New Orleans' postwar social, economic, and cultural milieu in far greater detail. Another angle might be to explain the composition and logic of the crowd with greater precision and sophistication. Who were the rioters and why did they behave as they did? Hollandsworth notes without comment the conspicuous role played by youths and disabled veterans in some of the worst atrocities. A fresh outlook might explore these groups in greater detail. Similarly, Hollandsworth might have explored

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the behavior of white women before and during the riot. Recent studies have shown that Confederate defeat created a crisis of gender as much as a crisis of race. To what extent can the New Orleans riot be understood in this context?

Hollandsworth's failure to probe further into the causes of the riot makes his narrative something less than the last word on the New Orleans riot. Even so, it is a useful account of the events that led to the riot and a very engrossing read.

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SALLY G. MCMILLEN. *To Raise Up the South: Sunday Schools in Black and White Churches, 1865–1915*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 297. Cloth $54.95, paper $24.95.

Sally G. McMillen's study of Sunday schools in black and white churches between the end of the Civil War and 1915 helps fill a gap in our knowledge of an institution that played a key role in the shaping of southern religious life. She confines herself to three white Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations and four black Baptist and Methodist denominations. Even though smaller denominations and the emerging Holiness and Pentecostal movements are largely left out of the account, the choices for the period discussed are reasonable ones. Nevertheless, some attention to groups hostile to Sunday schools, such as the Primitive Baptists, might have provided insight into conflicting forces within southern society.

Sunday schools appeared in England in the eighteenth century but began to flourish and take on their modern shape there and in America only in the nineteenth century. By mid-century, as Anne M. Boylan has shown, a substantial number of Protestants, especially in the northeastern states, had come to believe that Sunday schools ought to be an essential means of Christian education and especially conversion. Although some southern church leaders took a lively interest in Sunday schools before the Civil War, McMillen's brief observations on that period suggest that the movement was significantly weaker in the South than elsewhere. But until we know more about antebellum southern Sunday schools, we will not be able to identify significant continuities over the Civil War era.

One of McMillen's more interesting observations is that resentment of northern influence on southern Sunday schools emerged relatively late in the century and that, initially, northern Sunday school missionaries (unlike northern school teachers) encountered relatively little hostility. Both black and white northerners were active in organizing Sunday schools among whites and freed slaves. The latter especially depended on them for instruction not only in religion but in basic literacy. McMillen's claim that northerners "initiated the southern Sunday school movement" (p. 54) must, however, be regarded as tentative until more research is devoted to the antebellum period.

The degree to which the remarkable growth of Sunday schools in the decades surrounding the turn of the century reflected national trends or specifically southern circumstances remains unclear in McMillen's account. The belief that Sunday schools were a key instrument in converting the young and instilling appropriate moral values was doubtless important. So were denominational competition for converts and the institutional dymanics of such bodies as the increasingly influential Southern Baptist Sunday School Board, organized in 1891. McMillen may be right that concern about children's moral and spiritual life "reflected southerners' larger apprehensions about modernity and a changing world" (p. 93). But this line of analysis requires rather more sustained development than the author gives it. Opposition to northern influence, particularly on Sunday school literature, certainly existed. But McMillen convincingly dissents from Daniel W. Stowell's claim that southern Sunday school literature upheld peculiarly southern ideals. Where that leaves fear of modernity and northern influence is unclear.

An advantage of this book is the attention given to developments among both black and white denominations. McMillen shows that while African-American church leaders were less effective than whites in organizing Sunday schools, they still achieved considerable success, not least of which was in the development of African-American publishing enterprises. The aims of black and white churches in organizing Sunday schools were remarkably similar. Conversion and training in the conventional morality of the day were common elements. African Americans substitued race pride and black uplift for white Christians' emphasis on sectional pride and white uplift. McMillen finds greater resistance to Sunday schools among black preachers than among white, but she does not fully address the relationship between ideological and cultural conflict among blacks and attitudes toward Sunday schools.

McMillen has undertaken a prodigious amount of research. She discusses the role of women in the development of Sunday schools and details the changes in ideas about the function and organization of the schools. She also shows what went on in the classrooms themselves. McMillen offers some interesting, but unfortunately often undeveloped, ideas about how a study of Sunday schools might provide insight into important trends in southern society. Yet she is doubtless correct to conclude that Sunday schools were hardly the complete cure for the ills of the South that their most ardent advocates claimed.

FREDERICK A. BODE
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GREGG D. CRANE. *Race, Citizenship, and Law in American Literature*. (Cambridge Studies in American Lit-

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erature and Culture, number 128.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 299. Cloth $60.00, paper $22.00.

This book is not history. It is instead a reading (by a literary critic with a law degree) of the relationship between racial fiction and legal theory from 1850 to 1920. The main subjects of Gregg D. Crane's study are Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglass, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Martin Delany, Mark Twain, Charles Chesnutt, and Moorfield Storey. Crane's principal purpose is to trace how higher law reasoning (and later a rejection of it) shaped racial arguments on citizenship. Rather than rely simply on jurists or politicians, Crane identifies how fiction writers contributed to this debate.

Crane shows that nineteenth-century writers created imaginary characters who acted out solutions to legal problems. Stowe is Crane's model of higher law absolutism. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1851), she uses the characters of Mr. and Mrs. Bird to demonstrate the necessity of moral *and* legalistic reasoning. It is the conversation between husband and wife, and their joint decision to help the fugitive slave Eliza, that makes opposition to slavery a "family matter" (p. 64). Yet Crane believes this fictional portrayal suffers from several limitations: Eliza is helped because of her racial "resemblance" to the Birds, and she is given aid, not as a matter of her consent, but through a "paternalistic ethics requiring the strong (white Americans) to care for weak (black Americans)" (p. 65). Stowe's novel played a major political role in the slavery debate, yet, according to Crane, her framework falls short, hampered by "racialist" character types.

Crane's favorite legal intellectuals are Douglass and Emerson, for they articulate what he calls a "cosmopolitan constitutionalism." Douglass emphasizes an evolving moral reasoning that transcends the limits of racial typecasting. Emerson rejects Stowe's image of the suffering slave supplicant. His more abstract language, Crane contends, resists "visualization" of the kind found in Stowe's prose, allowing Emerson to present a less rigid concept of racial identity (p. 101). Crane's reading of Delany's novel, *Blake or the Huts in America* (1859–1862) is revealing, primarily because he shows how it constitutes a response to Chief Justice Roger Taney's decision in *Dred Scott* (1857). Delany uses satire to mock the "formalist reasoning" of lawyers, and he moves the debate from America to Cuba, presenting a "Pan-African" model of "consensus-building" that challenges biracial thinking in U.S. discussions of slavery (pp. 155–56).

While it is impossible to explain all the nuances of Crane's readings, the author suffers from a glaring blind spot: gender. All of his interpretations, beginning with Stowe, miss the centrality of gendered images of manhood in the work of the writers and legal thinkers he discusses. Here are some examples: Stowe's revolutionary figure of George Harris (a Byronic mixed-race hero); Douglass's "astounding power of transformation" (p. 105) and his masculine assertion of free will through physical conflict; Delany's freemasonry-inspired hero, Blake, whose idea of fraternal membership breaks all barriers except gender; and, in *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, which Crane describes as having an "Emersonian ring," the military portrait of the "bold and dashing reformer" whose "flaming sword" must "penetrate" and whose "business" is to "scatter, tear, and slay" the opposition (p. 139). All of these images rely on a masculinist embodiment of liberty and political action. The rejection of Stowe's female supplicant is a rejection of a feminized version of moral reasoning. Black male prowess and deportment are used to trump white feminized paternalism. Furthermore, the narrow focus on Stowe closes off Crane's interpretation from exploring how other black and white female abolitionists produced alternative visions of citizenship.

It is hard to understand how a literary critic today could so blatantly ignore the historical literature on antebellum women's rights and female abolitionism. Nor does Crane interrogate the sexual logic of his authors. Emerson's constipated view of women can be found in his 1855 essay on "Woman." Gender politics was crucial to Douglass, whose rather dramatic shift from Garrisonian to political abolitionism was accompanied by a dramatic change in his reform style from a female-inspired model of moral activism to a masculine one. Delany's freemasonry automatically excluded women from political participation. In a strange way, Crane mimics the anti-Stowe strategies of the male writers he studies.

Crane's book is useful for what it does say about the backlash against higher law. His take on Twain's satire does an excellent job of showing the limits of higher law reasoning. Through the lens of positivism, Twain creates fictional characters who have no need for moral law—and whose consciences can never be reached. The courtroom becomes a minstrel show in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894), in which Twain brilliantly reveals that law's only standard lies in pleasing the crowd. Race is the "black magic" that unmasks the identity of the murderer in the highly theatrical trial. Crane interprets Twain's skepticism as "Jim Crow positivism" (his sense that the law can be twisted to fit any political position), but it equally reflects Gilded Age corruption.

Despite obvious omissions in this book, Crane presents some compelling readings that elucidate how the interplay between fictional writers and jurists generated a racial alchemy that ultimately destabilized core concepts of the legal system: higher law, contract, and the will of the majority. Perhaps the best reason to read this book is that it raises good questions and consistently provokes.

NANCY ISENBERG
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BARBARA YOUNG WELKE. *Recasting American Liberty: Gender, Race, Law, and the Railroad Revolution, 1865–*

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1920. (Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 405. Cloth $65.00, paper $23.00.

Barbara Young Welke's book stands at the intersection of two important trends in the history of American law. Her inquiry into the law of accidents follows a trajectory carved out by Randolph Bergstrom in *Courting Danger: Injury and Law in New York, 1870–1910* (1997), Arthur McEvoy in "The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire of 1911," *Law and Social Inquiry* (1993), and others who have examined changes in the way claims of injury were made and redressed by the courts. In this respect, Welke's study most resembles McEvoy's, since both emphasize the importance of cases involving injuries to women. But Welke's study of over 500 trial and appellate cases involving injuries suffered on street cars and railroad trains goes well beyond the scope of McEvoy's study of a single case. It also adds nuance to those earlier works by considering how gendered notions of male as well as female behavior influenced verdicts, and by viewing gender through filters of race and class.

In that respect, this study is a welcome addition to a body of literature on the law of accidents, but as the title of Welke's book suggests, this is also a constitutional history. In that sense, her work follows a path blazed by Nancy F. Cott, Linda Kerber, Sandra VanBurkleo, and other historians who have argued that studies of constitutional history must take women into account. Rejecting the historical tradition that declared women irrelevant to constitutional law in the periods when they lacked the franchise and were granted few, if any, constitutional rights, these scholars have demonstrated that even when they were second-class citizens women helped shape constitutional law. Welke's work contributes to that effort, and, to the extent that she pays considerable attention to issues of race as well as gender, helps tie studies of white women's influence to other works that consider the way in which African Americans and other minorities influenced the nature and content of constitutional law.

Although the title of the book suggests that Welke is concerned with changes in the concept of liberty, the last third, which traces the impact of Jim Crow laws, deals far more with equality. Both concepts are central to the entire book, since Welke explores the way that shifting notions of liberty sometimes helped to create inequalities (as when blacks and whites were treated differently by the courts) and sometimes created equalities (as when the courts gradually altered their rulings to protect men and women equally, in response to changing views of liberty).

As a study of the changing nature of injury law, this book is a valuable addition to legal history, although I would have liked to see it engage other studies in the field, most notably Bergstrom's, more directly. While Bergstrom traced shifts very similar to those described in such detail by Welke, he offered a different explanation of their cause, suggesting that law changed in response to cultural changes brought about by immigration. One can construct an argument that Welke's book builds on, but does not contradict, Bergstrom's theory, and one can as easily conclude that she rejects it completely. It would have been nice to have the conversation between these two studies spelled out more clearly in this book.

Likewise, as a book that traces the influence of gender and race on the constitutional categories of liberty and equality, this book, with its exhaustive analysis of hundreds of trial transcripts and appellate decisions, is an important contribution to the project begun by Kerber, Cott, and others. Yet here the book's extensive reliance on legal sources is as much a weakness as a strength. The legal materials make the basis of Welke's argument clear and sure, but there are so many legal narratives that there is little room for anything else. As a result, we learn less than we might about the discourses outside the courthouses that might have helped shape the arguments and rulings within them. In that respect, this book would benefit from being assigned or read in tandem with other works on the political culture and discourses of the time, which would provide a glimpse at the larger context in which those legal arguments arose.

ELIZABETH DALE
University of Florida

ELIZABETH DALE. *The Rule of Justice: The People of Chicago versus Zephyr Davis*. (The History of Crime and Criminal Justice Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2001. Pp. vii, 158. Cloth $60.00, paper $23.95.

On the afternoon of February 27, 1888, an employee of Greene's Boot Heel Factory in Chicago stumbled upon the body of another employee, fourteen-year-old Maggie Gaughan, who had been hacked to death earlier that day and hidden away in a factory closet. Few doubted that the crime had been perpetrated by Zephyr Davis, a young black man who worked as a supervisor at Greene's and who had just disappeared. Having gone out on company business, Davis apparently saw the police and a growing crowd outside the factory as he returned and chose to flee. The next day, he was apprehended in Forest, Illinois, and returned to Chicago. A month later, he was tried and convicted of murder; on May 12, Davis was executed by hanging.

Elizabeth Dale's book explores the degree to which the "rule of law" and "institutionalized justice" prevailed over notions of "community-based justice" (p. 4). Setting herself up against a historiographical position that sees the transformation of criminal law as a reaction to urban disorder and the emergence of modern market capitalism, she easily dismisses those who emphasize the rise of legal formalism; instead, she stresses the persistence of traditions of popular justice. The Davis case is her vehicle for reexamining the relationship of the law to popular justice. Dale's

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conclusion is straightforward: by meticulously reconstructing the arrest and the subsequent trial, Davis succeeds in demonstrating that the press, the judge, prosecutors, and the jury allowed their own conceptions of popular justice, far more than any strict adherence to legal niceties or formal legal rulings, to influence their arguments and conclusions. Indeed, she concludes, the "rule of law played no role in determining what happened" to Zephyr Davis (p. 103).

Although Dale succeeds in showing the multiple ways that popular beliefs influenced the outcome of this case, a number of problems weaken the book. At times, elements of her theoretical framework are laid out in a heavy-handed manner. An "active civil society existed in the last decades of the century" in Chicago, Dale insists, as if such a thing were in doubt (p. 6), which gave Chicagoans a "mechanism outside the formal political system for challenging the authority of the State" (p. 6). Her contentions that the agitation of numerous civic groups "demonstrated that the State could be questioned" (p. 7) and that "Civil society in Chicago challenged the State" (p. 9) are at once awkwardly stated and obvious. That not all groups in a society have equal access to the media is hardly a surprising finding, but such inequality is not illuminated by her conclusion that "Chicago's civil society" was not "equally available to all" (p. 9). Devoting considerable attention to daily newspaper coverage, Dale demonstrates that the white press took creative license in its treatment of the Davis case (reporters and editors sometimes engaged in gross distortions and outright fabrication), relied on a range of discursive conventions, advanced particular notions of popular justice and right, and peddled prejudice. But her accounts of press treatment, which often run toward the repetitive, tend to substitute for more in-depth investigations into the case and its principal set of actors.

In the end, Davis remains a hauntingly elusive figure. We learn that he arrived in the city three years before the crime, that his parents had been born slaves; that he grew up in a household without his father; that "mental problems" (p. 74) ran in the family; that Davis experienced "fits" and may have had epilepsy; and that he did, it seems, commit the murder of which he was accused. We also learn that there was no evidence of sexual assault prior to Gaughan's murder. Why Davis committed the murder remains unanswered, and how and why a young African-American man would have been placed in a position of supervision over white women—something almost unheard of in American industry at that time—is not adequately addressed. A number of tantalizing insights into Chicago's race relations and the character of the city's small African-American community in the Gilded Age do emerge, however. Black Chicagoans apparently invested much faith in the "protections of formal law" (p. 52) and protested particular aspects of the handling of the case. But ultimately, Dale observes, they did little to support Davis, fearing that the case could produce a racial backlash. Unfortunately, Dale does not develop these and other related issues. It would be unfair to criticize a work of legal history for not being a work of social history or for not examining a number of suggestive and potentially relevant topics. A fuller understanding of Chicagoans' response to Gaughan's murder, however, seems to require a broader approach.

ERIC ARNESEN
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DAVID HEALY. *James G. Blaine and Latin America*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2001. Pp. vii, 278. $39.95.

David Healy, a distinguished historian of U.S. foreign relations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has written a "conventional diplomatic history" highlighting the "formal relations between sovereign states." In such interactions, he asserts, "someone must act or react, and it makes a difference who that someone is" (pp. 1–2). By focusing on James G. Blaine, the most important figure in Gilded Age public life, Healy explores the importance of an individual policy maker. He has crafted a carefully researched, cogent, and balanced assessment of Blaine's Latin American diplomacy, but facets of that diplomacy could be more satisfactorily explained.

Healy concentrates on Blaine's two terms as secretary of state: the first in 1881, the second from March 1889 through June 1891. He locates Blaine's foreign policy contributions in the Plumed Knight's style, innovative understanding of diplomatic instruments, and grand vision of the United States as a great power. Blaine brought an energy and verve to the office that contrasted sharply with his somnolent Gilded Age predecessors and foreshadowed his more activist twentieth-century successors. Similarly, he exhibited a prescient understanding of the diplomatic utility of such devices as arbitration treaties, tariff reciprocity, and U.S. administration of Latin American customs houses. Finally, he foresaw and helped prepare the nation for its role as a great power exercising hegemony over the Western Hemisphere. In each of these areas, Blaine was appreciably ahead of his time.

Blaine's substantive accomplishments, as Healy correctly argues, were far less impressive. During his first term, he rashly meddled in a boundary dispute between Guatemala and Mexico, futilely sought to block Chile's territorial annexations from Bolivia and Peru in the wake of the War of the Pacific, and failed to jawbone Britain into revising the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In each instance, Blaine badly overestimated U.S. power and ultimately worsened relations with the nations involved. During his second term, a wiser, more cautious Blaine struck a cooperative and unifying tone at the Inter-American Conference of 1889 that established the precedent for subsequent pan-American meetings. He convinced President Benjamin Har-

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rison and the Republican Congress of the merits of reciprocity, gained its inclusion in the tariff of 1890, and sought to implement a hemisphere-wide tariff system. And, he wisely counseled Harrison to avoid war with Chile in 1891. Still, even these second-term efforts were ultimately devoid of immediate, practical accomplishment. The secretary failed to garner an arbitration treaty or tariff agreement at the Inter-American Conference; the Cleveland administration voided all of the reciprocity agreements negotiated after 1890; and Harrison averted war by dictating terms to Chile rather than by following Blaine's pacific advice.

In explaining Blaine's motivation, Healy gives primary emphasis to geopolitical considerations. By promoting a peaceful, stable Latin America under U.S. hegemonic control, Blaine sought to eliminate European, especially British, influence and interventions. As the leader of the Republican Party and a perennial presidential candidate, Blaine's political considerations reinforced the secretary's pursuit of ambitious goals and prompted him to oppose initiatives from both the competing wing of the GOP and the Democrats. Healy attributes far less importance to Blaine's economic concerns. Only after leaving office in 1881 did Blaine offer an economic rationale for his intervention in the War of the Pacific or his call for an inter-American conference. Although Blaine's economic expansionism was more prominent during the Harrison years, Healy cites "U.S. hemispheric hegemony" as his principal aim. He sought to gain this end by utilizing "commercial devices" such as bilateral reciprocity treaties, an American common market, or a U.S. controlled interoceanic canal (p. 252).

While these explanations are quite plausible, with some having been offered by previous students of the period, Healy could at times be more convincing. If Blaine's vision for U.S. foreign relations was the essence of his contribution, the origins of that vision need to be more clearly explained. Healy states that Blaine came to the State Department with "no preparation for diplomacy" (p. 16). Yet he had already "fixed on ambitious goals" (p. 38), and once in office his "ideas crystallized with remarkable speed" (p. 250). How did a domestic politician devoid of preparation so quickly devise such a farsighted and significant vision? Might greater examination of Blaine's pre-1881 views on foreign policy have yielded additional insight into the formulation of his grand design? Over the course of his narrative, Healy could also more fully explicate the distinction between the pursuit of commercial expansion as a primary goal and the use of "commercial devices" for geopolitical ends and clarify why Blaine's policies embodied the latter. This distinction is particularly important since much of the scholarly debate has centered on the nature of Blaine's economic expansionism.

These reservations not withstanding, Healy's thoughtful and engaging study enhances our understanding of the elusive and complex Blaine and Gilded Age foreign policy.

JOSEPH A. FRY
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HASIA R. DINER. *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 292. $39.95.

First-time visitors to the United States have often remarked on its abundance of food. Hasia R. Diner sees the pull of this, and the push of hunger, as the main reason that millions of Italians, Irish, and Eastern European Jews migrated there before 1920. She points out that the Italian immigrants came from a culture where food and the family were very important and deeply intertwined. They were generally poor villagers who resented the stark differences between their own meager, monotonous fare and the ample and varied diets of the well-off. America attracted them as a place where such luxuries as meat, pasta, white bread, and coffee were everyday foods. After they arrived, they took full advantage of this abundance and constructed a distinctive Italian-American cuisine that became a source of ethnic pride.

The Irish, Diner says, were a much different matter. They blamed the devastating famines of the 1840s on an English-imposed reliance on the potato, thus creating a problematic relationship with this, their staple food. They never developed more varied ways of cooking potatoes than simply boiling them. Whereas poor rural Italians had local elites whose cooking they aspired to emulate, the poor rural Irish had no desire to copy the food habits of the despised Anglo-Irish Protestant elite. As their food supplies improved, they merely added cabbage, meat, or other ingredients to the pots in which the potatoes boiled. As a result, says Diner, with little in the way of their own culinary tradition, Irish immigrants to America adopted the tastes of the Yankee elite for whom many of the women worked as domestic servants. Little importance was attached to the family meal, and the saloon functioned as men's main venue for expressing their ethnicity. "Drink trumped food in the performance of Irishness," she says, and "food was other people's cultural coin" (pp. 139, 143).

Eastern European Jews were similar to the Italians in that food also played a central role in their family life. Moreover, their religious observances, particularly the ritual Friday dinner, placed a special premium on serving and sharing the finest foods available. They lived, says Diner, "in a world shaped by love of food." Yet here, too, she finds class conflict, as poorer Jews envied the impressive spreads of the better-off. She says that this kind of hunger provided a major impulse for immigration to the United States, where they found a wealth of new foods, ranging from German delicatessen to breakfast cereals and ice cream. However, as

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she shows in a long digression into "Food Fights," food was also a major source of conflict, mainly regarding the rules of *kashruth* and about labor disputes at Jewish food producers.

Diner does well to point out the extent of class conflict and envy among Italians and Jews, and her appalling description of Irish cookery is a refreshing change from the usual hagiographies of immigrant cooks. But her main point, the importance of "hunger" in the immigration, remains rather problematic. While the famines certainly impelled large numbers of Irish to flee in the 1840s, Diner has difficulty explaining how hunger impelled so many others to continue the emigration long after the food situation had improved. (She says it was memories of the famines.) Similarly, although millions of rural Italians had to scrape along on meager diets during the late nineteenth-century *miseria*, she has difficulty establishing that hunger was the main propulsion for their emigration to America. After all, as she acknowledges, it was not the hungriest who left but those who had somewhat more in terms of resources. This was also true of Eastern European Jews, for whom many other aspects of life were in a downward spiral as well.

As for the irresistible "pull" of America's food abundance, one wonders why millions of the migrants also went to places that were not renowned for abundant food: why Italians flocked to Germany and Brazil and the Irish poured into England, Scotland, Canada, and drought-plagued Australia. Perhaps most disappointing, though, is that there is relatively little about how their diets and those of their children changed over time and, for the most part, became "Americanized." Instead, each group is dealt with in two chapters, one Old World, the other New World, which are organized topically, with examples often ranging back and forth from the 1840s to the 1920s. Perhaps the absence of a narrative chronicling the relentless forces of Americanization into the 1920s and 1930s contributes to the curious conclusion that the Italians, who stood out among the pre-1920s immigrants in preserving distinctive food habits, are "paradigmatic" and "best represent the experiences of most immigrants" (p. 226). But organizing a book always involves tradeoffs, and this remains an ambitious, interesting, and provocative work.

HARVEY LEVENSTEIN
McMaster University

LAURA TUENNERMAN-KAPLAN. *Helping Others, Helping Ourselves: Power, Giving, and Community Identity in Cleveland, Ohio, 1880–1930*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 222. $23.95.

Laura Tuennerman-Kaplan has written a self-described "cautionary tale for modern policy-makers" (p. vii) that explores the importance of charitable giving to community identity in turn-of-the-century Cleveland, Ohio, when an influx of immigrants transformed the city into one of the "most foreign" municipalities in the country.

Not all newcomers made a transoceanic migration. Cleveland's miniscule pre-Civil War African-American community grew, by 1930, to constitute almost eight percent of the northern Ohio city's total population, while Italians and Italian Americans—absent before the 1860s—were five percent of the municipality's residents by the onset of the Depression. In a relatively slim volume, richly reliant on primary source materials, particularly local organizational papers and oral histories, Tuennerman-Kaplan closely examines charitable activities within these two groups of recent arrivals. The paired case studies document her thesis that Progressive-era philanthropy was a phenomenon that crossed all class, ethnic, and racial lines, involved large numbers of ordinary, even impoverished individuals, and served to tie people to their communities while meeting specific material needs.

For both the Cleveland African-American and Italian communities, Tuennerman-Kaplan explores a wide variety of charitable causes, including intracommunity giving as well as donations made to these two poor groups by white elites in the city. African Americans, she argues, were more open to charity than were Italians, who preferred to help family members privately. In Italy, a government-subsidized Catholic Church allied with landlords might periodically distribute alms to the poor. It rarely earned their sympathy. Italians immigrants to Cleveland carried that tradition with them. In contrast, equally poor black newcomers from the American South enthusiastically made churches the nerve centers of their neighborhoods, and black church societies extended help beyond their own congregations, even cooperatively founding an old age home. Tuennerman-Kaplan's examples of African-American church-based giving, which include whimsical tales of successful fund-raising teas that served only foods beginning with the letter "C," clearly show members of a poor community seeking as far as possible to shape their own lives and using their own resources to build community-wide bonds of pride and trust.

This book joins a growing body of scholarship that illustrates extensions of mutual aid among the working poor. Indeed, that phrase better describes the vast majority of the activities outlined than does the word "giving." Tuennerman-Kaplan claims that African Americans were "generous" in supporting their own community and "the city as a whole" (p. 123). However, she rarely is able to document what percentage among blacks or Italians were willing to "give." Philanthropists have always been a minority, even among the most fortunate. Were impoverished blacks and Italians any different? Moreover, this book's emphasis on the power of giving occasionally slights the bitter taste of frequent defeat. No doubt the blacks who tried to keep the racist film *Birth of a Nation* (1915) out of Cleveland theaters fought the good fight, but Tuennerman-Kaplan counts their effort as a victory for minor-

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ity self-empowerment without ever noting whether the campaign succeeded (p. 99).

The author implies that her history, unlike so many others, carefully considers the experiences of "recipients of philanthropy" (p. 12). In fact, it does not do so as well as the work of David T. Beito, which Tuennerman-Kaplan cites but does not incorporate. She claims that "an evaluation of Italian ideas about giving and their impact on Italian-American philanthropy has never been attempted" (p. 127). That is not entirely true; Beito's *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890–1967* (2000) explores traditions of Italian self-help extensively. Beito even documents cooperative early twentieth-century efforts between Florida-based Cuban and Italian immigrants that created flourishing hospital societies, a phenomenon that challenges Tuennerman-Kaplan's picture of Italians as secretive, open only to each other, and loath to give institutionally.

Finally, Tuennerman-Kaplan is certainly right that charitable activities were overwhelmingly the domain of states and localities in the nineteenth century. However, she is wrong that the "only two major examples of federal government involvement in the provision of welfare services in the nineteenth century were the Freedman's Bureau and the U. S. Sanitary Commission, both connected to the northern conduct of the Civil War" (p. 167). Also an outgrowth of Union victory but hugely more important was the postwar veterans' pension system, surely an example of federal welfare provision. The Disability Act of 1890 provided an annual benefit of $144 to Union army veterans and their widows. By the beginning of the twentieth century, pension payments swallowed almost one in every four federal dollars.

Still, Tuennerman-Kaplan's study is well worth reading. It emphasizes the need to synthesize, rather than particularize, a historical story and merges examination of philanthropy with study of working-class communities. That deserves encouragement and an audience.

JUDITH SEALANDER
Bowling Green State University

JOHN A. JAKLE. *City Lights: Illuminating the American Night*. (Landscapes of the Night.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 292. $45.00.

John A. Jakle's book offers a cultural geographer's view of the illumination of American cities. It is engagingly written, has many fine illustrations, and relies on much hitherto uncited material. The book divides into two main sections: a chronological overview of the evolution of outdoor lighting technology (pp. 19–92), and case studies of important applications such as streets, city celebrations, world's fairs, amusement parks, landmarks, electric signs, the "great white way," and main streets/commercial strips (pp. 93–254).

The overview begins with a brief chapter on gas and oil but focuses primarily on electric lighting after 1878. It is a useful synthesis that rejects determinism without, however, explicitly advocating another explanatory system. Jakle says little about the acrimonious debate concerning public vs. private power, and in his account "cities" adopt a sequence of different, overlapping lighting systems. He makes clear that after 1892 General Electric (GE) and Westinghouse completely dominated the electrical manufacturing industry, yet he neglects their extensive ownership of utility stocks and their instigation, through the National Electric Lighting Association, of enormous advertising and public relations campaigns between 1910 and 1930. Congress exhaustively investigated these activities, but Jakle overlooks the hearings. One need not subscribe to hegemony theories, yet the evidence that supports that view cannot simply be ignored.

The case studies contain much fascinating information, but it is often merely strung together. "Light as City Celebration," for example, briefly discusses seven urban festivals, but Jakle misses the opportunity to show how such spectacular events showcased new technologies from research laboratories at Westinghouse and GE. In other chapters, lighting displays often emerge as though no marketing had been involved. One near exception to this generalization is W. D'Arcy Ryan, who is mentioned six times. Yet Ryan is identified as "one of the nation's leading designers of light spectaculars" and not as head of GE's lighting laboratory for a quarter century. Jakle devotes only one page to the Society of Illuminating Engineers and does not cite the extensive published proceedings of their meetings, which reveal a good deal about how "white ways" were sold, resistance to electrical signs, and much more. When history is shorn of actors, chronology can help hold it together. Yet only eleven pages cover a century of lighting amusement parks, while twenty-six pages on the closely related subject of lighting world fairs stop in 1939. Similarly, lighting of public monuments is surveyed over a century, while the Great White Way and electric sign are given much more space, only to end in the 1930s.

In short, this book focuses primarily on landscapes, and is strong on evoking how things looked in the past. It is engagingly written and usefully mines periodicals and the trade press for new material. It builds convincingly on Jakle's earlier work on automotive landscapes. Yet it says too little about electric streetcar companies, which built the lion's share of the nation's amusement parks, for example, and which in *ca.* 1910 produced (and sold) more electricity than many street lighting companies. It is also surprising that a cultural geographer has written ten pages on Las Vegas, apparently without doing primary research there. The Young Sign Company built most of the lights now on the Strip, their backlot contains hundreds of abandoned signs, and their knowledge would have been, well, illuminating.

Finally, Jakle does not discuss theories about the social effects of night lighting. In *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World after Dark* (1987), Murray Melbin

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argues that people are using electricity to colonize the night and alter personality structures, as they break the twenty-four hour diurnal cycle. Rosalind Williams finds, like Walter Benjamin before her, that among fin-de-siècle Parisians "lighting by electrical power nurtured a collective sense of life in a dream world" (*Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* [1988], p. 85). I have argued that until *ca.* 1915, spectacular night lighting was a form of the technological sublime (David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime* [1994]). Such theories might provide a larger perspective on the illumination of the American night, a subject that still awaits a full historical study. Yet Jakle's book is fine as cultural geography. It synthesizes a wealth of materials and contains many unfamiliar examples. It shows the importance of the automobile in defining many aspects of public lighting, and even the specialist can read it with profit.

DAVID E. NYE
Syddansk University, Denmark

LAWRENCE J. VALE. *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 460. $45.00.

The history of public housing, like public housing itself, has long been a matter of marginal interest for both scholars and laypersons. What we commonly think of as public housing—the large, federally subsidized "projects" in big cities—has received little if any notice in textbooks and only passing attention in histories of the New Deal or the Great Society. Publicly supported housing before the New Deal has been almost entirely a subject for housing specialists. Lawrence J. Vale's sophisticated, ambitious, and engaging study of public housing in Boston makes it clear that this neglect is deeply entangled with "a long American tradition of sociospatial disdain" for poor citizens and a complex and dynamic ambivalence about how public authorities should deal with them. Avowing an intent to emphasize "public" more than "housing," this study places the history of the projects in the same rich vein of scholarship that has yielded valuable perspectives on welfare and other forms of social insurance, as "one public institution among many that grew in tandem with the modern nation-state."

One of the book's most important contributions is its long perspective on what many see as a recent phenomenon. Almost half of the work is devoted to a "prehistory of public housing," in which Vale traces three centuries of American conceptual struggle over how to treat "*public neighbors*, needy people unable or unwilling to meet the standards of industry or behavior in the community." The term "public neighbor" provides a central thread for the entire book, capturing issues of both collective responsibility and issues of proximity. In Boston, Vale sees a long shift from Puritan debates over Christian charity to nineteenth-century deliberations about cost-conscious civic management of undesirables, and a parallel shift from housing the needy poor within or near the homes of the prosperous to isolating them at ever greater distances. At the same time, deep-rooted cultural commitment to the ideal of single-family housing produced not only middle-class suburbs but many efforts to reward worthy workers with single-family homes. By the 1930s, accumulated experience with tenement reform, philanthropic housing, and planning notions like Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" concept had convinced many policy makers that public resources should support clearing slums and replacing them with low density superblocks full of upwardly mobile workers. The poor residents of squalid slums would benefit from being forced out—although few thought much about where they would go. The result, before any large projects of public housing had been begun, was a conceptual commitment to "public neighborhoods without public neighbors," in which those most in need of subsidized housing were already marginalized from the process that would create it.

In the second half of the book, Vale uses this "conceptual genealogy" to explore the tangled history of federally subsidized public housing. He sees the first two decades (1934–1954) as an effort to build "selective collectives," which continued the tradition of rewarding worthy workers. A long section titled "Public Housing as Slum Reform" shows the fascinating process by which old ideals and national models translated into site selection and policy governing Boston's first wave of projects. After 1955, neglected needs and a changing, increasingly African-American clientele brought the Boston Housing Authority, like many others, into misadventures in "managing poverty and race" and ultimately into court-ordered receivership from 1980 to 1984. The concept of public neighbors serves the author well in threading the complexities of this history, which involved a welter of new actors, agencies, and agendas but which also played out once again an old dance around the central problems of how and where to house the poorest citizens.

A work of such impressive sweep, reflecting great erudition, almost inevitably suffers from certain flaws. In an effort to characterize general cultural movement, Vale overuses the term "ambivalence," which certainly applies to the long-term American approach to poverty but masks the fact that many of his actors were not at all ambivalent, were engaged rather in clear struggles involving competing interests. A related problem is that the public neighbors who are so central to the story have very little voice. To be fair, Vale's concern is with the formation of ideas and policies rather than with the history of poor people, but there are points at which the activities of paupers, tenement dwellers, and public housing tenants clearly shaped the making of policy, and these deserve more attention. Still, this is an imaginative, exciting, and valuable book that should

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enlighten many a student and stimulate many a scholar to further research.

HENRY BINFORD
Northwestern University

LAURIE A. WILKIE. *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity in Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840–1950*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2000. Pp. xxv, 294. Cloth $69.95, paper $24.95.

Material culture can be a wonderful source of information for historians when they study the inarticulate. Like practicing Jesse Lemisch's "history from the bottom up," records such as censuses, tax rolls, court cases, and estate inventories and wills can combine with objects to provide a more substantial understanding of groups who did not leave their own records. In certain instances the objects become their own records. Researchers, however, must be proficient in the language of the artifact to read them accurately. Another problem is that no universal language of the artifact really exists; rather, many do, all dependent on the different disciplines that have traditionally dealt with objects—art history, the history of technology, antiquarianism, and archaeology. Historians, who are not usually versed or trained in material culture (or the other disciplines), are reluctant to use objects as documents because they cannot read them as such.

Consequently, while Laurie A. Wilkie's book is the refined product of her dissertation, and before that the site report for a multiyear excavation at Oakley Plantation, it emanates from an archaeological rather than a historical perspective. Historians may find themselves frustrated in obtaining any clear significance from this work, unless they can assess an assemblage of artifacts and understand their meaning. In addition, the social science method of citation will keep historians flipping back and forth to the bibliography to see the exact work to which the author refers.

Wilkie follows four African-American families who resided on Oakley Plantation, in West Feliciana parish, Louisiana, as slaves and hired help, over a period that spanned the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. She argues that African-American families utilized their identities ("sense of self") to form "strong communities that offered solidarity, spiritual comfort, and alternate access to goods and services" that helped them combat racism (p. 4). In order to prove her thesis, Wilkie moves from the general context and theory for her study, in chapters one and two, to a more specific topic such as the plantation as a "microcosm" for the entire parish, and finally to the archaeology of the site and the families who inhabited the plantation.

The result is a well-researched and argued narrative of African-American life on Oakley plantation drawn from both documentary and artifactual records. The later chapters concerning the artifacts and how they help "tell the story" of the families who lived on the plantation are the strongest. Historians may find the early chapters of the book to be the weakest components; there is much discussion of theory and process but little on historiography. In addition, while lamenting the lack of archaeological studies on African Americans on plantations, the author fails to mention excavations that dealt with these topics at Colonial Williamsburg, Monticello, and the Hermitage. Published site reports for these excavations may not exist, but surely sufficient research does to help place Wilkie's study in better context.

JOHANNA MILLER LEWIS
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WALTER L. BUENGER. *The Path to a Modern South: Northeast Texas between Reconstruction and the Great Depression*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2001. Pp. xxvi, 342. Cloth $55.00, paper $27.50.

This book takes a new approach to explaining the connections between Texas and the South. Walter L. Beunger looks closely at eleven counties in the extreme northeastern section of the state during the period 1887 to 1930. He considers the region one of the most southern in the state and the period one of the most neglected by both Texas and southern historians, and he questions the traditional view that nothing of much import happened in the old Confederate states before the New Deal and World War II. He also considers the old question of whether Texas is a southern or western state.

Buenger acknowledges the problems in testing his thesis: the diversity, size, and location of Texas, the lack of helpful secondary sources, the contradictory details and incomplete evidence. Thus, he chooses to examine a representative part in search of the whole picture. He looks at the economy, politics, culture, race, and religion of the area.

As in the antebellum period, cotton continued to be an important crop, and, as in the South, the labor system shifted from slave to tenant and sharecropping, but more opportunity in other areas offered an escape for dissatisfied workers. Timber, oil, and railroads stimulated the economy, prompting the growth of small cities, merchandising, and small factories. By 1890, Buenger found, the economy of northeast Texas surpassed that of the South, a trend that continued.

Political parties were fluid immediately after 1887, with three factions customarily dividing the vote so that one could not win without support from another. By early in the next century, following patterns in the South, white primaries and the poll tax created the Democratic Party that excluded blacks and many poor whites from the electorate. A win in the Democratic primary was tantamount to election and, although often tainted by fraud, the party dominated the state until after World War II, thus assuring long tenures and seniority for the congressmen and senators sent to Washington. But the Democratic Party was also di-

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vided into factions, most often by the issues of prohibition and woman suffrage. Ironically, the primaries that excluded blacks boosted the cause of women, who were given the right to vote in them. As a result, a woman was elected to statewide office in Texas before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Racism was a thread that ran through the culture as well as the economy and politics. Brutal lynchings characterized the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After World War I, lynchings dwindled, but for some years the Ku Klux Klan terrorized and harassed citizens, mostly blacks but also others, in the name of purifying society. Buenger credits both lynchings and the Ku Klux Klan to the dominant Protestant religion. In the 1920s, blacks began striking back, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People established chapters to lead their defense.

With the passage of time, Buenger found the region becoming less southern, more Texan, and ultimately more American. The monuments and myths illustrate the transformation. In the early 1900s, Confederate veterans' organizations sponsored the building of monuments to glorify the Lost Cause in every county seat, that in Lamar County being the most elaborate. After World War I, several entrepreneurs proposed memorials to honor jointly the veterans of that war and the Civil War. About the same time, local orators shifted from the rhetoric of the "Lost Cause" to the glories of the Texas Revolution, and Texans began celebrating again the Fourth of July. Thus, by mindset as well as other factors, northeastern Texans were prepared by 1930 to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the federal government in the New Deal and World War II.

Buenger has previously explored the southernness of Texas, most notably in *Secession and the Union in Texas* (1984). His scholarship is broad, his work well documented, and his approach intriguing.

MARILYN MCADAMS SIBLEY
Huntsville, Texas

BROOKS BLEVINS. *Hill Folks: A History of Arkansas Ozarkers and Their Image*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 340. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Brooks Blevins tells two different stories in this book. The first is a history of the settlement, life, and economic development of the Arkansas Ozarks. The second details how folklorists, travelers, and tourists crafted a folksy, hillbilly image for the Ozarks. Ironically, the image of the Ozarkers as lost in time took hold precisely when the Ozarks region itself was modernizing and the subsistence lifestyle celebrated in the image was disappearing.

Settled by migrants from the Appalachians, the Ozarks were still a frontier by the outbreak of the Civil War. Connection to the larger market economy came after the war with improved transportation. While some Ozarkers practiced subsistence agriculture, others produced cotton, fruit, or livestock for the market. Mining and logging brought (often temporary) prosperity and non-farm jobs to Ozarkers in the early twentieth century. The Great Depression helped end the semi-subsistence lifestyle of many Ozarkers. New Deal programs encouraged diversification in agriculture and dairy and poultry raising expanded. Relief and farm programs brought Ozarkers income and unprecedented dependence on the federal government, while the Rural Electrification Administration brought power to their homes. The World War II era also saw the publication of important works by folklorist Vance Randolph and tourist writer Otto Ernest Rayburn that fostered the legend of the Ozarkers as remnants of an earlier era. Some emphasized the innocence and self-reliance of that idealized past, others its poverty and backwardness, but all believed that past to be alive in the Ozarks. Blevins disagrees.

Throughout its history, the Ozarks blended the traditional with the modern. In the nineteenth century, while many Ozarks children had no schools to attend, the legislature located the state university at Fayetteville. A region celebrated for backwardness gave birth to Wal-Mart, one of the largest employers in the country, and to Senator William J. Fulbright, renowned for his influence on United States foreign policy. The contrast between traditional and modern became particularly glaring after World War II. While many Ozarkers, unable to make a living, left the region, retirees and tourists from the Midwest, "back-to-the-landers," found in the Ozarks an alternative to big cities and modern industrial life. They idealized a primitive society supposedly preserved in the Ozarks where backwoodsmen still spoke Shakespearean English and played long-lost ballads. Such a society no longer existed in the Ozarks, if it ever had. Ozarkers, in search of the tourist dollar, now turned to folk festivals and theme parks that celebrated their rustic image. At these festivals, ironically, the performers and craftsmen are often non-Ozarkers.

Throughout the book, Blevins uses the experiences of real Ozarkers such as the farmer Doyle Webb and the governor Orval Faubus to examine the trends engulfing the region. The transition between Blevins's two stories is not always seamless, but the book contains a wealth of information about the Ozarks that will be useful to anyone interested in the region and a cautionary tale about the divergence between image and reality.

NICOLE ETCHESON
University of Texas, El Paso

WILLIAM G. JORDAN. *Black Newspapers and America's War for Democracy, 1914–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. 241. Cloth $39.95, paper $18.95.

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The printed press is among the most neglected subjects in American history, even as it often provides the primary sources on which that history rests. African-American newspapers share that fate, as they, too, are reliably and repeatedly mined by those in search of the history of black culture and politics but ignored in broader treatments of American institutions.

Casting into this void is William G. Jordan's book, a useful descriptive account of the African-American press during the World War I era. Written in a clear and lucid manner, this book links the black press of the early twentieth century with its predecessors in anti-slavery and post-Reconstruction eras. The bulk of the book, however, is a detailed rendering of the tensions and conflicts that black newspapers faced when United States entry into war led them and their readers to debate why black people should remain "loyal to a flawed nation."

That dilemma was not a new one, nor would it be the last time that African Americans would feel the tug of divided loyalties in wartime or seek racial democracy at home while the nation fought for democracy abroad. Jordan's book provides a narrative of the variety of African-American political thought on that contradiction during World War I, as evidenced in the reporting and editorial pages of black newspapers. Beyond that, Jordan takes us behind the scenes, recounting state surveillance and threats of censorship that accompanied fears of black wartime unrest and disloyalty. He is correct to point to the shrewd inversion of democratic rhetoric that black newspaper editors employed to link the loyalty issue to the antilynching campaign and other domestic racial issues. This is refreshing as it provides a historical precedent for use against those who argue, in a short-sighted way, that this tactic only emerged as a product of later Cold War politics.

Despite the clarity of its presentation, this book's ultimate arguments are weakened by Jordan's urge to defend the black press from critics who have accused it of passively toning down its rhetoric in the face of government pressures. This leads him to try to assess the success and effectiveness of the political mission of black newspapers in this period. This is not an uncommon temptation when one writes about any aspect of the media. We are conditioned by the media's more easily measured consumerist functions to expect to be able to answer those questions, even when we are talking about promoting ideas and not about selling toothpaste or automobiles. In the end, Jordan is not able to make any conclusive assessment along those lines. The lesson here is that these are not the most salient questions to bring to the study of the media and politics; inquiries about the processes of editorial decisions and about what gets printed and what does not often provide more relevant historical insights.

Patrick Washburn's *A Question of Sedition: The Federal Government's Investigation of the Black Press During World War II* (1986) provides a less optimistic and less complimentary portrayal of black press political activities in that period—and of the virulence of the threat of state censorship. Jordan is responding in part to this, although Washburn's text does not enter this book until its final pages. Jordan seeks to defend black editors as being neither passive nor accommodating, as he tries to recapture a sense of political optimism that he believes they shared, along with W. E. B. Du Bois and others, about the potential for racial progress at the war's end. Neglected or actively dismissed in this account are those black publications that embraced what Jordan views as a more radical and more pessimistic political stance, including A. Philip Randolph's *The Messenger* and Marcus Garvey's *Negro World*.

The other absent (yet very present) figure in Jordan's text is World War II, when the black press hit its stride as a potent political force. Part of Jordan's defensiveness about the earlier era stems from his looking forward to a period in which the press could be more easily portrayed in heroic terms. Still, there are ways of exploring the differences in the black press that do not require a defense or an attack on the editors, but that look more to the changing demographic and political landscape in which the black newspaper business functioned in the twentieth century.

Jordan's book is instructive reading for undergraduate students in African-American and U.S. political and media history. His work whets the appetite for more extended historical treatments of the print media in the twentieth century.

BARBARA DIANNE SAVAGE
University of Pennsylvania

JONATHAN SCOTT HOLLOWAY. *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919–1941*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 290. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.95.

As Jonathan Scott Holloway notes in his introduction, the subjects of his study—economist Abram Harris, Jr., sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, and political scientist Ralph Bunche—have already attracted varying degrees of historical interest. Bunche has received the most attention, Harris the least.

Holloway opens his book with the Second Amenia Conference in 1933. Hosted by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) president Joel E. Spingarn, the conference was intended to bring together young African-American leaders to create new solutions to the new problems African Americans faced in the Depression. Harris, Frazier, and Bunche attended, and all three saw themselves as part of a new generation and framed their work to distinguish it from the work of the "race men" of a previous generation. All three men had some connection to Howard University in Washington, D.C., the center of black intellectual life in the United States for the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, one of the great strengths of Holloway's book

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is its vivid portrayal of the culture of Howard University during this time.

Holloway's book nicely highlights the dilemmas faced by African-American social scientists. Social science achieves its cultural authority by promising to offer "objective" knowledge about society. Yet African-American social scientists were, more or less, forced into the study of racial problems, the one area where their objectivity would be most suspect. There was no perfect solution for this dilemma, and each man chose a different way to deal with it. Harris, for example, offered what he thought were objective and workable plans for class-based actions to solve the economic woes that beset African Americans during the Great Depression. Many activists were frustrated with the NAACP's slowness to offer programs to aid workers and the unemployed. Harris believed that any program designed to advance the race needed to take into account the economic realities of class. After being repeatedly frustrated in his attempts to advance his programs, Harris abandoned race research in 1938 and became one of the few African-American social scientists who was not studying race relations.

Unlike Harris, Frazier never abandoned the study of race and race relations. Like Harris, Frazier believed that slavery and segregation had seriously affected the structure and stability of African-American culture. Holloway gives a good account of Frazier's famous dispute with anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits on the question of the survival of African cultural traits. Holloway frames the dispute as part of a larger conflict between the mentors of its two participants: anthropologist Franz Boas and sociologist Robert Park. Where the Boasians looked for African survivals as evidence to use against the prevalent belief that Africa had no history or culture, Park and his students saw the "pathology" of black culture as part of the larger race relations cycle as old cultural patterns were broken down and replaced with new forms of social organization. Of course, both sides of the dispute saw themselves as doing battle against scientific racism as well as against each other. Eventually, Holloway notes, Frazier's ideas about the pathology of the black family fell into disrepute in the 1960s and 1970s as notions of black cultural pathology were seen as manifestations of the very racism that Frazier was attempting to combat.

Views of Frazier's work have changed over time as the context for that work changed. Views of Bunche, by contrast, changed because Bunche himself underwent a transformation. The political radical of the prewar period gradually faded away as Bunche became the "consummate insider" of the postwar United States. Holloway points to *A World View of Race*, created in the 1930s at the request of Alain Locke, as a window on Bunche's thought. In this short pamphlet, Bunche argued that race was constructed by the privileged classes in order keep the masses under their power. Indeed, much of what recent whiteness scholars have argued is anticipated in Bunche's work, where he lays out his ideas on the social construction of race and racial categories.

Holloway skillfully locates the work of his three subjects in their social and political contexts. This book will be valuable for those who are interested in the growing field of African-American intellectual history.

JOHN P. JACKSON, JR.
University of Colorado, Boulder

WENDY KLINE. *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 218. $35.00.

Wendy Kline offers a considerable reinterpretation of eugenics in the United States, arguing that the movement did not decline in the 1930s and 1940s. Instead, she insists, it achieved its greatest "triumph" (p.147) during the 1950s. Kline reads the baby boom's dramatic increase in fertility as clear evidence that the white middle-class embraced the "reproductive morality" (p. 2) espoused by positive eugenics (the encouragement of larger families among those "best-suited" to parent). She concludes that the 1950s thus represented the "golden age of Eugenics" (p. 156). Previous scholars missed the significance of eugenics to the pronatalist culture of the 1950s, she asserts, because they have largely ignored the influence eugenicists had on twentieth-century gender and family roles. In a "country-wide crusade" (p. 1), eugenicists "sought to modernize morality" (p. 2). But expanding beyond the conventional definition of eugenics (racial improvement through selective breeding), Kline argues, eugenic reproductive morality placed motherhood at the center of women's lives and encouraged them to consider the impact of their procreative practices on American society.

The first study to examine the eugenics movement from a gender perspective, Kline's work fills a gap in the literature. She focuses on the influence eugenicists had on public debates about girls' sexuality in the 1920s and on marriage counseling in the 1950s, and in popular culture narratives of appropriate maternity throughout the period. The early chapters examine sterilization policies and practices in California state institutions, which accounted for the overwhelming majority of female sterilizations before 1950. Kline effectively traces how eugenic research and advocacy provided the rationale for the compulsory sterilization of sexually unruly girls. By sterilizing such young women, society would be protected from the consequences of their obvious mental deficiency.

Kline's analysis of popular culture includes insightful readings of novels such as *Janet March* and *Stella Dallas*, and press coverage of the 1936 Anna Cooper Hewitt case. All these texts, she argues, hinge on resolving questions of women's sexual propriety and maternal fitness through eugenic reproductive morality, which urged socially responsible procreation. She

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devotes a full chapter to the Hewitt case. Discounting the reasoning articulated by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Buck v. Bell* (1927), Kline concludes that it was the Hewitt case that legitimated the eugenic principle that individual sacrifice of reproductive capacity was justified to protect society. The Hewitt case is important to Kline because it generated far more press coverage than *Buck*, and did so in a time period "after most historians claim the movement vanished" (p. 156).

In the final chapter, Kline offers an engaging account of Paul Popenoe's career as "the man who saves marriages." An avid sterilization supporter in the 1920s, by the 1950s Popenoe was a very successful marriage counselor who headed up a large practice in southern California and wrote a regular column for *The Ladies Home Journal*. Kline's argument that positive eugenics "paved the way" (p. 125) for the pronatalist culture of the baby boom hinges on her assessment of Popenoe's influence on American marriages and on a redefinition of eugenics. Arguing that eugenics abandoned its racialized hereditarian language and embraced environmental thinking in the 1930s, the reproductive morality she connects with eugenics in the 1950s consists of socially responsible procreation in traditionally gender-differentiated nuclear families.

Some readers may find that Kline's broad definition obscures the influences of other longstanding values in American reproductive morality such as Malthusianism, religion, and national security. Those concerned with disability studies may be disappointed that the book, in abandoning the centrality of genetics to eugenic history, does not take up the issue of genetic counseling. Historians of science may find that she slights the work of Daniel Kevles, who, in *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (1985), also argues that eugenics shifted to a less herediatarian emphasis in the 1930s. Kevles concludes, however, that the influence of eugenics declined in the 1930s and 1940s. While acknowledging that existing historiography may have underestimated gender and sexuality, some readers may find that Kline's interpretation, focused narrowly on sterilization and marriage counseling, gives them too much weight. Finally, readers may find that the threads she traces between eugenic ideology and popular culture are too slender to support such a sweeping reinterpretation of the history of eugenics. In any case, Kline's analysis is very suggestive and should generate a lively debate about eugenics, gender roles, and sexual politics.

CAROLE MCCANN
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

BECKY M. NICOLAIDES. *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920–1965*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 412. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.00.

Becky M. Nicolaides's magnificent book is unlikely to restore luster to the tarnished reputation of American suburbs. Nicolaides links many problems of the American metropolis to the suburban fringe, but, unlike many previous critics, she has assembled ample unflattering data to buttress her criticism. Most notably, she demonstrates that white working-class suburban values, cultivated over nearly half a century of community building, played as important a role in the urban crisis as the more common explanations of destructive federal policy and elite suburban exclusivity.

The book, set primarily in South Gate, California, begins in the 1920s with a thick portrait of life in this white, working-class suburb of Los Angeles. Industrial growth, labor issues, social characteristics, consumption patterns, and religious life all receive extensive treatment. Nicolaides, like Richard Harris, believes that scholars have paid too little attention to owner building by the working class in suburbs before World War II, and she devotes considerable ingenuity to reconstructing these informal efforts. Unlike Harris, however, Nicolaides only demonstrates the existence of owner-built housing in South Gate and does not succeed in creating a comprehensive analysis of Los Angeles suburban owner-builder patterns of the type Harris created for Toronto.

Nicolaides demonstrates more convincingly that the dispersed nature of working-class life in the 1920s gave residents a "cosmopolitan" perspective linked less to local institutions and more to family and individual concerns. This metropolitan outlook created tensions between the local business classes desirous of a "suburb beautiful" and working-class home owners asked to pay for it. Half-finished town improvements of the 1920s become tax liabilities during the Great Depression and spurred working-class interest in the New Deal and other state aid. This temporary support for statist solutions, however, was limited to programs that would prop up homeownership, including the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA).

The postwar period transformed South Gate into a mobile and prosperous working-class community with better-quality housing, abundant public improvements, diverse leisure activities, and improving educational opportunities. Owner building all but disappeared (although do-it-yourself renovation did not), replaced entirely by federally insured and conventional mortgages. Defying sterotypical suburban portraits, Nicolaides finds surprising numbers of women in the workforce, labor militancy (focused entirely on wage issues), and an increase in the number of multifamily units. On the whole, however, the ideology of the nuclear family and homeownership concealed and helped knit together diversity of condition and outlook among the working-class members of the community.

Growing fear of bordering black neighborhoods during the 1950s and 1960s led to political realignments as Democrats voted Republican, Republicans and many conservative Democrats became more open

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in their segregationist ideals, and conflict erupted over integration of stores, housing, and schools. Because middle-class identity was so closely tied to home ownership, any perceived threats to the status of that home threatened the fragile middle-class status of these workers.

Nicolaides, like Lisa McGirr, shows that rather than being manipulated from above, residents of suburban communities such as South Gate generated the conservative politics and politicians of the 1960s. Liberal politicians, civil rights leaders, and labor unions found themselves tagged by conservative grass-roots leaders as "special interests" and outside agitators set on undermining the rights of American citizens. Many studies, including those by Thomas J. Sugrue and Arnold Hirsch, have documented white neighborhood "defense," but rarely has the story been so well told from the white perspective.

The narrative ends abruptly in 1965 as white residents defend their neighborhood from riots and integration with guns and Republican ballots. The epilogue resumes in the present and describes South Gate as a primarily Hispanic and African-American community. White flight and the intervening years are not described in any detail. This is an odd choice. White flight had disastrous results, but it was not, after "defensive" techniques generally failed, a drawn-out street battle. Ending the main narrative with the riots is a dramatic choice but a misleading one. America since the 1960s has been notable for both a deep urban crisis and the lack of long-term mob violence and street fighting between racial groups, but Nicolaides fails to address neighborhood change.

Throughout the book, Nicolaides deftly intertwines census records, local press, unpublished sociological studies, oral histories, and physical analysis to give voice to her subjects. By effectively combining this complex mass of data with thoughtful and extensive analysis, Nicolaides has created a book of great value to historians of cities, labor, politics, and society.

NICHOLAS BLOOM
Tulane University

MATT GARCIA. *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970.* (Studies in Rural Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 330. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Growing up in Pomona near Interstate 10 during the 1970s and 1980s, Matt Garcia came to understand the suburban sprawls of southern California almost as second nature. But he also knew that his home had once been the heart of the citrus belt, which, during the first half of the twentieth century, stretched sixty miles through the San Gabriel and San Bernardino Valleys, from Pasadena to Riverside. How citrus became suburbia is the central theme of his intriguing book. As a child of mixed heritage (his mother was Anglo and his father Mexican), Garcia gained a unique perspective on race relations in the region, and as a scholar of ethnic studies he developed the skills to expand and articulate that perspective. Readers of this book will greatly benefit from his personal and scholarly insights. Mexican Americans, Garcia argues, "overcame labor exploitation, segregation, and racism to participate in the creation of Greater Los Angeles" (p. 12). They did so not so much through unionizing, strikes, and other overt forms of resistance but through "cultural politics." In semiautonomous *colonias*, churches, local theaters, dance halls, radio stations, and interethnic community groups, Mexican Angelenos created "public spaces" for themselves that significantly shaped the physical and cultural geography of southern California.

Because the book challenges several prevailing thrusts in California history and ethnic studies, it is sure to generate some heat and criticism. Recent claims notwithstanding, farm size alone tells us very little about citrus culture in California, Garcia insists. The "family farm," no matter how small, never really took root because "ranchers depended on some form of hired help from the very beginning" (p. 35). More controversial still will be Garcia's assertion that music and dance were just as important as pickets and boycotts in expressing Mexican-American resistance to the dominant culture. While conducting his research, Garcia found it puzzling, at first, that "violent conflicts between labor and capital" were few and far between in the citrus belt compared to the San Joaquin Valley or even nearby Orange County. Were performances at the Padua Hills Theater in Claremont and Rainbow Gardens in Pomona "equally relevant" to the big strikes in other agricultural regions in California, readers will ask and debate, or has Garcia, in his effort to find "agency," made these "artistic expressions" a virtue out of necessity (pp. 4, 7, 117)? Still other readers will regard the emphasis on "cooperation and accommodation" in Mexican-American popular culture as "romantic" at best and an insult to the contemporary Chicano struggle at worst (pp. 9, 154). All in all, the issues are fascinating, and the boldness with which they are raised is refreshing.

The book is not without its flaws, however. Garcia relies heavily on oral history, a methodology that necessitated, as he states in his introduction, "a healthy tolerance for ambiguity and complexity." Readers may not be so tolerant. His claims to the contrary, Garcia is less likely to ground the interviews he conducted in "documentary evidence," than to bolster them with arguments from authority (p. 9). Sentences such as "As Vicki Ruiz notes in her book, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*" pervade the text (pp. 165–66). Gratuitous references to Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, and Edward Soja and an infatuation with Carey McWilliams (including long quotations that start every chapter) do not help the author's cause either. He never stopped to ask, or so it seems, if his favorite scholars might have been wrong. Nor does Garcia analyze (or even include in his bibliography)

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numerous scholarly works that do not support his arguments (including my own, in the interest of full disclosure). The watchwords that are mouthed over and over ("public space," "essentialized identities," "hegemonic," "counter-hegemonic") leave a similar impression. Such distractions not only undermine the originality of the argument; they also give the book an elliptical quality. Citrus itself, for example, is prominent in the early, more production-oriented chapters but virtually absent in the more culturally oriented chapters that follow.

Still, Garcia is on to something in this book. He demonstrates convincingly that there was much more than labor activism involved in race relations in southern California, and his cultural emphasis provides an analytical strategy for future scholars to ponder. With all that we know about California agriculture in the 1930s and earlier, we know surprisingly little about postwar developments except for the rise and fall of the United Farm Workers. Garcia's book is a start in the right direction.

DAVID VAUGHT
Texas A&M University

JAMES H. MERIWETHER. *Proudly We Can be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935–1961.* (The John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 336. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

The American image of, and relationship with, Africa has attracted increasing critical attention during the past decade. In particular, the deepening African-American engagement with the "mother continent" (and the wider colonial landscape) in the crucible and aftermath of World War II has been the subject of a number of notable works, including Brenda Gayle Plummer's *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960* (1996) and Penny Von Eschen's *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937–1957* (1997). James H. Meriwether has carried this enterprise a step further with a work that endeavors—and largely succeeds—in doing full justice to the richness and diversity of African-American opinion during that crucial period encompassing the civil rights struggle at home and decolonization and "national liberation" abroad.

Meriwether has constructed a sophisticated analysis that works at multiple levels. He considers how domestic politics and international affairs established a practical framework for, and set realistic limits to, the dynamic of African-American activism; he examines the impact of major political events in Africa on the evolving struggle for justice and equality in the United States (in particular, on the strategy and tactics that were developed to advance it); and he explains how, at some times, significant developments on the African continent exposed (and exacerbated) serious philosophical and organizational divisions within the civil rights movement, while at other times they served as a rallying point for concerted action. Meriwether makes effective use of the secondary literature and the expected range of archival sources, but, beyond this, his book is immeasurably strengthened by generous recourse to the African-American press (both newspapers and periodicals).

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the African-American view of the ancestral continent was shaped by the symbolic conventions of the encapsulating culture, which classified Africa and Africans as "primitive" and in need of "redemption" and "uplift." According to Meriwether, the first crucial step in breaking this paradigm was triggered by the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, which brought forth a wave of sympathy on the part of black Americans for the plight of this independent African nation. This popular interest intensified during World War II, fueled by the rhetoric of the leaders of the "Free World," which held out the prospect of a postwar order in which decolonization could be regarded as a practical goal rather than a distant dream.

Up to this point, although there was no real institutional base for the African-American approach to the continent, there was still a considerable degree of unanimity among black American leaders on the goal of an independent Africa—to be achieved sooner rather than later—and the means by which they could contribute to this outcome. As Meriwether demonstrates, however, with the onset of the Cold War this consensus rapidly fell apart. The mainstream elements of the civil rights movement felt compelled to frame their strategy within the reigning anticommunist sensibility. Meriwether is at his most effective when he examines the political marginalization of Paul Robeson (and the Council on African Affairs, in which he was a key figure) and W. E. B. Du Bois, whose internationalism and anticolonialism had taken too radical a turn for his colleagues in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. By the late 1940s, the African-American political engagement with the continent had been seriously compromised by a pattern of ideological and tactical discord.

This setback for transatlantic sensibility did not last long, however, and the stimulus for its renewal came from South Africa. Meriwether makes a strong case that the "Defiance Campaign" launched by the African National Congress in 1952 played a vital role not only by refocusing attention on the continent but by offering "to all a dramatic example of nonviolent direct action, an approach not widely advocated by African Americans at the time" (p. 121). As this method of resistance became a fundamental tool of the American civil rights movement, and as Africans became increasingly assertive in their calls for independence, the bonds between the motherland and African-Americans—emotional, political, and cultural—grew more substantial and extensive. In subsequent chapters, Meriwether explains how the suppression of the "Mau Mau" movement in Kenya in the mid-1950s, the

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independence of Ghana in 1957, and Africa's "Year of Independence" in 1960 provided the motive force for a cumulative process that would, by the end of the decade, render the majority of African Americans able to proclaim confidently, once again, that "proudly, we can be Africans."

DENNIS HICKEY
Edinboro University of Pennsylvania

JOHN A. KIRK. *Redefining the Color Line: Black Activism in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1940–1970.* (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2002. Pp. xx, 243. $39.95.

Millions of Americans remember the violent scenes outside Little Rock's Central High School in September 1957 as segregationists mobbed nine African-American students attempting to integrate the school. Younger people may have seen the television footage in the *Eyes on the Prize* documentary series or read the account of a participant. Now John A. Kirk has crafted a concise chronological narrative of the events surrounding that dramatic confrontation. He argues persuasively that the story is best understood from the viewpoint of the African-American activists, that a longer time frame helps to illuminate the movement, and that a local rather than national context puts the events into proper perspective. His monograph is clearly written, based in a wide range of sources, fairminded, and attractive to a broad audience.

Kirk highlights the work of early civil rights activists and shows how they laid a groundwork for the post-*Brown v. Board of Education* period. Arkansas blacks challenged, with varying degrees of success, the white primary, segregation in higher education, police brutality, and teacher pay inequality. Through these struggles, new leaders and organizations emerged, and older ones, like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), were strengthened. Local activists such as John Marshall Robinson, William Harold Flowers of Pine Bluff, and Wiley Branton made possible the emergence of militant editor Daisy Bates as state leader of the NAACP in 1952.

Bates, along with her husband Lucious C. Bates, edited the weekly *State Press*. When Governor Orval E. Faubus and school superintendent Virgil T. Blossom delayed desegregation under the "all deliberate speed" language of the *Brown* implementation decree, the NAACP sued on behalf of thirty-three black applicants to white schools. The case, known as *Aaron v. Cooper*, failed at the first level when an NAACP national attorney disregarded local activists, who had deployed narrow language in the suit. On appeal, a higher court ruled that the school board must carry out the limited plan to which it had already agreed.

The superintendent then picked the students who would become known as the Little Rock Nine. Daisy Bates became their organizer, advisor, and protector, and a target of venomous irredentists. Faubus fought the court order by having the National Guard bar the schoolhouse door. Segregationists rioted at the entrance, attacking black reporters and a terrified lone black female student who was rescued by a sympathetic white woman. President Dwight D. Eisenhower then had little choice but to federalize the Guard and dispatch Army troops to the scene. The African-American students endured a year of taunting and harassment, but at the end of it Ernest Green became the first black graduate of Central High School.

The desegregation fight provided momentum to challenge the Jim Crow system in other areas, but the struggle was by no means simple. Local judges handed down stiff penalties to students who sat in at Little Rock lunch counters. A boycott of segregated stores collapsed for lack of community support. The police permitted a sizable crowd to menace interstate Freedom Riders, who suffered arrest. Ultimately, black professionals brought suit in federal court against the city board of directors to force desegregation of public facilities, and a second wave of protesters marched downtown and renewed the sit-ins. By early 1963, Little Rock merchants negotiated a phased desegregation plan, which went forward under cover of a face-saving media blackout. By 1972, Arkansas blacks had registered to vote in significant numbers and returned the second highest number of African-American officials in the South.

Yet, Kirk shows that deeper problems remained intractable. Black workers clustered at the bottom of the economic scale, and few black businesses prospered. Housing patterns remained segregated. Serious problems festered in the criminal justice system, which were highlighted by the wrongful death of a prison inmate. In the late 1960s, a new generation of militants advanced agendas to address these problems, but they met with little success.

While Little Rock is at the center of this story, Arkansas emerges as a unique political entity. Kirk presents the state as divided by a northeast to southwest diagonal, in whose lower half the large majority of African-American people live. This area has a Deep South cast, but the upper section of white yeoman farmers, while hostile to black aspirations, is animated more by economic populism. In the postwar period, the mechanization of agriculture depopulated the rural areas, causing a black influx to the cities. These new black communities, especially in Little Rock, felt self-confident enough to press for their rights soon after the war. Arkansas whites never produced a base for the "massive resistance" that characterized the Deep South states. Governor Faubus, Kirk reminds us, hesitated for a long time before calculating that his political future would be best assured by pursuing a policy of stalling rather than racist agitation. In the late 1960s, Arkansans elected as governor the liberal, northern-born Republican Winthrop Rockefeller (with the backing of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) and in 1970 picked liberal Democrat Dale Bumpers.

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Kirk has drawn from an impressive list of manuscript collections, newspapers, memoirs, and secondary sources to construct this account. He conducted over thirty oral history interviews with key African American participants. The narrative action delivers the high drama of the moment, and the analysis is balanced and thoughtful. Anyone planning a course on the modern civil rights movement would do well to include this valuable monograph on the reading list.

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GUADALUPE SAN MIGUEL, JR. *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston.* (University of Houston Series in Mexican American Studies, number 3.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 283. $34.95.

In this fascinating study, Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., continues his exploration of ethnic Mexicans' struggle with the American public education system by focusing on the checkered history of school desegregation in the sprawling, deeply segregated wards of Houston, Texas, in the early 1970s. San Miguel chronicles the convoluted developments surrounding a federal district court's May 1970 order to the Houston Independent School District (HISD) to desegregate its schools. An outgrowth of litigation stemming from the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark *Brown vs. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education* ruling in 1954, the district court's 1970 order provided an indication of just how long it took for the Supreme Court's federal mandate to be implemented in local school districts. San Miguel deftly shows how much local conditions had changed during that time. When the suit was filed by local African-American activists, soon after the *Brown* decision, desegregation in Houston primarily involved relationships between blacks and whites. By the 1970s, however, like other places in the American Southwest, the growth of the Mexican-origin and pan-Latino populations had introduced important new players into Houston's increasingly volatile political mix. This was the rub.

Despite a growing national trend to recognize Mexican Americans as an "identifiable minority group" with unique claims to redress before the courts and other government bodies, the district court ruled in the Houston case that "for desegregation purposes, Mexican American school-age children were officially considered . . . to be 'white' " (p. 75). In issuing its ruling, the court in essence decided that integrating Mexican-American students with Houston's black students was sufficient. Following suit, the HISD board then voted to implement the court-mandated desegregation plan by "pairing" predominantly black schools with predominantly Mexican-American schools for the purposes of integration. While black and Mexican-American students were soon being bused to schools that were either predominately black or Mexican-American, Houston's white students were largely unaffected by the desegregation order.

San Miguel is sensitive to the many ironies raised by the situation as Chicano community activists were forced to grapple with the realization that racialization cut both ways in the evolving American legal and social systems of the 1970s. For years, Mexican-American activists associated with old-line civil rights organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) had struggled mightily to insist that Americans of Mexican descent or heritage were "white." Believing that association with Native Americans, or worse, African Americans, would undermine their efforts to obtain the full civil rights due them under both the U.S. Constitution and the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (which had granted the first generation of Mexican-Americans American citizenship after the U.S.-Mexico War), Mexican-American civil rights activists had for years vigorously opposed any attempt by government bodies to define them as anything other than "white." Now, with local Anglo-Texans attempting to use them to thwart court-ordered desegregation plans on the one hand, and militant youth associated with the Chicano movement demanding recognition of ethnic Mexicans' racial, cultural, and linguistic distinctiveness on the other, Mexican-American activists had to walk a precarious path. They clearly wanted official recognition as a nonwhite identifiable minority group for the purposes of school desegregation, but not so much that that they joined their African-American and Native American counterparts at the very bottom of the extant American social pecking order.

In this compelling case study, San Miguel dissects the distant origins of a nettlesome set of political and social questions that many readers will recognize as lying at the very core of so-called minority politics in the United States today. As San Miguel argues, the twisted dynamics of race in a historically white-supremacist society places "minority" populations in the maddening predicament of having to choose between political strategies in which they seek equity with "whites" while simultaneously distancing themselves from groups perceived to be even more despised than themselves, or developing what are in essence coalitions of the despised and disenfranchised. Given the ongoing demographic revolution so starkly illuminated by the 2000 census, it is clear that these kinds of issues will continue to dominate debate over the most equitable form of public education for the foreseeable future in locales across the United States—including places like the Deep South where Mexicans and Latinos have never been seen in significant numbers before. For readers hoping to gain insights into the complex politics these trends will surely generate in this century, San Miguel's book provides an excellent introduction.

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CHRISTOPH FREI. *Hans J. Morgenthau: An Intellectual Biography*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 236. $49.95.

Hans J. Morgenthau came from that remarkable group of German Jews that anti-Semitism and then Adolf Hitler drove out of Germany and Europe. Many helped win World War II for the Allies, and others played key roles in planning for the postwar world and in American intellectual life during the early Cold War years. Morgenthau, popularly considered the "father" of the Realist school of international relations, at least for Americans, argued that power, effectively assessed and applied, governed the international scene. That argument created a wonderfully complex set of responses during the Cold War. In the immediate aftermath of World War II, his analysis validated American foreign policy. George F. Kennan, ever the intellectual and ever the Cold Warrior, arranged for Morgenthau what turned out to be meaningless consultations with the State Department Policy Planning Committee. His name appeared on a list of Defense Department advisors, but, with no little arrogance, he "frequently wondered why successive administrations did not make more use of my capabilities" (p. 77). By the time of the Vietnam War, Morgenthau had become a nonperson to those in the White House who were searching for intellectuals to justify their policies, reversing the role he had played in the Truman years. He was not, of course, the only early Cold Warrior to reject the Johnson-Nixon policies in Southeast Asia, but his reasons were certainly different from those of, say Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. What were those reasons? Idealism? Realism? Eurocentrism? Did his views change? Or was it American foreign policy that went in a new direction?

That was the book I hoped to read. But Cristoph Frei has given us two short monographs. The first eighty pages is a biographical (not intellectual) summary of Morgenthau's life, only twenty pages of which concern his life in the United States. Three phrases and names dominate: Weimar, anti-Semitism, and Friedrich Nietzsche—perhaps his father is a fourth. The father belittled his son's interest in intellectual matters and constantly berated him, putting "in my head that I really was no good, that I was with no gifts" (p. 14). Frei sees Morgenthau reacting by becoming obsessed with proving his father wrong. I am reminded of George Steiner's delightfully exaggerated argument that men can become great only if they combined a musical/mathematical mind with a childlike (childish?) and selfish preoccupation with self and success. (Women, he commented, could not be "great" because they were too mature and nurturing to be that selfish.)

Whatever the dubious value of historians approaching the psychoanalyst's couch, there is little question that Morgenthau was an intense and preoccupied "over-achiever," to use a popular oxymoron. He took academic arguments personally, resented criticism, and seemed destined for a generally unnoticed career as a German-Jewish academic, whatever his intelligence. He spent much of his intellectual and emotional energies attacking those who disagreed with him. His bitter cynicism foreshadowed the realism that would, during his American period, become associated with his name. "Are you praying for me, my dear friend?" a twenty-four-year-old Morgenthau queried his diary. "For me? You are quite mistaken: no one ever prays for anyone but himself" (p. 104).

Growing up in openly anti-Semitic Germany, he quickly rejected the assimilation his father embraced. (The most repulsive story is that of a German aristocrat, whose ancestor had founded the school Morgenthau attended, holding his nose when the young Jewish boy gave the equivalent of a valedictorian address.) But equally formative for his later views was the chaos and disruption of Weimar Germany, with the economy collapsing and politics increasingly degraded. It was no place for a young Jewish academic. Switzerland, Spain, and finally, in 1937, the United States beckoned. The beginnings in America were difficult, but in the early Cold War era when American academe expanded rapidly, his stream of publications and realist analysis brought him fame and advancement.

With that brief, unsatisfying summary of Morgenthau in America, the second segment of the book jumps back to Morgenthau the student and aspiring German/European academic. Frei's theme is straightforward: Morgenthau's intellectual position was developed early on, when he was a German student/scholar. As of the mid-1930s, Morgenthau was advancing the basic ideas he famously set out in *Politics Among Nations* (1948). Writing as his world disintegrated, he concluded that the reality of international law depended on the distribution of power and on perceptions of national interest—hardly what Charles Beard (who is not mentioned, although the book has no index) was arguing at the same time. "Ethics," wrote Morgenthau, "like all the other normative realms, is in a state of total dissolution" (p. 143). The roots of that intellectual position, are, apparently, the basis for an arcane debate among German scholars, about which Frei has passionate beliefs. Perhaps the most heated part of that argument is over the influence of Nietzsche. After World War II, Morgenthau downplayed the role of Nietzsche's thought in his own intellectual development, but Frei suggests that his purpose was to Americanize his image, to "wrap his distinctly German theory in entirely new clothing" (p. 110).

Certainly Morgenthau's pessimism about human nature was clear from early on. He assumed that pain/punishment/unpleasant consequences were the only way to get others to follow the "norm," i.e. what the individual or the nation desired. In a word, sanctions: the application of coercive force. When he arrived in the United States, he was unprepared for and appalled by American optimism, positivism, and naïveté. That is unsurprising, given his experiences, but there is something sad about someone so ambitious and driven ending up in a society that epitomized

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the liberalism that Weimar Germany had brought him to despise as weakness.

Surprisingly, there is only a cursory discussion of how it was that Morgenthau, the ultimate realist, ended up being lionized by those who opposed American intervention in Vietnam. Too bad, for a careful analysis might have helped us better to understand how it is that what was then called the New Left can appear to be realist in the Morgenthau sense, while condemning the excesses of American hegemonic actions.

Frei states that Morgenthau concluded that no one moral or religious system would be acceptable, and he calls Morgenthau a "frustrated idealist" as well as a "realist." Aren't we all? The real question is, who decides what is ideal and what is real?

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JOHN L. RUDOLPH. *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education.* New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. ix, 262. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.95.

From my high school physics class, I have fond memories of the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) film "Frames of Reference," in which the genial and witty Professors Hume and Ivey of the University of Toronto physics department demonstrated the principles of relativity. "Frames of Reference" was one of dozens of PSSC films made in the 1950s as part of the National Science Foundation's effort to remake science education in Cold War America. John L. Rudolph's compact, well-researched volume brings to light the intriguing history behind these films and other curricular materials through an examination of the political and cultural motivations behind professional scientists' involvement in the PSSC and its biological equivalent, the Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (BSCS).

Rudolph spins a complex narrative about the ironies of intent and result, as physicists anxious to create a public consciousness of science as a human endeavor ended up reinforcing the very elements of Cold War science that so discomfited them. Prompted by post-World War II manpower shortages of scientific and technical personnel, concerns about the state of American science education long predated the October 1957 launch of Sputnik. Rudolph argues, however, that anxieties about the place of science in American culture, and not the need to train a new cadre of scientific and technical personnel, motivated the PSSC. Fearful of what they perceived as growing public irrationality and misunderstanding of science in the McCarthy era, physicists such as Jerrold Zacharias, chair of the PSSC, viewed science education as a necessary antidote to the anti-intellectualism of post-war America. Curricular reform that combined rigor with the humanistic dimensions of science also promised to counter disturbing trends within physics itself, especially the growing instrumentalism that accompanied the Cold War melding of physics with the military needs of the national security state.

The PSSC curriculum succeeded in being more than rigidly technical, as its critics at the time contended, but at the same time, Rudolph argues, it could not transcend Cold War trends. The basic structure of the PSSC mimicked the organizational arrangements of wartime and postwar science, and the techniques of Cold War science were built into curricular design. In particular, systems engineering heavily influenced the physicists' approach to science education. Despite scientists' faith in the democratizing power of scientific knowledge, their methods, Rudolph contends, resembled indoctrination tactics developed for waging psychological warfare that relegated the public to the status of "an object to be manipulated" (p. 174). Finally, although Zacharias sought to depict science as more a process of reasoning than a fixed body of unyielding knowledge, and to acquaint students with "the way in which physicists think" (p. 176), the new physics curriculum's elevation of quantum physics over classical Newtonian mechanics tended toward a narrowness in content that brought science education in line with the branches of physics that then dominated military research. As a result, Rudolph concludes, the PSSC created "a perfect high school primer for the new decidedly instrumentalist physics" (p. 182) of the Cold War.

For biologists, science education served to meet a somewhat different set of challenges. Biologists shared many of the physicists' concerns about the state of science within public life, and they had their own particular worries about anti-intellectualism in the form of Darwinian evolution's absence from the secondary school curriculum. Keenly aware of their relative lack of prestige and funding, biologists also sought to raise their own professional and public profile to a level comparable to that which physicists had attained in the aftermath of World War II. As a result, the BSCS curriculum, in contrast to that of the PSSC, emphasized the relationship between biology and society and explored the biological dimensions of topics such as race, environmental damage, agricultural production, population control, and other matters of broader social significance. The BSCS had difficulty, however, in producing a coherent curriculum that reflected the disparate approaches—ranging from the study of organisms and populations to the rise of molecular approaches to the life sciences—that defined modern biology, and it remained a junior partner to the more prestigious PSSC.

This book will most readily find an audience among historians of education and historians of science, but it deserves a wider readership. Rudolph addresses deep questions about the relationship between education and democracy and the nature of Cold War culture. The result is an absorbing study that reveals the passions and inner contradictions that mediated the

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encounter between intellectuals and American political culture during the mid-twentieth century.

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PAUL S. SUTTER. *Driven Wild: How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement.* (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 343. $35.00.

The commonly accepted narrative of the wilderness protection movement in twentieth-century America goes something like this: late in the nineteenth century, after decades of working to tame wilderness, Americans began to appreciate that landscapes devoid of a heavy human footprint were an asset to be preserved from development. Facing a culture that still prioritized economic measures of worth, preservationists fought long and hard to preserve wilderness areas from the growing industrial society that threatened to degrade the few remaining large tracts of undeveloped land. Well, Paul S. Sutter might reply, that is only half right. In this excellent book, Sutter makes a convincing case that the founders of the Wilderness Society feared more than anything one particular aspect of America's consumer culture: the spread of roads into every corner of the nation. And, surprisingly, these leading lights were more often trained foresters with a strong utilitarian streak, not preservationists. In short, Sutter's book forces readers to see the wilderness movement in a new light.

In the first two chapters, Sutter lays out some of the intellectual background to concepts of wilderness and the context of conservation in the interwar years, especially the New Deal decade. He then proceeds to a chapter for each of four leading founders of the Wilderness Society: Robert Sterling Yard, Aldo Leopold, Benton MacKaye, and Robert Marshall. Each chapter could stand alone as a minibiography and analysis of the evolution of the central character's thinking about wilderness, and together they do a fine job of interweaving the lives and ideas of these four intriguing men. Sutter is not afraid to point out the contradictions in each man's life and limitations in his thought, as well as the conflicts among the four.

At the heart of Sutter's book is the argument that wilderness advocates after World War I sought to define wilderness as an area free of cars. In an act of pragmatism, not idealism, the founders of the society analyzed the "material and cultural context" (p. 10) of the 1920s and 1930s and, in response, reinvented the value of wilderness. Each of the four leaders whom Sutter studied brought unique perspectives to the discussion about wilderness and primitive lands, from MacKaye's socialist leanings to Yard's history with the National Park Service, and yet they intersected in their conclusion that the burgeoning car culture of the United States threatened to open even the most remote spot to the consumerism that troubled them.

To these four, one immediate symbol of what could go wrong was the National Park system, which had invested a great deal of money during and after World War I building roads, such as the "Going to the Sun" highway in Glacier National Park. Americans and foreigners responded by swamping the parks with visitors, which only encouraged more building. As a consequence, the minority that wanted primitive recreation, free of cars or other motorized vehicles, found itself increasingly marginalized. Wilderness advocates acknowledged that they were in the business of defending the desires of a minority from the demands of the majority, but they rejected the notion that they were advocates of elitism based on class. Rich, poor, and middle class alike were welcome, so long as they rejected the consumerism of mass outdoor recreation. The ideal was democratic, even if the practicalities of wilderness recreation meant restricted access.

In the epilogue, Sutter ties together the various strands of his analysis and the founders' thoughts about wilderness in a clear and compelling fashion. Like modern environmentalists—and environmental historians—they had to hammer out compromises on all sorts of basic terminology, beginning with "wilderness." Then they wrestled with the problem of minority rights, declaring themselves firmly in favor of saving a small part of the national land for a small part of the national population's preferred recreation. Finally, in the name of public utility, they lobbed a grenade at commercialization of wild lands. All of these positions would remain central to the political struggle for wilderness preservation that culminated in 1964 with passage of the Wilderness Act.

Aside from the content, this book is a model that all authors and publishers should emulate. The writing flows well; each chapter is clearly organized with subheadings and concise introductions and conclusions; illustrations are ample; and it has a title that is both clever and descriptive. Those who want to understand the origins of a historic piece of legislation, or simply to enjoy a nicely argued, well-written, smoothly organized book, need to read it.

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CHAR MILLER, editor. *On the Border: An Environmental History of San Antonio.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2001. Pp. x, 291. $26.00.

The eleven essays that comprise this interdisciplinary anthology examine the interaction between the city's residents and the south Texas landscape, demonstrating how humans and their environment have shaped each other. San Antonio and its environs represent an environmental bordertown located at a point where the Texas hill country on the southern edge of the Great Plains meets the gulf coastal plain. A second boundary also shapes the regional environment, as the

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city lies near the climatic transition zone between the humid East and the arid West. Together these natural boundaries strongly influence the environmental character of the region, which is the topic of James Peterson's essay, "San Antonio: An Environmental Crossroads on the Texas Spring Line." He notes that the city is an oasis dependent on the Edwards aquifer and predicts that water will play a larger role in the future of Texas than oil has in the past" (p. 39).

Reliance on that aquifer, conflicts over its use, and the search for additional surface water sources are constant themes in San Antonio's history, and they became the focus of the city's mid-twentieth-century "water fights." The critical issues of protecting the aquifer and also extending adequate water and sewage lines to Hispanic neighborhoods invariably encountered the resistance of the city's political and economic elite, whose interests were identified with development of the central business district as well as suburban subdivisions. Water management consequently divided along ethnic and class lines to the detriment of Hispanic residents until relatively recently. Similarly, efforts to protect the aquifer by restricting growth have had only limited success in preventing suburban sprawl in the recharge areas above the aquifer.

This book looks beyond the natural environment to include articles that assess San Antonio's social ecology. If the city has had a mixed record on environmental issues, its approach to social crises was somewhat worse. Again, city leaders, exercising their power through the Good Government League in the 1950s and 1960s, largely overlooked construction of such urban amenities as neighborhood parks. San Antonio's few open spaces, editor Char Miller writes, "were telling marks of a closed society," as were the city's incidence of social pathology and disease (p. 6). Although the high infant death rate subsided after the city belatedly extended water and sewer systems to the west side, city residents still confront threats to their well being, most recently pollution emanating from military installations around the city. The most serious occur at Kelly Air Force Base, where neighborhood residents, fearing for their health and property, formed a Committee for Environmental Justice and filed a civil rights case based on environmental racism.

San Antonio prides itself as "the birthplace of historic preservation in the United States west of the Mississippi," and that topic is discussed under the heading of "Land Marks." While such volunteer groups as the San Antonio Conservation Society effectively saved individual sites, namely the Alamo ("Texas' most hallowed shrine"), rehabilitation projects have not fared so well, as John Hutton's critique of the Alamo Quarry Market reveals. This upscale mall, once heralded as a unique rehabilitation project, proved to be a planning disaster that exists in "an uneasy relationship to its historical predecessor" (p. 233). The failure of imagination in this instance reflects the seeming lack of vision among the city's business leadership, which thinks largely in terms of corporate development. Hutton captures the essence of San Antonio's neglect of its social, environmental, and built environments when he claims that "San Antonio is a poor city with dreams of becoming a prominent one" (p. 238). Caught up in a vision of national urban prominence, the city's establishment has paid scant attention to matters that did not reinforce their narrow perspective.

The historical context is presented in Jesus F. de la Tejas's essay on colonial views of land and nature in south Texas, which argues that the environmental history of the region has its origins with Spanish colonials who early developed a thorough understanding of the environment. Miller's essay, "Where the Buffalo Roamed," carries that history into the nineteenth century. An account of demographic, ecological, and political change, it discusses the valley's gradual transformation as livestock replaced wildlife and Anglo settlers displaced Indians and Mexicans. These essays effectively set the scene for the rapid and extensive changes in the landscape in the next century.

Miller also adds a thoughtful conclusion, "City Limits," which analyzes San Antonio's historical inability to face its myriad problems and also compares it with the successful growth machines of Houston and Dallas, which by mid-century dominated the state's urban hierarchy. San Antonio's power brokers, Miller writes, "did not conceive of the community *as* a community," refusing to acknowledge their human connection with the city's minority population (p. 245). Such disengagement left a legacy of low-skill work and wages and the continual need to repair the city's deteriorating material and natural environments.

The diverse essays that comprise this book consistently reinforce the theme of human interaction with the environment, whether the topic is settlement of the hill country in the nineteenth century or complex issues of urban ecology in the twentieth. In this respect, the volume represents a broadly defined environmental history of San Antonio. Its essays retain their focus to a degree unusual for interdisciplinary anthologies. A second theme is evident as well: the inability of the city's elite to look beyond their own interests in development and growth to confront the pressing social and environmental problems that plagued many of San Antonio's citizens. In a city with a majority population of Mexican descent and a large African-American community as well, appreciation of diversity came only slowly to the city's leaders.

Overall the essays are carefully researched and well written. In a few instances, authors are a little too concerned with the details of politics and policy decisions, but these few cases do no diminish the importance of this excellent volume. Scholars interested in regional, environmental, and urban history will appreciate the book. So will thoughtful residents of San Antonio, if they hope that their city will fare better in the twenty-first century than it did in the last one.

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LORETTA FOWLER. *Tribal Sovereignty and the Historical Imagination: Cheyenne-Arapaho Politics*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2002. Pp. xxvii, 356. $49.95.

This is the third of Loretta Fowler's implicitly comparative volumes on the political histories of northern Plains Indian tribes. Here she asks, "How did the specific historical experiences of the Cheyennes and Arapahos and their understandings of those experiences influence contemporary tribal politics, such as the electoral process in tribal government, the 1975 constitution, the implementation of Self-Determination Act legislation, and dance and powwow leadership institutions since the 1960s?" (p. xix). Among these historical experiences she includes not only alteration of political structures and limitations of self-governing power but also control of economic resources, social structures, religious rituals, and images that Native people held of themselves and that were held of them by others. Her understanding of past and present events is placed within the intermeshed context of all these factors.

The first half of the volume is historical, in which Fowler focuses forward to the second half that is ethnographic. The two parts are united in a brief final chapter of insightful discussion that deserves thorough, careful consideration.

The author's choice of subject, the Cheyenne-Arapahos of Oklahoma, is unusual and interesting in two significant ways. Displaced to "Indian Territory" like many other Plains tribes, their reservation was allotted and subsequently much of the land lost. Nevertheless, they remained a federally recognized tribe and formed a constitution under the Wheeler-Howard Act in 1937. Today they remain a formally organized tribe with very little land, surrounded by an extensive former reservation owned by others.

A second unusual characteristic is the form their tribal constitution took. Cheyenne-Arapahos retained a true tribal council, a periodic gathering of all tribal members, and this body held the power to decide key issues such as budget. Day-to-day administration of tribally operated programs was performed by a small elected business committee. The intratribal politics generated by this constitutional balance provides Fowler's most graphic sections. She gives what is perhaps the richest body of data in print on the tribal elections over nearly thirty years, detailing incumbency, gender, and age shifts. She then traces the activities of officials once elected, vividly describing the infighting that has blocked effective leadership and service to the tribal constituency. She attributes the prevalent and escalating factionalism to contention over power between incumbents and the newly elected, rather than between the two traditional cultural groups conjoined within this single legal tribe. She blames the presence and style of this intratribal conflict on colonialism and historic federal policies (p. 289).

Fowler contrasts the dissension prevalent in the political arena with the cooperation and sharing, said to be a continuation of traditional communitarian values, expressed in powwow gatherings. She attributes both the intratribal competition and the ritual cooperation of Cheyennes and Arapahos to their striving to achieve ideological individualism and psychological self-worth (p. 276).

This book assumes a well-informed reader. The author does not linger to explain the concept of or legal issues surrounding the tribal sovereignty of her title. Similarly, although her data has clear relevance to the phrase "historical imagination" launched into ethnohistorical prominence by Jean and John Comaroff, Fowler does not overtly discuss this concept. Despite the title's suggestions of a theorizing and generalizing work, this book is in fact a detailed case study of Cheyenne-Arapaho political history, highly relevant to larger discussions.

The narrative moves from one clearly demarcated issue to the next, giving the book a somewhat modular character. A few sections may strike the reader as overly long and the prose rather notelike, but the wealth of data provided more than makes up for the occasional stylistic lapses. The sources are eminently scholarly, with reliance on primary historical documentation, a full range of established publications, contemporary newspapers, interviews with tribal leaders, and direct observation.

Fowler's volume is clearly a work by a mature scholar who has raised issues of fundamental importance in the study of Native American political history. Her choice of tribal group enriches the literature, her data are detailed, and the analysis is properly placed within the holistic context of Cheyenne-Arapaho culture, historical past, and contemporary life.

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DAVID WEAVER-ZERCHER. *The Amish in the American Imagination*. (Center Books in Anabaptist Studies.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 280. $39.95.

David Weaver-Zercher interrogates the popular representations of the Amish in a cultural history that spans the twentieth century. His focus is not on the Amish themselves but on how the Amish have functioned ideologically and as commodities for their mediators over time. In a series of five carefully documented case studies, Weaver-Zercher explores the ways in which novels, magazine articles, children's books, tourist literature, films, and some scholarly work have "domesticated" the Amish, and he analyzes how these mediators used the Amish to "mark boundaries, express fears, support causes and, in many cases, make a profit" (p. 5). His account traces the making and remaking of the Amish as religious sectarians, exotic Americans, saving remnants, and fallen saints.

The first case focuses on the efforts of the Pennsylvania German Society (PGS) to neutralize the negative

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image of Pennsylvania Germans as uncultured and intellectually deficient by portraying the Amish as exemplars of piety, models of a strong work ethic, and skillful agriculturalists. Weaver-Zercher argues that by portraying Amish virtues and overlooking their resistance to assimilation, the PGS worked to secure the cultural position of Pennsylvania Germans as worthy Americans.

The second case traces the development of stereotypical images of the Amish as "beleaguered religionists in alien territory" predominant in magazine accounts through the mid 1930s (p. 57). This image was revised with national media attention reporting Amish resistance to public school consolidation in 1937. Weaver-Zercher argues that the Amish embrace of one-room schools made them ideologically useful as custodians of an American past. Amish defenders of the little red school house were recast as virtuous Americans. The Amish became remnants of a purer, simpler past untainted by mechanization and bureaucratization.

Weaver-Zercher claims that the ideological usefulness of the Amish set the stage for their commodification. The third case study examines the proliferation of Amish-related materials marketed by the burgeoning tourist industry in the postwar years. Beginning with the 1955 Broadway musical, *Plain and Fancy*, Weaver-Zercher describes the dynamics of cultural marketing that promised an authentic experience of the simple life.

The marketing of the Amish was not without its critics. In the fourth case study, Weaver-Zercher recounts how Mennonites participated in the representation of their theological "cousins" by analyzing the popular literature about the Amish published by Mennonite publishers. From 1950 to 1975, Mennonite publications, he argues, used the Amish as a "foil by which to express hopes and fears in a time of social disruption" (p. 124). Mennonites were disgruntled by both the caricatures and the idealization of the Amish and took on a role as mediators between the Amish and American consumers. While some Mennonite writers portrayed the Amish as a prophetic remnant, others cast them as misguided formalists. Those most critical characterized the Amish as religious persecutors. Weaver-Zercher's account of the tensions inherent in balancing the desire for truthfulness with the maintenance of financial solvency illustrates the complexities of mediation and the illusiveness of authenticity.

The final case study analyzes public controversies sparked by Peter Weir's 1985 film, *Witness*. For some, the film represented the worst form of commercial exploitation and constituted a threat to Amish survival. Others argued that the film was a sympathetic representation of the Amish way of life that offered powerful moral lessons. The morality of marketing the Amish soul was pitted against the storyteller's prerogative. In the process, the debates illustrated the problem of Amish voice. Who speaks for the Amish? Weaver-Zercher's account of the representational activities of John A. Hostetler, a Mennonite sociologist considered to be the expert on Amish society, problematizes the role of scholars as cultural mediators. For me, this is the most provocative aspect of the book. He provides a genealogy of the formative influences that shaped scholarship on the Amish and describes how academic authority was mediated on its way to the mainstream. Hostetler not only functioned as an interpreter of the Amish to the public; he also interpreted the public to the Amish. Weaver-Zercher's account challenges scholars to reflect on the uses they make of their subjects.

This book is readable, appropriately illustrated, and interesting. I find it useful because it places the shifting representations of the Amish in social and historical context. The dialectic of idealization and demythologization posed in the final chapter offers a useful rubric for ongoing analysis of the images of the Amish in the mainstream. The concept of domestication highlights the making and remaking of the Amish in terms of those performing the mediation. By revealing how the "Other" is used and for what purposes, Weaver-Zercher opens a window into American cultural consciousness.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

O. NIGEL BOLLAND. *The Politics of Labour in the British Caribbean: The Social Origins of Authoritarianism and Democracy in the Labour Movement*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener. 2001. Pp. xxii, 696. Cloth $49.95, paper $29.95.

O. Nigel Bolland has written a truly comprehensive historiography of labor's struggles to organize and build their political power in the last century of British colonial rule in that empire's West Indian realm. Although not including Bermuda in his region-wide coverage, the inclusion of Belize and British Guiana (Guyana) is appreciated. Bolland joins a memorable community of regional scholars who have provided the richest of historical analyses of this colonized, externally dominated region—a commendable feat unto itself. Also, following the scholarly tradition of luminaries such as Walter Rodney, C. L. R. James, Eric Williams, Franklin W. Knight, Gordon K. Lewis, and Hilary Beckles, Bolland takes a long historical perspective, so the emergence of the labor movement is contextually situated and dialectically viewed in terms of its social continuity as well as its resistance. In such a region as the Caribbean, tracing the growth and development of more contemporary social movements out of the "industrial" system imported during the plantation era of slavery and sugar not only sets the scene but also reminds us of the deep-seated structural forces of repression and destruction that have plagued

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(and conditioned) colonized minds and continue to present, albeit in a new neocolonial guise.

The main argument of this comparative work is that the succession of riots, rebellions, and strikes that fanned and flamed through the region from 1934 until 1939 (beginning first in Belize), fed working-class solidarity and unity, prompted working-class consciousness and launched a bevy of charismatic leaders onto the political stage. Indeed, Bolland's detailed treatment in chapter five of this succession of labor riots and strikes in ten territories is a comparative record of note. From the beginning, there was internal conflict between popular leaders of labor movements, who inevitably espoused different ideological stances and different positions concerning resistance to (or placation of) the administrations, plantocracies, and upper classes. The early firebrands lost out to the ambitious middle class throughout the West Indian colonies. From this time on, the rapid development of trade unions created a spring board for latecoming, middle-class spokespersons, whose power base was the worker's unions but who moved onward and upward into higher political spheres as decolonialization became the more pressing political agenda in the 1950s. Bolland's detailed explanations of the crises and the turbulent times are a credit to his sources, and he certainly has drawn extensively from the wealth of social history scholarship that abounds. Indeed, this compendium is an excellent summary of the principal scholars' views, their theoretical and ideological arguments, and their analytical assessments.

For practical reasons (not to mention a page length of 665 pages), Bolland's historical narrative comes to a close at the end the 1950s, and it suffers from such a truncation. Just as some of the same labor leaders he has traced through their formative years continued fighting and winning internal battles against left-leaning opponents and appeasing U.S. Cold War concerns, so other internal-external conflicts flourished again in the 1960s. Labor-owner conflicts reignited, class conflict was renewed, and the clashes of charismatic personalities continued in the 1960s and 1970s. The politics of labor struggle became intertwined with nation-state building. The geopolitical landscape of the Caribbean, now including ex-British colonies as politically independent but still subordinate players, diversified. Political leaders such as Eric Williams, Michael Manley, Forbes Burnham, Cheddi Jagan, and Maurice Bishop (though not Tom Adams) regained, or renewed, ideological positions of solidarity, negotiating or renegotiating political positions in their attempts to challenge (or placate) external corporate power.

If this book has one shortcoming, it is a trifle, because the author's thesis is well and truly substantiated. The modest mention in the conclusion (pp. 662–64) of the "invisibility of women in the region's labour history" and the role of women trade union leaders scarcely does justice to this theme. Not only is this a lame (apologetic) ending to what is a tremendous piece of scholarship, but if it is a relevant assessment of an erroneous oversight, then Bolland should/could have attempted to make women more visible in his treatise. This quibble aside, the book is an excellent addition to interdisciplinary scholarship on the modern Caribbean.

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KEVIN TERRACIANO. *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 514. $65.00.

One Mesoamerican field unusually blessed with excellent scholars has been Mixtec studies. Kevin Terraciano's marvelous book is another link in a long chain of outstanding contributions. It builds on the work of Alfonso Caso, Barbro Dahlgren, Mary Elizabeth Smith, Ronald Spores, John Monaghan, Rodolfo Pastor, and María de los Angeles Romero Frizzi, adding important new insights gleaned from documents, written between 1571 and 1807, in Oaxacan archives. Although most documents are from Teposcolula and Yanhuitlan, a number come from other communities, enabling Terraciano to characterize the Mixtec region as a whole.

Of great significance is the fact that many of these documents (wills, land transactions, confessions in criminal cases, community fiscal records, baptisms, and tribute records) were written in Mixtec, allowing Terraciano to recover many native concepts. The author discusses a wide range of topics, including the nature of Mixtec communities (*ñuu*) and their subunits (*siña*, *siqui*, *dzini*); the organization of household labor and tribute obligations; royal residences and titles; gender relations; the cloth trade; beliefs surrounding Dzahui (the rain deity); and the interrelated nature of sacred and social relations.

Terraciano makes the case that dozens of shared cultural patterns characterize the Mixtec region. The Mixtec described themselves as a distinct ethnic group, called *tay ñudzahui* ("people" + "the land of the rain") to differentiate themselves from other linguistic groups surrounding them, including the Zapotec, the Basin of Mexico people, the Chocho, and the Spaniards. The special language of Mixtec nobles (the "yya vocabulary") can be compared to the high speech or *huehuetlatolli* of the Aztecs. Rather than being a separate language, it was a reverential and deferential way of speaking to royalty or referring to their persons, bodies, and actions. Both Nahuatl and Mixtec noble languages featured semantic couplets and metaphorical expressions. The Mixtec *ñuu*, often an autonomous polity, was an important building block or "module" in much the same way as the Aztec *altepetl*. The center of the *ñuu* was a palace complex, or *añine*, where lords assembled, received gifts, and feasted. Comprising the *ñuu* were *siqui*, units that contributed goods and

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services through rotational labor systems known as *tniño*.

Mixtec land tenure and classification show similarities to Nahua practices. Both the Mixtec and Nahua had corporate landholding units that assigned land to individual households; such land could be retained if cultivated, but if uncultivated it could be reallocated to others. Mixtec documents also indicate that nobles distinguished between their "palace lands" and the lands of the *siña*. Mixtec society was divided into nobles and commoners as was Nahua society. Mixtec *tay situndayu*, once regarded as a distinct category of attached and dependent laborers, are now thought by Terraciano to be simply another type of commoner, just as Nahua *mayeques* are now thought to be a category of commoners or *macehualtin*.

Terraciano notes that married women ruled as equal members, or could rule alone if widowed. The fact that royal women ruled their own polities before marriage shows that they were fully entitled to become rulers and did not simply rule as the result of a break in the line of male rulers. Although the frequent access of Mixtec royal women to the office of ruler is unusual in Mesoamerica, similar access is seen in the Andes, where both *curacas* (men) and *coyas* (women) could rule their own polities. Furthermore, Terraciano notes that female testators often owned as much land and property as males. The same basic division of equal property was typical of both nobles and commoners, leading him to stress that Mixtec society shows a considerable degree of gender equality.

Mixtec religion was centered on Dzahui, which Terraciano sees as the counterpart of Chac (Maya) and Cociyo (Zapotec). However, I tend to see the latter two as more closely linked to Lightning, with its tremendous power to split the clouds and zigzag through dark skies.

Terraciano documents so many similarities between the Mixtec and Nahua that one is left wondering to what extent they existed prior to the arrival of the Spaniards (perhaps suggesting the influence of the Aztecs and Mixtecs on each other) and to what extent they resulted from Spanish reorganization of indigenous patterns. Although ably addressed by Terraciano, such similarities are likely to remain topics for future investigation.

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BEN VINSON III. *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 304. $60.00.

This book by Ben Vinson III is an important work in a field of growing prominence. Historians of the colonial societies of the Americas have long been aware of the role played by free people of color in militias. Most slave societies relied for the majority of their internal security forces on free coloreds. In Saint-Domingue (Haiti), for example, 104 of the 156 militia companies in 1789 were made up of free coloreds, while free coloreds comprised less than half of the free population. Students of these societies have generally pointed to the role militia service played in strategies for social advancement—personal and group—of free coloreds. Herbert S. Klein raised these points in "The Colored Militia of Cuba 1568–1868," in *Caribbean Studies* 6:2 (1966): 17–27. More recently, Peter Voelz addressed the social impact of military service in *Slave and Soldier: The Military Impact of Blacks in the Colonial Americas* (1993). My own recent work on Saint-Domingue illustrates the process of social advancement through military and police service there (see Stewart R. King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Military and Civilian Free Coloreds in the Colonial Society of Saint-Domingue* [2001]).

Vinson demonstrates that militia service was also important to free coloreds in Mexico, where they made up a minority of the free population and slavery was not the principal source of labor. Making appropriate comparisons to slave societies and to other mainland colonies in the Americas, Vinson points out that militia service did not work the same for all groups of Afro-Mexicans. Mexican socioeconomic realities, especially the presence of large numbers of mestizos and Indians in some areas, confused the situation. Militia service played a much more important role in the lives of artisans than it did in the countryside. Places close to perceived military threats had stronger militias in general, and in any case, free coloreds were concentrated along the seacoasts where attacks would come. By using service in a free colored militia for personal social advancement, the serviceman obviously acknowledged his racial status. This was infrequently an issue in colonies where the African descended made up ninety percent of the population. However, in Mexico, where racial promotion was a real possibility, such an acknowledgement might be counterproductive. In this regard, Vinson cannot help but delve to some extent into the enormous debate over the relative importance of caste and class in colonial Mexico. The very existence of free Afro-Mexicans represented a challenge to the caste-like regularity of society that colonial authorities affirmed. Free coloreds' role in the military, particularly at higher ranks, merely sharpened that challenge. Nonetheless, they performed a very important military mission.

Vinson addresses all these questions very ably. His final chapter, "The Meaning of Race," is a thought-provoking essay on the role of racial caste in Mexico. Vinson also investigates the changes over time, especially as Bourbon reformers deemphasized the free colored militia and attempted to phase out the free colored officer corps. One area of concern that does not receive a great deal of attention is the gender implications of service. The "taint" of slavery and the predominance of women among those receiving manumission, it has been argued, "feminized" the free colored. Military service can be seen as a way of reclaiming masculinity for the group. Perhaps this was

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not an issue in Mexico as much as in the sugar island colonies.

The real strength of this book, though, is its wealth of archival sources. The Spanish colonial government kept immense amounts of data about its militia. Vinson has ferreted out muster rolls, personnel dossiers, and regular reports from commanding officers and civilian bureaucrats. This quantitative data permits a relatively high degree of precision in the sort of *Annales*-like social analysis that Vinson and many other scholars find rewarding. Students of other colonies might well envy the wealth of information available to historians of colonial Mexico.

This book is, as its title suggests, primarily an institutional history of the free colored militia. This does not mean that Vinson ignores the comparative element, nor the larger social implications of the phenomena he observes in the small world of the militia. However, he is primarily interested in the free colored militia and its relationship with society. This tight focus makes the work very valuable to specialists. Readers interested in the role of the military in society and the structure of militaries in other colonies will find a valuable comparative perspective here. Nonspecialists might feel a bit overwhelmed by the wealth of detail. No less than forty-eight tables adorn this book, concentrated, distressingly, in the first three chapters. Nevertheless, Vinson's clear writing makes a quite dense subject and a very challenging interpretive approach comprehensible and interesting.

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RICHARD A. WARREN. *Vagrants and Citizens: Politics and the Masses in Mexico City from Colony to Republic.* (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2001. Pp. ix, 202. $60.00.

This monograph is exemplary of a series of works by Latin American historians over the past decade that uncover the nature and extent of the masses' (or, in a term more common to the time, popular classes') participation in public life. Richard A. Warren's setting is Mexico's national capital from the independence struggle through the topsy-turvy contest for power in the 1820s and 1830s, with a particular focus on elections and the changes in political regimes. He contends not only that the urban masses' involvement in politics is imperative to understanding the transition from imperial to independent republican government, but that its legacy influenced the succeeding generation of liberals and conservatives whose actions culminated in the Reform war and the French intervention.

Critical to Warren's thesis is the role of the Spanish Cortes and constitution of 1812, which established a precedent of suffrage in Latin America more extensive (up to the mid-nineteenth century) than almost anywhere else in the Western world. In a brief portion of the conclusion, he provides a comparative summary of how several different Latin American nations responded to that standard. Although there was great variation legally and practically on all three levels of government (municipality, state, and nation), a common denominator was the trend toward restricting suffrage and office holding by mid-century. However, elections were not the sole measure of popular class participation in postindependence politics. Public rituals, sloganeering, demonstrations, and violent acts were other ways that the popular classes, especially in urban centers, could make their political influence felt. Indeed, a corollary to Warren's thesis is that as elections lost their political value to the capital's urban masses, they "walked away from the polls as much as they were driven from them" (p. 165).

Unfortunately, examples of such political activity—other than election results and the Parian Riot of 1828—too often punctuate rather than carry the chronological narrative that forms the structure of the book: the breakdown of imperial order; the brief contest between monarchy and republicanism in the early 1820s; the rise of republican, mass politics centered in the political movements in federalism and centralism; and the transition to a centralist regime in the mid and late 1830s. Warren, in his introduction, duly notes the variety of sources that reveal popular thoughts and actions and perceptively notes the limitations in drawing conclusions from them. Still, the pull of the political narrative—one astutely and creatively analyzed—directs his focus to the thoughts and actions of notable political leaders and military commanders and their mutual understanding, use, and wariness (for many, outright fear) of popular participation. In this regard, Warren makes most effective use of minutes of meetings (especially those of the municipal council), official correspondence, and media reports.

Along with his detailed analysis of what electoral returns remain for Mexico City, perhaps the most significant insight revealed in Warren's analysis is that the division in Mexican politics in the postindependence decades was more tripartite than dual. The role of military commanders as arbiters between centralists and federalists is customarily treated. But Warren pays particular attention to the shifting role of the moderate federalists, who, as national politics took form after 1824, assumed a distinct position on the political spectrum. They were more socially and culturally "conservative" than the radical/pure federalists (and later liberals), and more economically and politically progressive than the centralists (and later conservatives). In Warren's analysis, these moderates seem often to play as important a role as the military commanders in the swings along the political pendulum.

In his summary analysis of social stratification in the introduction, Warren presents the customary wealthy families (notables), a "middle sector," and the poor urban masses. Although he does make material distinctions among the latter—notably that among artisans and between them and day laborers—these socio-

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economic differences among the nonrespectable are rarely carried over to the political analysis. In their political, periodical, and diary commentaries, representatives of notable and respectable families may have characterized those beneath them as a uniform mass. But recent scholarly studies of the period in Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, for example, have emphasized the distinct and mediating role of artisans, small shopkeepers and stall owners, and mobile peddlers in the new "Middle Period" society that had emerged in the late eighteenth century. Perhaps the sources Warren consulted did not so clearly reveal those distinctions.

This book is well written, with creative insights interspersed through a clear political narrative. Warren adds order to Mexico's seemingly tumultuous postindependence politics and offers a demonstration and reminder of its impact on the generation that followed.

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PABLO PICCATO. *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900–1931*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 365. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

This book surveys crime in Mexico City from 1900 to 1931, with heaviest emphasis on the Porfirian period at the turn of the century. Felicitously, statistical tables are kept to a minimum. Instead, Pablo Piccato focuses on the perceptions and attitudes of segments of society toward what official codes labeled as "crime." The result, he claims, was (is) a city of suspects: authorities and elites suspect lower groups of criminal tendencies, and ordinary people suspect upper echelons of corruption and injustice. As his sympathies lie with the masses, Piccato sees the elite stance as indefensible profiling and that of the commoners as largely justifiable. While there is nothing startling in these conclusions, the book plumbs their meaning and complexities through a variety of historical sources and develops themes that both support and contradict the generalities.

Commendably, Piccato leaves a great deal of elasticity and interplay between social elements. He finds that it is the nature of the burgeoning city itself that stirs the mix. Planners designed a city that would separate the better off from the hoi polloi, but the realities of everyday life doomed the scheme. Lower-class people provided the goods and services that elites needed, and a vastly improved inner-city transport system blurred and in some cases erased neighborhood lines. Moreover, a steady stream of rural immigrants further disrupted city planning, insuring that a new, unstable, disoriented, and at times desperate population flowed into the metropolis. Many of these newcomers formed new colonies in the spreading outskirts of the city, but a good number settled forlornly into seething, live-as-best-you-can pockets of destitution right in the center of town.

As might be expected, those residents with status and material wherewithall demanded official protection against the (as they saw them) unpredictable and dangerous intruders, but in one of the most interesting and informative portions of his book, Piccato explains that it was not the police who punished transgressions in teeming, quivering, poverty-laden neighborhoods but the residents themselves, who relied on time-tested concepts of "honor" to settle disputes and to maintain social balance and stability in the community. Looking in from the outside, authorities, criminologists, jurists, and police never understood the mechanisms at work in these neighborhoods and instead thought of them as cancers to be excised. In keeping with positivist thinking of the time, criminal behavior (as defined by the law) was the result of a physical or mental aberration (today many would insist, chemical imbalance) as opposed to social ills, although in the Porfiriato, a handful of social scientists, novelists, and other observers had begun to explore economic and social disparities as the source of deviant behavior.

The turmoil of the Mexican Revolution, according to Piccato, created a new type of criminal activity in Mexico City. The easy availability of guns and automobiles promoted professional gangs who with the connivance and cooperation of police and politicians reigned with virtual impunity in the roiling atmosphere of civil war. Such unrestrained corruption reenforced and further confirmed what the general populace already knew of authority.

No group of so-called criminals captured more official, literary, and bourgeois attention than the *rateros* or street thieves. In a bit of a stretch, Piccato contends they were "invented" (today's popular conceptual device) as a particular social group by legislators, writers, police, and the press in order that they could be rounded up en masse and banished to penal colonies. Official abuses abounded. "The police seem to have defined rateros as those suspects who were particularly visible in public places" (p. 172): in other words, anyone who looked like a thief to police. This drive against *rateros* meant that police as outsiders usurped governance formerly performed by the communities themselves and altered for good the relationship between police and people locked into some of the most fetid pockets of poverty.

Drawing on a data base formulated through judicial records, printed government statistics, and compilations by others, Piccato noticed that crime in Mexico City declined after the revolution. He is wise not to draw the causal link too tightly, but he notes the shift in opinion from punishment to rehabilitation among penologists and other analysts of law enforcement. In another of his more striking observations, Piccato also avers that, in the wake of national conflict, the incarcerated themselves began to demand reforms in judicial procedures and prison conditions, echoing the same sort of opening up of Mexican society that others have noted in different contexts.

There is much in this book worth pondering. Post-

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modern jargon makes some sections impenetrable, but by and large the author's originality in his approach to crime both fascinates and challenges the reader.

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KATHERINE ELAINE BLISS. *Compromised Positions: Prositution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 243. $45.00.

On the eve of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, social hygienist Dr. Luis Lara y Pardo shocked readers when he estimated that between fifteen and thirty percent of the Mexico City's young adult female population were active in the sex trade. His book, *La prostitución en México* (1908), claimed that a majority of these women were part of a generation of poor, largely uneducated rural migrants who had come to the capital and crowded into a variety of working-class neighborhoods. Faced with the dismal prospect of working as domestic servants, laundresses, seamstresses, factory workers, or at some other low-paying job that did not provide a living wage, Lara y Pardo determined that those who sold themselves on the street often did so to supplement their otherwise meager income. As Katherine Elaine Bliss explains in her excellent study of gender politics and sex commerce in revolutionary Mexico City, Lara y Pardo unfortunately showed little sympathy for his subjects. Embracing the prevailing scientific and moral discourse that classified prostitutes as degenerate, he tended to ignore aspects of their personal lives that might have served as reasons for entering *la vida*. Instead, Lara y Pardo as well as the social reformers who would follow him after the revolution (with a few notable exceptions) viewed these working-class women as "worthless except as prostitutes to the greater male public" (p. 37).

Mexico City during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz (1877–1911) was for some a "city of pleasure" as middle-class and elite residents joined in a wave of consumerism that included, among other things, men frequenting any number of bordellos that existed throughout the capital. As Bliss points out, a young man's visit to a brothel was thought to be an important "rite of passage" for those wanting to experiment sexually without threatening the "purity" of unmarried middle-class women. Hanging out with prostitutes "was also a way of spending time with male friends and colleagues [and] often [an] evening's focus was less on the sex act itself than on the sociability of time spent drinking alcohol, dancing, and joking among friends" (p. 47). Not surprisingly, the patriarchal double standard extended to workingmen, who enjoyed regular relations with the many "streetwalkers" available at more affordable prices.

An intrepid researcher who draws on an impressive collection of sources, Bliss considers how instability wrought by nearly ten years of civil war added to the number of people engaged in the Mexico City sex trade despite the rhetoric of social and moral reform articulated by revolutionary leaders. As she argues, Mexico's cadre of progressive social and public health activists unfortunately "relied on older ideas about gender, sexuality, and the individual." In so doing, many public officials, doctors, public health activists, and citizens concentrated their efforts almost exclusively on "redeeming" women rather than confronting the prevailing masculinist ideology (p. 215). Bliss demonstrates how reformers' decision to address the "supply" rather than the "demand" side of the sex market necessarily doomed efforts to limit and possibly eradicate prostitution. Tracing this important history from the passage of the 1872 *Reglamento para el ejercicio de la prostitución* (Regulation for the Activity of Prostitution) until its abolition in 1940, Bliss shows how time and time again "only the pimp was criminalized as a deviant male [while bordello] clients themselves were permitted to continue to enjoy the privileges of sexual promiscuity" (p. 215). This is an important book not only for Mexicanists but for a wide range of scholars interested in the comparative politics of sex and gender.

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BEN FALLAW. *Cárdenas Compromised: The Failure of Reform in Postrevolutionary Yucatán*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 222. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

Ben Fallaw deftly analyzes the political project of Cardenismo in a state that promised to be "the perfect place to forge a new Mexico" (p. 3). The presidential administration of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940) is widely viewed as the period in which the postrevolutionary state was consolidated in Mexico, its key features defined as the extreme concentration of political power in the federal executive; a corporatist system of interest representation, embodied in the long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and its constituent mass organizations; and the rhetoric, if seldom the reality, of redistributive reform and social justice. Fallaw's study of Cardenismo, which he defines as "the project of political inclusion, social transformation, and economic nationalism implemented by the president and his key collaborators" (p. 1), presents a compelling challenge to this view of postrevolutionary state formation through a careful analysis of local, state, and national politics as they played out in Yucatán during the Cárdenas presidency. Far from the coherent, top-down, and highly centralized project so often depicted in the literature, Fallaw sees Cardenista state formation as a process rent with internal contradictions, shifting coalitions, opportunistic deal making, and political miscalculations. In the final analysis, Cardenismo failed in its main objectives in Yucatán: it did not successfully transform property relations in the countryside, nor did it build an enduring base of popular support for the postrevolutionary

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state among workers and peasants. Perhaps most importantly, it left local and regional political bosses in place, even strengthening their position. As Fallaw puts it, the national state was no more powerful in Yucatán in 1940 than it was in 1934, in spite of six years of a concerted attempt to carry out a revolution from above.

The centerpiece of Cardenismo in Yucatán was an agrarian reform program designed to transform the state's henequen plantations into peasant collectives. Supplemented by a set of educational, health, and civic programs, the agrarian reform was to forge a new, more modern, and more secular society in rural Yucatán (and perhaps a less patriarchal one as well), create an organized citizenry supportive of the national state, and displace both the old landed oligarchy and the newer regional bosses associated with the Socialist Party of the Southeast, the dominant political machine in Yucatán. Cárdenas, it turns out, was willing to make almost any political compromise in order to sustain the agrarian reform program. His administration, Fallaw points out, dedicated more resources to agrarian reform in Yucatán than in any other area in Mexico except the region of La Laguna. Yet the program seemed almost designed to generate widespread popular opposition rather than support. First, in transferring the henequen estates to peasant villagers, the reform excluded and alienated resident workers (peons), pushing them into an antireform alliance with the landed oligarchy. Second, many of the peasant beneficiaries of the reform wanted land of their own to grow the crops of their choosing; most came to resent the paternalism of the federal Agrarian Bank (which essentially controlled the collectives, paying peasants what amounted to an insufficient salary) and the tyranny of a new group of local bosses linked to the bank. Urban workers, meanwhile, were all but ignored by a president fixated on the transformative potential of agrarian reform. With their grievances left unaddressed, they were, by and large, either indifferent or openly hostile to the Cardenista project. In the face of widespread popular opposition, resource constraints imposed by the nationalization of oil in 1938, and the need to manage the 1940 presidential election, Cárdenas finally gave up on agrarian reform in Yucatán, striking a deal with the state's political bosses that granted them considerable autonomy in exchange for support on a limited number of key political issues such as the presidential succession.

With its meticulous analysis of Cardenista politics at the national, state, and local level, Fallaw's book will certainly be of interest to students of Mexican history and politics. But it will also be of value to everyone concerned with the politics and processes of state formation, even if non-Mexicanists may, at times, find the chronological narrative a trifle confusing to follow.

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STEVE STRIFFLER. *In the Shadows of State and Capital: The United Fruit Company, Popular Struggle, and Agrarian Restructuring in Ecuador, 1900–1995.* (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 242. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

Steve Striffler's book deserves a wide readership. If the details of Ecuadorian banana production from 1900 to 1995 will be of interest principally to Andean specialists, the author's innovative theoretical approach merits broader attention. This study, awarded the 2001 Social Science History Association's President's Award, is an example of how best to employ theory in interpreting the past. The worst approach is all too well known: take an arcane theory, explicate it in stilted language, and then ram it onto some minor local study. Striffler instead reviews the deficiencies of existing approaches and then turns to crafting a new and better method for interpreting his research findings.

Striffler's work focuses on the United Fruit Company's Tenguel Hacienda in southern coastal Ecuador. Comprehensively and cleverly researched, Striffler makes fine use of the United Fruit Company's internal correspondence, U.S. consulate papers, over 100 interviews with former workers and others, as well as Ecuadorian newspapers, agricultural department documents, and court records. The case study is situated in a major gap in Ecuadorian historiography, the 1950s banana boom and its aftermath, although it should be noted that United Fruit's Tenguel estate was exceptional: in Ecuador, small and medium-sized farms, not foreign enclaves, grew most of the bananas.

Banana farming at Tenguel underwent a major transformation over the last half of the twentieth century, shifting from enclave production in the 1950s to contract farming in recent years. If some scholars might read this change as just another example of the relentless advance of globalization, the ceaseless quest for profits, and the avoidance of risks that result from the unalterable logic of late capitalism, to Striffler the creation of new relations of production in Tenguel or elsewhere is much more than a mechanistic inevitability. Each local outcome is highly contingent, Striffler stresses, the messy and unpredictable result of complex political contestation. "I show," Striffler says, "how the local struggles . . . decisively shaped broader processes of production, marketing, and accumulation within the global banana industry" (p. 8). Striffler also criticizes trendy studies that seem only to find human agency in "subalterns" (that is, ordinary people) as they do heroic battle with the faceless forces of global capitalism. Capital and the state, Striffler correctly reminds us, have human actors too.

Life was good for the workers at Tenguel Hacienda. The company provided low-cost housing; subsidized meat, rice, and milk; kept the streets and drinking water impeccably clean; and even set up sports teams, paying for the fields, the balls, and the uniforms.

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United Fruit made enough money at Tenguel to afford to be generous if this would assure labor peace. It did, at least for a time.

Panama Disease, the scourge that wiped out so many banana plantations elsewhere, came to Ecuador in the 1950s and 1960s. United Fruit pulled out, and the former workers seized the estate. In Tenguel and across rural Ecuador, people formed communes, hoping to thereby gain legal standing from the state to take advantage of the land reform initiatives of 1964 and 1973. But if some communes got the land they sought, their victory came at too high a price. Communes quickly turned all of their energies toward supplicating the government for favors—water rights, seed, credit—thus converting themselves into little more than clients of the state. But money from the state almost never followed, and by the late 1970s most communes ended up selling the lands for which they had fought so hard; they just did not have the resources to farm them. In Ecuador, land reform left most people landless.

At points, Striffler may push his thesis of worker agency too far. For example, in explaining United Fruit's departure from Ecuador, he holds that collective worker action drove the company out, underestimating the pivotal role played by plant disease. And despite Striffler's injunction that historians must always give a human face to the forces of capital and the state, in truth he rarely does this himself, directing most of his attention to fleshing out the lives of individual poor farmers. Here, as the author retells one person's story after the next, the details gather and at length blur.

Yet overall, this is a significant and highly original piece of scholarship. Striffler has provided much more than an explanation of the changes in relations of production in banana production in Ecuador; he has constructed a template for historical investigation that should be well considered by others researching the social history of late capitalism.

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Iván Jaksić. *Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 87.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiv, 254. $54.95.

In this excellent new biography of Andrés Bello, Iván Jaksić sets for himself three goals: first, he seeks to update the Bello bibliography; second, he tries to identify "the personal dimensions of Bello's biography," showing how his ideas and writings articulate with events of Bello's time; and third, he aspires to "establish the centrality of Andrés Bello's contributions for the post-independence process of nation-building in Spanish America" (pp. xviii-xix).

Without question, Jaksić has done a yeoman's job of digging out new material. This is not a mean accomplishment, for the Bello bibliography is truly daunting, from Miguel Luis Amunátegui's *Vida de Don Andrés Bello* (1882) to the virtual Bello industry led by Pedro Grases, not to mention Emir Rodríguez Monegal's superb literary study, *El otro Andrés Bello* (1969). What is there to add? A great deal, as it turns out, so much so that any student of the Latin American nineteenth century will find Jaksić's book essential for its bibliographical contribution if nothing else.

Jaksić's second goal—identifying the personal dimensions of Bello's life—is a difficult task, for Bello, despite his visibility as a public intellectual, was an intensely private man. Jaksić does admirable work in connecting Bello's ideas and intellectual evolution to the changing political circumstances around him. On Bello's intimate life, however, Jaksić is less forthcoming. Bello knew spectacular success as well as great tragedy and duress, including the premature death of his first wife and several of his children, his erratic relationship with Simón Bolívar, and the frightful financial uncertainty of his twenty-odd years in London. Despite such hardship, Bello never faltered in his belief in the redemptive power of knowledge, beauty, and ideas.

On the importance of Bello in the formation of Latin American nation-states, Jaksić has much more to say and says it very well. Bello's achievements stagger comprehension. During his twenty years in London, he served as a beacon in a storm to countless refugees and itinerant patriots fleeing the oppression of Ferdinand VII's Spain or seeking British support for Spanish-American independence. In London, Bello assiduously familiarized himself with recent ideas in virtually every academic discipline, from physics to philology to jurisprudence to literature. On these subjects, he published widely, aspiring to assure that his Latin American contemporaries had access to the best ideas of their time.

Although Bello found his chief subjects in London, it was in Chile that he made his most profound contribution. Shortly after arriving in Santiago in 1829, he caught the attention of Diego Portales, the government minister whose views on governance resonated in Chile long after his assassination in 1837. Bello's quiet devotion to letters and Portales's legendary ebullience surely made them one of the odder couples of their time. But Portales fancied himself a good judge of men. Even when in disagreement with Bello, Portales provided the reticent intellectual every possibility to contribute to Chile's emerging political and intellectual culture.

And contribute he did. Jaksić describes in concise detail Bello's writings on jurisprudence, his leadership in founding a modern university, and his monumental achievements in literature, grammar, and linguistics. Yet, while Bello helped build the first successful Spanish-American nation, Jaksić also demonstrates that Bello was no revolutionary. Indeed, what sets Bello apart is his devotion to the past and his steadfast refusal to abandon the Roman and Hispanic roots of

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Spanish-American societies. When many of his contemporaries advocated complete divorce from Spain, Bello insisted that only in continuity could Spanish America progress. While cognizant of the abuses of Spanish colonial rule, he also recognized the strengths of the Spanish legal system and of its roots in Roman law. Similarly, he had no use for anticlericalism and firmly believed that only religion could provide a sure moral compass for the new nations. Fearing populist anarchy as much as he feared Ferdinand VII's monarchical tyranny, Bello sought orderly progress.

Bello's defense of the past, and particularly his admiration for the best elements of Spanish culture, made him an easy target for "modern" thinkers like José Vitorino Lastarria and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, both of whom engaged in lengthy written polemics with Bello. While Bello was frank in his disagreements with both figures, he never tried to silence them. Indeed, what emerges from Jaksić's pages is a man who combined an essential conservatism with imagination, intuition, great intellectual breadth, and a remarkable tolerance for disagreement and new ideas. We owe Jaksić considerable gratitude for this excellent portrait of a truly great man.

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DARYLE WILLIAMS. *Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930–1945*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xxii, 346. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Long after his suicide in 1954, Getúlio Dornelles Vargas's political legacy in Brazil continues to polarize public and scholarly opinion. As a nationalistic visionary, Vargas is credited with spearheading the centralization of state power, import substitution industrialization, and the uplift of the urban working class; as an authoritarian leader, he stands accused of crushing political opposition, regional autonomy, and popular initiatives. Whether seeking to explain the origins of Brazilian nationalism, mass culture, military rule, or enduring patterns of social stratification and patriarchy, historians have turned to the Vargas era for clues. In focusing on the cultural politics of the Vargas regime, Daryle Williams offers an important contribution to the discussion of this critical period.

Williams's primary interest lies in analyzing the expanded, and inevitably contested, role of the Brazilian state under Vargas in promoting a national culture and an official history. The book offers a close study of various state institutions, museums, and foreign expositions that were unveiled or consolidated under Vargas, and the state-backed intellectuals, artists, and curators who were entrusted with the onerous task of consecrating or adhering to a national cultural canon. Conflicts and contradictions strained a state project that sought to place cultural renewal at the service of political unification. In Brazil, politics and culture had been traditionally fractured by class, race, and region, and little had been done previously to secure or salvage historic sites and cultural treasures. Furthermore, in its effort to cobble together an official history, the modernizing regime had to reconcile its narrative of state consolidation and industrial progress with a slaveholding, oligarchic past. The Vargas regime's cultural stewards and protégés—which included luminaries such as Heitor Villa-Lobos, Oscar Niemeyer, Lúcio Costa, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Mário de Andrade, and Cândido Portinari—gravitated toward public service or state commissions with an eye on financial security or symbolic capital, or with nationalist designs for showcasing Brazil's cultural and historic patrimony. Overall, Williams deems the state-designated "cultural managers" elitist in their restricted focus on "high culture"; yet even among this small cadre, interlocutors clashed over the faithfulness of their stylistic preferences to Brazil's cultural and artistic "essence."

Williams traces the Vargas regime's efforts to forge an official history in a host of venues. The newly created Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, responsible for naming and safeguarding national landmarks and patrimony, transformed the run-down towns and baroque churches of the eighteenth-century gold mining region of Minas Gerais into proud hallmarks of Brazilian national identity. By the end of Vargas's first regime, 416 such national landmarks had been established, nearly half of all those registered to date. Meanwhile, at the Museu Histórico Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, exhibition galleries offered a triumphal account of the Brazilian past that privileged elites while marginalizing the history of the nation's nonwhite masses. The emphasis on "great man" history, which dovetailed so intimately with Vargas's own paternalistic style, found its supreme expression in the inauguration of the Museu Imperial and the official resurrection of nineteenth-century emperor Dom Pedro II. In the international arena, statesmen sought to package Brazilian society in a way that would please foreign viewers without reinforcing damaging stereotypes. Thus, at the World's Fair of 1939, the Internationalist-style Brazilian Pavilion, designed by Costa and Niemeyer, highlighted the nation's modernizing tempo while displaying its tropical flair and natural resources to fair goers and investors; at the Exposição do Mundo Português in Lisbon in 1940, on the other hand, the Brazilians played up their shared Luso-Catholic heritage.

State sponsorship of culture under Vargas was never smooth sailing. The forward-looking officials at the Ministry of Education and Health sparred with their doctrinaire and repressive cohorts at the Ministry of Justice's Department of Press and Propaganda over the control and content of mass media and educational programming. Intra-elite feuds also flared between conservative cultural critics such as Gustavo Barroso, José Mariano, and Oswaldo Teixeira, who favored traditional artistic forms and neocolonial architecture,

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and vanguards such as Mário de Andrade, Niemeyer, Costa, and Portinari, whose works adapted and promoted modernist styles. Although the book concentrates primarily on such elite and ministerial rivalries, there are attempts to gauge popular response to the institutionalization of Brazilian history and culture. A quantitative survey of museum visitation reveals relatively low attendance, suggesting that such "public" spaces remained dominated by elites whose stodgy version of the past did little to captivate most Brazilians. In the struggle over the demarcation of historical landmarks, which represented an unprecedented incursion of the state into private or municipal jurisdiction, Williams finds enthusiastic collaborators among the local population of Ouro Prieto, who valued linkages to the central government and the prospect of tourist revenues. Yet in other instances, stiff resistance arose from property holders of historic sites such as the Arco do Teles in Rio de Janeiro, whose owners unsuccessfully sued the government to lift restrictions on structural modification.

While recognizing the enduring importance of state sponsorship of the arts in Brazil, the book, like much of the revisionist scholarship on the Vargas period, seeks to debunk the regime's self-aggrandizing claims by highlighting internal divisions, the steamrolling of popular initiatives, and the practical limitations of state policy. Yet the emphasis on such conflict—symbolized in the book's title and recurring theme, and an awkward introductory chapter that attempts to view modern Brazilian history through the metaphor of war—seems overstated. Disputes between modernists and traditionalists were certainly real, yet the Vargas regime's adeptness in accommodating opposing views among intellectuals (and Brazilians at large) was testament to its conciliatory talents and key to its political longevity. Thus, the Vargas regime could give the green light to leftist, modernist architects to showcase the "new Brazil" while simultaneously ensconcing archconservatives at the helm of the Museu Nacional de Belas Artes and the Museu Histórico Nacional. On a related note, attempts to downplay the regime's efficacy are not always convincing. The importance of public radio broadcasts in forging national identity is dismissed based on anecdotal information from the city of São Paulo, yet one of the Vargas regime's greatest contributions to nation building was the political incorporation of far-flung regions through the use of mass media (and the appropriation of regional culture for nationalistic ends).

Williams concludes that the Vargas regime's cultural arbiters hallowed an elitist version of history and the arts. Popular cultural forms and representations, however, did make their way into state institutional agendas and exhibitionary venues, and they surface sporadically in this book: in a brief discussion of state support for samba, in a nod to the popular singer Carmen Miranda, and in the analysis of the depiction of Afro-Brazilians in Jean-Baptiste Debret's nineteenth-century watercolors and Portinari's modernist paintings. This dynamic speaks to a greater tension in the state's promotion of cultural forms that merits further study. The Vargas regime's cultural project in fact was never entirely restricted to the blueprints of the select group of institutions, museums, and personalities analyzed herein. It also flourished in state sponsorship of "popular" forums such as Carnival and the Day of the Indian; in the spotlight on regional "folklore" and cuisines in official journals such as *Cultura Política*; and, above all, in Vargas's celebration of *trabalhismo* or the culture of work—the culture that had the greatest immediate significance for the majority of Brazilians. Indeed, Vargas's cultural rehabilitation of the working class remains one of his regime's crowning achievements: it is not for nothing that Vargas is overwhelmingly remembered as the "Father of the Poor," not of the Portinaris. Yet Williams's book certainly adds another layer of complexity to the political regime of twentieth-century Brazil's most influential and controversial leader.

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ROY HORA. *The Landowners of the Argentine Pampas: A Social and Political History 1860–1945*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 264. $70.00.

Roy Hora's cogent history of Argentina's wealthy cattle ranchers, or *estancieros*, debunks the persistent stereotype of an omnipotent ruling class that imposed its will on the nation from colonial times until the advent of Peronism. Although other historians have already problematized this simplistic narrative, Hora does an important service by replacing it with a comprehensive and nuanced account of the rise and fall of the Argentine landed elite.

Hora revises the old image of the *estancieros* in two ways. First, he demonstrates that a hegemonic landowning class did not exist until the late nineteenth century. In the decades after independence, the Argentine elite considered itself an urban class. These were wealthy families with roots in the mercantile elite of colonial Buenos Aires who had invested in land following the break with Spain. But until at least the 1850s, Hora argues, they were reluctant, absentee landlords, practicing a technologically backward form of stock raising. Even after mid-century, the *estancieros* who founded the Sociedad Rural Argentina were unable to convince most of their fellow landowners to embrace the role of a progressive, agrarian ruling class. It was only after 1880, when a new political regime brought stability and massive foreign investment in infrastructure, that the cattle ranches of the pampas were definitively transformed into efficient, capitalist enterprises and their owners became a powerful elite, linked in their own minds and in public opinion to modernity, progress, and prestige. Hora emphasizes the centrality of stock raising within the investment

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portfolios and the cultural identity of the landowners and thus rejects Jorge Sábato's influential depiction of a heavily diversified elite.

Hora's second major revision concerns the relationship between the *estancieros* and the state. Argentina's landed elite, he argues, never exercised political power directly. As a region of recent settlement and labor scarcity, the pampas lacked the deferential, hierarchical society that characterized other rural areas in Latin America. As a result, the *estancieros* were unable to translate their economic power into political dominance. Hora follows recent scholarship in depicting nineteenth-century Argentine politics as dominated by political machines that mobilized lower-class groups on election day. He convincingly demonstrates that Argentina's wealthy landowners distrusted the political elite. At the same time, since the *estancieros* reaped enormous rewards from the export-led model of economic growth pursued by the government, they had little reason to enter the political fray themselves. This perspective enables Hora to shed interesting, new light on the democratic experiment of 1912–1930. Disagreeing with those historians who have described the 1912 electoral reform as a concession to the middle class or a reaction to fears of mass revolt, he sees the *estancieros*' support for the measure as a logical response to their lack of political power. Wealthy landowners, he argues, hoped that democracy would weaken the political machines and thereby enhance their own hegemony. But the reform had unexpected consequences, inaugurating an era of mass politics in which politicians became more responsive to popular demands. At the same time, the closing of the agricultural frontier, the increasing rigidity of Argentina's class structure, and the economic crisis provoked by World War I led to a rise in social conflict and a decline in the *estancieros*' public image. Although the governments of the 1930s heavily favored the landowners' interests, their days as a hegemonic class were numbered, as industry now became the engine of the Argentine economy. Following the coup of 1943, the military government passed sweeping legislation regulating agricultural tenancy arrangements and thereby dislodged the *estancieros* from their position at the top of Argentine society.

Hora's book is clearly written, well argued, and thoroughly researched. In addition to more familiar sources, he uses several collections of private correspondence to excellent effect, charting the *estancieros*' changing world view through their own words. Moreover, Hora carefully analyzes several understudied organizations and political parties, including the Liga Agraria, the Defensa Rural, and the Unión Provincial.

As Hora acknowledges, his analytical approach is "rather traditional" (p. 4). He ignores such topics as gender and national identity, and he tends to leave concepts like class formation theoretically unspecified. In several instances, this tendency weakens his analysis. For example, a richer concept of hegemony would have helped him account for the landowners' ability to shape economic policy without exerting direct control over the levers of government. Similarly, Hora offers only a superficial analysis of the Sociedad Rural's annual exhibitions, thereby missing a chance to explore the elite's strategies of self-representation. These shortcomings notwithstanding, this book is an important contribution to the historiography and will help shape future debate about the role of the *estancieros* in modern Argentine history.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

THOMAS F. SCANLON. *Eros and Greek Athletics*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 466. Cloth $74.00, paper $35.00.

The potting is exquisite, the glaze lustrous, the two little pictures clearly pendants. In one, a winsome, naked boy holding a strigil addresses a second one who practices the javelin; in the other, a third naked boy faces an equally prepubescent naked Eros who daintily presents him with a strigil. These two gemlike scenes grace a small Attic red-figure kantharoid *skyphos*—a fancy wine cup—of about 420 B.C. Noticing it one day in the Getty Museum (p. 3) was what turned Thomas F. Scanlon on to his subject, pursued here in ten useful, judiciously illustrated, and copiously documented chapters. Four of them revive past publications dating back to the mid 1980s, of which more shortly. All ancient Greek is translated and properly referenced.

An introduction examines the Greek contest system, the problematics of ancient athletics (Scanlon finds "sport" anachronistic), and its ethos and functions for both sexes. Chapter one then sketches the origins of the Olympics, their diffusion, and the links among athletics, religion, and initiation. Chapter two digresses to rehabilitate the Roman Olympics.

The meat of the book follows. Chapter three revisits the athletics-initiation-pederasty question, basically retaining the "package" but redating it from the Bronze Age to the sixth century B.C. Chapters four through seven feature girls: racing for Hera at Olympia, exercising naked at Sparta, racing or chasing at Brauron, and mythicized in the heroine Atalanta. Scanlon concludes (like others before him) that such contests were mostly prenuptial, initiatory events: that is, rites of passage. The Spartan curriculum, however, was also eugenic, preparing girls for childbirth and the breeding of "real" men, of invincible citizen-warriors for the awesome Spartan war machine.

Chapter eight, repeating the book's title, returns to males. Revisiting the nexus of eros, beauty, and athletic nudity, it considers the *gymnasion*'s erotic protocols; spectatorial sexual arousal *versus* athletic sexual abstinence; images of Eros, Anteros, and athletes; the roles of two other *gymnasion*-patrons, Herakles and Hermes; athletic festivals of Eros; and the poetics of

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(in Jack Winkler's formulation) "the constraints of [athletic] desire." Chapter nine turns to drama, desire, and death, comparing the games and the theater; gauging the entertainment value of risk; and assessing the telos of athletics for the two sexes. Much of this traverses ground already covered and is internally repetitious: Arrhichion's story, for example, turns up no fewer than four times (pp. 276, 298, 305, and 319–20). Chapter ten is largely a mere summary of the first nine.

Some spelling mistakes and typos aside, outright errors seem few: Herakles for Alexander the Great (p. 254); Macedonia for Thessaly (p. 267); a doppelgänger Herakles (p. 275); and the extraordinary statement that hunting was rare in Greece after the Bronze Age (p. 320). Sometimes (e.g. pp. 118, 135) Scanlon's desire to connect cults and festivals seems positively Frazerian. More serious are the omissions: there is no thorough discussion of athletic nudity and almost no mention of victor statues, even though their erotic charge is palpable; several of the vase paintings repruduced imitate them (the Getty *skyphos* included); and, as Leslie Kurke shows in "The Economy of *Kudos*" (*Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece*, ed. Kurke and Carol Dougherty [1993]), they vividly instantiate that electrifying flashpoint of athletic kudos and spectatorial eros, the naked victor's acceptance of his crown.

Scanlon's book republishes some of his old essays almost verbatim, largely disregarding recent developments in the debate. This reviewer (for one) has tackled the Heraia, Spartan girls, the Brauronia, and Atlanta in *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (1997). Scanlon's Spartan prenuptial model needs serious nuancing, and his almost two-decades-old database of images (naked and topless girls often serving as utensil handles) requires a massive overhaul, for it contains many mistakes and lists only twenty-six examples out of a known forty-five. Not understanding the difference between a mirror and a *phiale* (a ritual vessel), he calls them all mirrors; he conflates the two types of girls and assigns both types to Sparta (the topless ones may be Corinthian); he misidentifies some of their proveniences and attributes; and he offers a one-dimensional view of their place within the culture.

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Luc Brisson. *Sexual Ambivalence: Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. (The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature.) Translated by Janet Lloyd. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 195. Cloth $45.00, paper $16.95.

Luc Brisson is a scholar with a structuralist approach to myth and literature. Like his mentor, Claude Lévi-Strauss, he looks for pairs of opposites in the structure of myths and other narratives, granting all versions equal validity regardless of chronology and considering the mediation between antagonistic features as the soul and function of a plot. In subject study, the emphasis lies on "hermaphroditism," defined as the possession of both male and female genitalia, or "dual sexuality," as the author also calls it, whereas "androgyny" covers a wider range of aberrant sexual traits. Brisson develops the interesting but poorly argued thesis that in a major strand of Greek culture, the aboriginal forms of life were believed to have been "dual-sexed"; after the reproductive functions were separated, the sex drive ever after sought, in vain, to restore the primordial unity of genders, a thesis obviously leaning heavily on the myth about the origin of desire told by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*. Brisson's efforts are sustained by a spotty command of the relevant ancient sources, a nodding acquaintance with the modern critical literature, and no familiarity with ancient iconography.

The author makes short shrift of the unadorned history of hermaphroditism. In Rome, as annalistic passages in Livy make clear, anatomical hermaphrodites were considered monsters of ill omen and routinely put to death at birth or during childhood, preferentially by drowning. Elsewhere Brisson asserts that a similar practice seems to have prevailed in Greece, but he provides no evidence to support that speculation (p. 2). The myth of Polycritus, an obscure Greek ghost story that confirms the fear aroused by abnormal births, is given unwarranted emphasis in this context (pp. 8–24).

A major portion of the text deals with "dual sexuality and homosexuality." The author cites at length from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, including four pages of direct quotation, but his "conclusions" are assertions flawed by error. It cannot be shown, for instance, that homoerotic ties between women were condemned in classical Greece (p. 67). The only reference to such (Plato, *Symposium* 191e) is nonjudgmental. It is equally untrue that during the classical Greek period there was no opprobrium attached to youths playing the submissive role in a male homosexual relationship, provided the passive partner was of the canonical tender age. This license obtained only during the late archaic period and, perhaps, the early classical era. The literature of the fourth century B.C., by contrast, provides ample evidence of the reproof and legal prosecution of men who cultivated sexual relationships with boys of the citizen class, as well as blanket condemnations of all homosexual practices. This chapter contains brief but interesting observations on the numerous cross-dressing rituals of ancient Greece, a topic on which much research remains to be done, and for which Attic vase painting is an indispensable resource (pp. 63–64).

Under the heading of "archetypes," Brisson unfolds his thesis of Greek belief in dual-sexed creatures at the origin of the human race. Despite brief forays into hard-to-reconstruct and highly syncretistic cosmogonies, such as those of the Orphic religion, of Gnosticism, and of the Chaldean Oracles, the lynchpin of his

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theory remains the description of the primordial dual-sexed being in Plato's *Symposium* and its alleged resemblance to the Egg of Orphic cosmogony. However, Aristophanes's creature of fantasy is round, not oval in shape, and it is most unlike an egg, in that it sprouts eight arms and legs with which it propels itself when in a hurry. A discussion of the oft-cited myth of Tiresias provides the element of "mediation" mandatory in structuralist analysis.

There are misrepresentations in this discourse other than the afore cited, only two of which can here be pointed out. It is incorrect that compound nouns in ancient Greek are necessarily masculine, as asserted by way of explanation of the circumstance that hermaphrodites were considered male (p. 55). (Brisson was probably thinking of compound adjectives, which in Attic Greek lack feminine gender.) By a consensus of historians, Alcibiades did not instigate the Mutilation of the Herms (p. 54). Indeed, why would he have undercut the Sicilian expedition that he himself had ardently promoted?

Brisson's slender effort is more likely to mislead than to enlighten.

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Raffaella Cribiore. *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 270. $39.50.

In this book, Raffaella Cribiore enlarges on her previous technical study of educational papyri to consider various aspects of ancient literate education in general. Despite its title, the focus is only loosely on Egypt, and most chapters ramble freely across the whole chronological and geographical range of classical antiquity.

The first half of the book deals with schools, teachers, the education of women, parents, and students. At their best, these chapters offer a glittering rattlebag of evidence. Cribiore draws a series of vivid vignettes of educational life and alludes to many more, and the effect is tantalizing and seductive. We may wonder, however, what we are supposed to conclude from it. To put all the evidence together in no particular order, and to appear to imply that the resulting mosaic fits fifth-century Athens, third-century Alexandria, Roman Gaul, and late antique Egypt equally well, strikes this reader as optimistic and rather retro—a return to the sunny positivism of Stanley Frederick Bonner and Frederick A. G. Beck.

In her introduction, Cribiore refers to a tension between description and argument running throughout the book. In the event, there is very little argument except in the chapter on women. Here the author claims that far more women were educated, and to a higher level, than most scholars have assumed. This would be very exciting if it could be convincingly shown, but only a few familiar pieces of evidence appear, interspersed with unsupported assertions and interesting but here irrelevant evidence for women teaching and learning domestic skills.

The second half of the book draws more closely on Cribiore's previous work. A chapter on teachers' models, school books, and writing materials is followed by a somewhat routine description of the evidence for the stages of education from learning to read and write to studying rhetoric. Questions of the sociology of education—who studied what, for what purposes and with what results—are raised briefly in the conclusion and left to readers to ponder for themselves.

This is a vivid, engaging, attractively written introduction to ancient education that makes accessible a great deal of useful evidence. It presents a thousand snapshots of educational practices without much sense of what education might have looked like at any one place or time, how it developed, or how it related to its diverse social, political, and cultural contexts. It is a pity that the mosaic is set largely in facile assumptions and assertions rather than an argument, and that much of the second half covers now well-known territory without adding appreciatively to recent scholarship, but there is much here to stimulate readers to pursue their own ideas.

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William V. Harris. *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 468. $49.95.

The history of the emotions has begun to attract scholarly attention, and William V. Harris's thoughtful, massively documented book is a major contribution to our understanding of the classical world. As Harris says, "The study of classical emotions has been seriously impeded by our failure to realize . . . that the relevant Greek and Latin terminology is very unlikely to correspond neatly to modern English usage" (p. 36). This book is not, however, a study of anger itself, but of "attempts at the control of anger" (p. 23), and more especially of the ideal and advocacy of such control. It traces the emergence of critiques of rage for the harm rage does to society, the family, and the self.

There are two important consequences of this approach. First, Harris is interested less in representations of anger or its restraint as such than in determining a writer's stance toward anger: "Homer had something large he wanted to tell contemporary hearers, and possibly readers, about the workings of *mênis* and *cholos* ["wrath" and "anger"] and more specifically about the proper limits which men should impose on them . . . he probably intended to offer something of a lesson about anger" (pp. 73–74). Perhaps, but art is not necessarily didactic in this way.

The second consequence is that the ancient debate on anger is historicized: "attempts at anger control were responses to social and political conditions" (p. 7). In particular, Harris argues that anxiety over anger

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was largely inspired by the threat it apparently posed to political stability. He holds that the control of anger was increasingly necessary as social structures became more complex, and he tends, accordingly, to interpret attitudes toward anger as stages in "the evolving morality of human anger" (p. 5; cf. p. 215). The evolution of anger control in antiquity is thus a precursor to the "internalization of restraining doctrines" that Norbert Elias posited for early modern society (p. 150; cf. p. 404).

A positive view of anger, however, may have persisted longer than Harris allows. It was always a legitimate, indeed obligatory, response to wrong doing, as was pity for the victim. One need not suppose that the Greek term *orgê* "came to mean, for a time, not only 'anger' . . . but also sometimes 'punishment' " (p. 62). As Danielle S. Allen puts it in "Democratic Dis-Ease," (in Susan A. Bandes, ed., *The Passions of Law* [1999], p. 194), "The Athenians had no doubts about why they punished: it was simply because someone was *angry* at a wrong." Whether anger is more dangerous in small tribal units or large bureaucratic states is perhaps moot; in any case, it is a distinct question from whether the control of rage in private life is perceived as an important value. Harris is right to note that Stoic and to some extent Epicurean critiques of the passions in general seeped into popular ideology, at least among the elites (for whose views we have evidence), and that diatribe literature represented unrestrained anger as pernicious to psychological well-being. Harris is excellent on the kinds of therapy that ancient thinkers proposed and applied to excessive rage (they did not endorse "ventilating" one's anger, pp. 44–45). But the currency of such views on restraint might reflect an increase in angry outbursts, and hence a regression in regard to the "internalization" of restraints. Moralizing literature often exists in dialectical relation to social behavior. Following the strictly historical survey, individual chapters deal with the anger of the ruler, women's anger, anger and slavery, and anger in the family. Harris remarks that "the Greek family seems to have been especially combustible" (p. 290), and hints that it may even have been "dysfunctional." Menander's comedies, however, yield a rather better impression of domestic life. The very comprehensiveness of Harris' survey of classical attitudes toward anger over more than a millennium inevitably lends a certain staccato quality to his narrative as it moves from text to text and writer to writer. But this same thoroughness is the book's great virtue. Harris presents all the important sources, accompanied by judicious, informative, and stimulating commentary. His book will be a major resource for anyone concerned with the history of the emotions, whether in antiquity or beyond. It is a great achievement.

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Robert M. Frakes. *Contra Potentium Iniurias: The* Defensor Civitatis *and Late Roman Justice*. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte, number 90.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 2001. Pp. xi, 250. DM 108.00.

Repression of the weak is an omnipresent phenomenon. Governmental efforts to combat it, however, might be said to characterize only more enlightened and successful societies. It is thus telling that, in the later Roman Empire, the period of supposed "decline and fall," the emperors created a ground level officer called the *defensor civitatis* designed to protect the interests of the ever-oppressed "little guy." In their heyday (*ca.* 325–385 A.D.), *defensores* were responsible for safeguarding the interests of local citizens by acting as mediators in petty suits over small amounts of money, runaway slaves, and tax overcharges.

Robert M. Frakes has thoughtfully elucidated this office in the first monograph in English on this fascinating institution. The question had been treated previously by continental scholars, most notably Vincenzo Mannino in *Ricerche sul "Defensor Civitatis"* (1984), but by gathering more evidence than his predecessors and reading that evidence more subtly, Frakes has succeeded in overturning many false assumptions and in creating a remarkably coherent picture of this office. Where Mannino had contended that the *defensor* was a local official who had existed exclusively in Egypt until he was retooled by the Emperor Valentinian I, Frakes uses textual, epigraphic, and above all papyrological sources to demonstrate that the *defensor* qua imperial mediator had existed across the empire already since the late 320s. Frakes argues convincingly that, although the first extant law attesting to the office (*Codex Theodosianus* 1.29.1) stems from the reign of Valentinian (364–375 A.D.), Constantine must have issued a now lost law *ca.* 326 that actually created the new office. In the later fourth and early fifth centuries, argues Frakes, the *defensor* unfortunately became overburdened with an ever-broadening array of responsibilities. In the 390s he was charged with tax collection, with the hindrance of collusive patronage arrangements, and even with the oversight of laws against pagan sacrifice, and this trend toward "mission creep," as Frakes terms it, only continued in the early fifth century as *defensores* gained new duties as religious and criminal law enforcers. The author finds the roots of this mushrooming of responsibilities in the shortsightedness of the late fourth and early fifth-century emperors—who failed to comprehend the limits of the office—and above all in their desperate efforts to boost tax revenues by using *defensores* as collectors. Frakes ends by drawing interesting comparisons with another Constantinian program designed to provide access to justice, the *audientia episcopalis*, or the authority granted to bishops to preside over legal cases in lieu of imperial judges. The parallels in the introduction and development of both institutions are indeed striking and seem to evince a preplanned effort by Constantine to provide cheap and easy access to reliable justice at the local level.

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The book is thoroughly researched and soundly argued. Aside from minor quibbles, I take issue only with the author's contention (pp. 129–30, 162–64, 222) that the law of Theodosius I that entrusted the selection of *defensores* to local curials really represented a radical change. Frakes has struck a mighty blow to the sacred cow that misled Mannino into assuming the office first arose under Valentinian: the fact that the *Theodosian Code* first attests to the new *defensores* in Valentinian's laws of the 360s does not disprove their earlier existence. Frakes has perhaps not yet, however, dealt the coup de grace. The same evidence that attests to earlier *defensores* indicates that these were generally curials themselves. Valentinian's insistece that *defensores* be chosen from former imperial officials rather than curials was thus not necessarily normative before the 360s. Indeed, Valentinian's laws more likely represent a deviation from earlier precedent, a deviation also attested in his laws insisting that collectors of tribute (*exactores*) no longer be chosen from curials but rather appointed from former imperial officials (see my *Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century AD* [2002]). Just as Theodosius eliminated this latter innovation of Valentinian, so too, I would argue, he was merely returning to earlier precedent by recoupling *defensores* with their local *curiae*. Once again, however, the fact that Valentinian's *defensor* laws are the first to survive has led to a false assumption, namely that curial connections to the *defensor* were weak before 387 A.D.

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MICHELE RENEE SALZMAN. *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 354. $49.95.

Perhaps the most momentous change that occurred during the transition from the classical to the medieval world was the rise of Christianity, which during the fourth century A.D. gained imperial support and became the official religion of the Roman world. Regarding this transformation, Michele Renee Salzman asks, "What did it take to make the Roman aristocracy in the later western empire [turn] from paganism to Christianity?" (p. ix). Her particular focus is on the "conservative and proud pagan senatorial aristocracy" (p. 3) of Italy, which "could hardly have been a more unlikely candidate for Christianity" (p. 2). Essaying a quantitative approach, Salzman has created a catalogue of 414 senators of known religious affiliation.

Salzman's analysis is predicated on the central importance of status (as measured by birth, office, and rank) in the lives of Roman senators. She sees the old Italian aristocracy as "more resistant" to Christianity than "new" senators from the provinces or the military (pp. 14, 70) and suggests that, for them, "religious affiliation that did not confer prestige was problematic" (p. 66). She posits that churchmen and emperors wishing to convert them would have "to appeal to the aristocracy on its own terms" (p. 4) and that emperors encouraged conversion not by coercion but by being "exemplars of how to be aristocratic and Christian at the same time" (pp. 198–99). Concurring with current scholarship, Salzman sees "a significant Christian presence in Rome beginning with Gratian's rule" (A.D. 367–383). But, unlike some scholars, she concludes that "most Christian aristocrats chose not to devote their energies to pursuing church office" (p. 132).

Regarding senatorial women, Salzman challenges views that "see women as a critical, active force in conversion" (p. 139). She submits that "women converted due to the influence of fathers, husbands, and sons, who . . . orchestrated women's religious choices" (pp. 161–62). This conclusion, however, is somewhat weakened by the author's acknowledgment that "the daughters of mixed marriages tended to follow their mothers and adopt Christianity" (p. 146) and by her quantitative evidence: of 99 women, eighty-six percent were Christians, as opposed to only fifty percent of the 315 men (p. 141). This suggests a greater predominance of Christianity among women.

Salzman concludes that "for the majority of fourth-century aristocrats, Christianity did not entail a radical reorientation from their previous way of life" (p. 202), a suggestion consistent with scholarship showing that, by the fourth century, Christian and secular ideologies had coalesced to a remarkable degree. This puts Salzman squarely in the camp of those who see senatorial conversion in terms of accommodation rather than confrontation.

In general, Salzman provides a detailed and instructive description of the social and religious milieu of the late Roman aristocracy. But there also are a few loose ends. For one thing, the author creates a scenario—the opportunity to retain their status ideology—in which senators, collectively, would be willing to convert, but she says little about why individual senators actually did so. Many scholars see imperial anti-pagan policy as a motivating factor, but this is minimized by Salzman (pp. 4, 70). Yet the criminalization of paganism would have removed its status at the same time that Christians, and especially bishops, were obtaining both high official status and increased political authority. For Salzman's status-based argument to be consistent, senators must have been very sensitive to such measures, and imperial policy probably had a greater effect than she supposes. She also generally excludes any role for genuine religious conviction. Some might find a bit too cynical statements like "For the late Roman senator, religious affiliation was meant to secure and augment status . . . religious affiliation was not the locus of strongly held beliefs or emotions" (p. 66), or "elements of aristocratic identity and status culture were clearly more important than the message of Christianity per se" (p. 219).

The greatest potential promise of this study lies in its

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proposal to use quantitative and prosopographical methodologies (e.g. pp. 9–10, 29, 70, 77–86, 91, 110, 221–27, 238–39), which offer new ways of understanding social change. But Salzman ultimately backs off, suggesting that a resolution based "on quantitative grounds still eludes us" (pp. 7, 77–80). And, indeed, there are several problems with the author's methodological applications. For example, an estimate of 36,000 for the total senatorial population probably should be at least doubled; the definition of who qualified as a "senator" gives insufficient attention to provincial aristocrats and the aristocratization of the Christian clergy; omissions from the catalogue, including several Jews, like Lectorius, Count of the Balearic Islands, that would refute Salzman's claim to have found no Jewish aristocrats" (p. 239); and statistical infelicities, such as confusion about how to relate percentages and absolute numbers from different populations (pp. 141–44).

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MARTIN HEINZELMANN. *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century*. Translated by CHRISTOPHER CARROLL. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 235. $59.95.

Martin Heinzelmann's *Gregor von Tours (538–594), "Zehn Bücher Geschichte": Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert* (1994) has been translated into English by Christopher Carroll. It marks a watershed in studies of Gregory and is the capstone of decades of this eminent scholar's work. For centuries, Gregory has been dismissed as a naïve and gullible annalist whose disorderly *Histories* seemed to epitomize a barbaric, superstitious age. In the 1980s, a burst of research brought fresh, more accurate and fair interpretations by scholars such Walter Goffart, Kathleen Mitchell, Félix Thürlemann, and Gisela de Nie, to name a few. Building on their work, Heinzelmann goes farther than they in offering a definitive and comprehensive interpretation that marks the end of an era.

Heinzelmann analyzes the structure of Gregory's work, appreciating the significance of Gregory's curse upon those who would dismember it. Understanding Gregory begins by discerning the logic of how discrete chapters and individual books form a coherent whole. Patristic exegesis with its symbolical thinking is the foundation of Gregory's work. His concerns are not historical (much less scientific) but moral and didactic. "For Gregory, the idea that history could simply be reduced to the opposition of good and evil was both the reason and justification for his writing" (p. 102).

Gregory views *all* history typologically: events of the Old Dispensation foreshadow those of the New Dispensation; significantly, the New Dispensation continues to the present. The Israelites of the Old Testament have their counterpart in Catholic (as opposed to Arian) Christians; kings and prophets of the Old Testament have their antitypes in contemporary kings and bishops; signs of the coming Apocalypse can be read in the mischief of contemporary Antichrists such as Desiderius. Viewing history from this biblical perspective, Gregory begins his work with the creation and fall of Adam. Christ's passion is the mid-point of the divine plan that ends with Judgment Day (p. 105). With St. Martin as the antitype of Christ, Gregory himself becomes the champion of God's cause as Martin's successor, while Chilperic and Fredegund are antitypes of Ahab and Jezebel to Gregory's Elijah.

History is paradigmatic and dualistic: the evolving story of God's chosen people confronting the devil and his kin. Typology is prescriptive: events are foreshadowed and fulfilled; history indeed repeats itself. The *Histories*' organizing principle is the struggle of those on God's side (the bishops and certain good kings) against those who oppose him (heretics and bad kings). Chapters and books juxtapose good and evil, with the central part being devoted to the contrast between the greedy, bad king Chilperic, who persecutes bishops, and the charitable, good king Gunthram, who supports bishops and patronizes churches. Individual chapters replicate this theme, and the prologues signal particular points carried throughout individual books. Gregory's moral is that those on God's (and the bishops') side succeed, while those against him fail.

At bottom, Gregory is an Augustinian, concerned with the *ecclesia*, which was both the "community of saints" and the society of all true Christians. Earthly society is a mixed field of wheat and tares to be separated only at the Last Judgment. Until then, members of the heavenly city will be mingled with those of the earthly city. Because this antithesis of good and evil patterns all experience, Gregory presents events in a manner "*mixta confusaque*," deliberately interweaving "the wars waged by kings and the holy deeds of martyrs" (*Histories* 2.1). Far from being random and confused, Gregory's work has a structure so systematic that he distorts chronology, events, and historical characters to fit his didactic paradigm. Heinzelmann not only reveals the distortions, but, by coordinating chronology and cross-checking data, he demonstrates how historians can reconstruct probable truth. Ironically, Heinzelmann succeeds in redeeming Gregory as a historical source even as he reveals how thoroughly Gregory is biased.

Granting that Gregory's work has a clearly defined structure, questions arise about Heinzelmann's perception of that structure. Why is civil war overshadowed by antithesis of bishop and king, and the theme of obedience to authority similarly neglected? All could fit under the antithesis of Christian right order versus diabolical chaos. What role does the Germanic warriors' sense of honor play? To judge that Gregory is "more superstitious than Augustine" (p. 5) is puzzling, given that Augustine *did* believe in contemporary miracles. On the whole, Gregory's attitude toward the supernatural receives insufficient attention. Egregious quirks of thought still cry for explanation: how can

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God bless Clovis because he "walked with an upright heart and did what is pleasing in his sight" when Clovis killed his kin and then shed crocodile tears at being a solitary pilgrim bereft of relatives (2.40–42)? Is he not God's avenging angel, damned but useful?

Heinzelmann has been well served by Carroll's sound translation but less so by Cambridge University Press. Editors should have removed some Germanisms, and several French words lack diacritical marks. These are, of course, small flaws in so important a work that will continue to influence the writing of Merovingian history.

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WARREN BROWN. *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 224. $39.95.

Charlemagne (d. 814) conquered Europe between the Rhine and the Elbe, northern Italy as far south as Rome, most of the Balkans, and a substantial part of northeastern Spain. No general in the West enjoyed such high levels of military success between Alexander the Great in the later fourth century B.C. and Napoleon Bonaparte more than two millennia later. In addition, Charlemagne established "protectorates" over lands and peoples beyond his *regnum* and ruled a territory comparable in size to the Western half of the Roman Empire. In 800, he resuscitated the imperial title, which had lain dormant in the West since 476 A.D. His empire, which outlived him, lasted longer than those of either Alexander or Napoleon.

Warren Brown believes that Charlemagne ruled a society that lacked the "coercive resources available to the modern state" (p. ix), a black box that remains undefined, and on this basis he seeks to examine "disputing" in Bavaria during the early Middle Ages. Disputing is a modern social science construct, preferred by anthropologists to illuminate judicial structures in the nonliterate, pagan, tribal societies of sub-Saharan Africa. Brown fails to identify a term or terms for "disputing" either in the Latin or vernacular Old German sources of the early medieval era. Nor, indeed, does he provide a definition or early medieval terms for "feud," an important component of the disputing literature.

The application of this anthropological model to the administratively literate, Christian, Carolingian state as it operated in the Bavarian region leaves many fundamental variables out of alignment. Brown tries to compensate, in part, by arguing that, in disputes, "The participants themselves may well have not understood the distinction" between "family" and "state"; these he dismissively labels as "modern" categories. However, unlike "disputing," both *familia* and *res publica* were classical Latin concepts well understood and frequently used in the early Middle Ages by Christian administrators. Churchmen such as Virgil and Arn of Salzberg, who presided over courts while also advising and tutoring secular magnates at the highest levels, were well versed in both the Bible and Roman history. They hardly were ignorant of distinctions between private and public.

In the model that has ensnared Brown, incidences of local violence (e.g. feud) are often combined with stories about disputing (e.g. cases settled out of court), as a basis for arguing that the central government was ineffective. The operation of compromises in legal matters is taken to mean that government judicial institutions either were absent or incompetent. This primitivist approach driven by anthropological "theory" ignores the fundamental fact that, throughout the history of the West from classical times to the present, the vast majority of cases that we regard as civil—disagreements over property—have been and continue to be settled out of court. It is a cliché that a successful attorney is one who keeps his client out of court. Indeed, the great majority of cases that we consider criminal, such as murder, never go to formal trial but are plea bargained. No one doubts, however, that in the United States, at all levels, the coercive power of the state is available, and those with a modicum of education know the difference between family and government.

Brown's diligent efforts to identify violence associated with property disputes in the *Freising Book of Traditions*, his main source, are poorly rewarded despite the tendency of clerical writers, who provide the information used as evidence here, to exaggerate the seamier side of secular life. In addition, he cannot avoid the fact that Charlemagne, whose bloodless "conquest" of Bavaria remains remarkable, established both the power and authority of the central government in southwestern Germany while maintaining the traditional pattern of encouraging legal cases to be settled out of court, in part, so as not to overload the judicial system; this remains the situation today. Brown thus wonders whether Charlemagne's rule was an anomaly.

Brown recognizes that his source base demonstrates a distorting bias in favor of the bishopric of Freising. However, he does not engage in a meaningful way the lack of a sufficient quantity of disputing cases over the long century from the 740s to 854 to draw conclusions that are statistically meaningful. His effort to argue for significant change in judicial behavior throughout all of Bavaria for the period 836–854 on the basis of five cases from the Freising area is one unfortunate result. In this context, Brown's assumption that *missi dominici*, while presiding over courts, were instructed to find in favor of the central government rather than to do impartial justice represents a fundamental misunderstanding of their mission.

Although this book suffers from a bankrupt conceptual framework and a jejeune source base, Brown's work has much to recommend it. He evidences an excellent command of the vast quantity of scholarly literature on Bavaria that he represents in relevant

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detail, clearly, and in a trustworthy manner. In addition, Brown's treatment of the Latin sources is reliable overall, unlike the work of some of the scholars upon whose use of the disputing model he relies by analogy for support. Indeed, the stories of dispute that Brown retells provide the real value of this work in so far as the complex nature of elite segments of Bavarian society are impressively and richly illuminated in important contexts. It is to Brown's credit that, by the end of the book, he leaves the impression that the anthropological dispute model, deployed by medievalists of a primitivist bent to cut the state and central government down to size, does not really fit the information that he has found in his sources.

In this first book, Brown's efforts have been hamstrung by the unfortunate weight of the disputing fad in recent Anglo-American historiography. A heuristic intervention that distorts more than it illuminates is not only useless but detrimental to our understanding of the past. In the future, one hopes that Brown will be able to exercise his considerable talents and learning in order to develop independent ideas in a manner that is more consistent with the information that he finds in his sources.

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JUDITH HERRIN. *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 304. $29.95.

Judith Herrin's book is essentially a popularization of the secondary literature on three Byzantine empresses of the eighth and ninth centuries: Irene (reigned 780–802), Euphrosyne (reigned 829–830), and Theodora (reigned 842–856). Contrary to Herrin's implications (pp. 7, 245), most Byzantine and modern accounts of these empresses are quite favorable, if not as uniformly favorable as hers. Herrin admits, "I have sometimes stated a case more assertively than the sources may warrant." She confusingly uses the present tense "where the conditional tense should repeatedly be used" and employs "imaginative reconstruction" (p. 262), which always favors her three subjects.

Most of the book's introductory chapter, concentrating on politics in the capital and depicting a nearly changeless empire, could have been written a century ago. While Herrin's refusal to embrace recent exaggerations of Byzantine "discontinuity" is refreshing, she repeats some ideas that have long been discredited. In particular, her notion that Byzantine iconoclasts thought God favored Islam because it rejected images (p. 41) is an old canard; all Byzantines thought God abominated Islam, although he might use it, like an earthquake, to punish Christians' sins.

The second chapter is on Irene, successively consort of Leo IV, regent for her son Constantine VI, coruler with Constantine, and sole ruler after blinding Constantine. Herrin dismisses any suggestion that the sympathetic sources concealed Irene's connivance in her husband's death (p. 75). According to Herrin, the report that Leo banned Irene from his bed when he discovered her venerating icons was invented to explain the couple's childlessness after 771 (p. 73); but why then was the estrangement dated just before Leo's death in 780? Herrin finds it "mysterious" rather than suspicious that Leo allegedly died of an outbreak of boils when he stole and wore a crown from St. Sophia (p. 75); but the source for this story must be Irene herself, who ostentatiously returned the crown as one of her first acts as regent. In dismissing the report that Irene venerated icons in 780, Herrin insists that "Irene's personal views on iconoclasm remain unknown" (p. 85), yet she still gives Irene credit for holding the council that condemned iconoclasm (p. 128). Herrin fails even to mention the persuasive argument of Paul Speck (otherwise cited frequently) that Irene's blinding of Constantine VI caused his death, as our main source states. Remarkably, that sources blame the blinding on Irene's advisers seems to Herrin evidence not of their desire to absolve her of a horrendous crime but rather of their sexist belief in feminine weakness (pp. 111–13).

The third and fourth chapters are on Euphrosyne, consort of Michael II and coruler of Theophilus, and on Theodora, consort of Theophilus and regent for Michael III. Herrin must consider the question of the bride-shows held to choose wives for emperors, because such competitions were reportedly held by Irene to choose Euphrosyne's mother for Constantine VI, by Euphrosyne to choose Theodora for her stepson Theophilus, and by Theodora to choose a bride for her son Michael III. According to a recent but barely coherent theory, the seven independent sources for the five bride-shows somehow fabricated them. Herrin repeatedly avoids either accepting or rejecting this theory, resorting to such ambiguous formulations as "a bride-show is not an event, it is a process" (p. 191), or "Theodora *was* beautiful, though this was not the chief reason for her selection as empress" (p. 200). Apparently Herrin cannot decide whether bride-shows can be interpreted in a sufficiently feminist sense to be acceptable.

Herrin is similarly unsure whether women were generally more iconophile than men. She condemns the Byzantines' "gendered assumption about weak women loving icons and tough men hating them" (p. 203), although the surviving sources strongly favor icons and praise women for loving them. Yet, in her conclusion, Herrin praises the three empresses as chiefly "responsible" for the "triumph" of icons (p. 257), because Euphrosyne helped select Theodora and Theodora had iconoclasm condemned for the second time in 843. Herrin is also ambivalent about plausible reports that Emperor Leo VI was the son of Michael III by his mistress. If so, Herrin asserts, "It would be greatly to the credit" of Theodora, because Leo was an accomplished author (p. 238). Here Herrin can only be

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commending Theodora for transmitting good genes to Leo through Michael, since Theodora detested Leo's mother and tried to separate Michael from her.

This book, although its subjects are intrinsically fascinating, is poorly conceived and unevenly written. Its only consistent point of view is a bias in favor of women.

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STEWART GORDON, editor. *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xiv, 394. $55.00.

It was an inspired idea on Stewart Gordon's part to produce a collection bringing together material culture and political ritual, or, in his words, "the high art of luxury fabrics and the high-stakes politics of kingship." As he explains in a substantial introductory chapter, Gordon diligently shepherded his flock of multidisciplinary contributors over a period of two years. Does anything give the collection coherence? The editor proposes a common origin for the ritual practice of monarchic robe giving. This, he insists, is a hypothesis, but it looks suspiciously like a diffusionist model. In China, "sedentary silk-producing states" conferred robes, associated with gifts of horses, on nomadic leaders. From China, this ritual cluster spread to Sassanian Persia, thence to the Eastern Roman Empire at a date not clarified, and from that empire's successor, Byzantium, to the Islamic world, where investiture met the needs of the caliphate.

So far, so plausible, perhaps, although a diffusionist theory of this kind has the obvious weakness of being hard to falsify given the lack of evidence for ritual's origins in the regions and cultures in question. But Gordon runs into difficulties when he claims that medieval Western Europe "did not follow the particulars of the Central Asian robing tradition," and explains this absence in terms of the lack of any "strong center" from which a new imperial tradition and patronage might have spread. In fact, evidence for this tradition in ninth-century Francia and in late ninth-century Wessex could suggest not diffusion but independent invention, and origins in government centered on the royal household: patrimonial authority writ large, if not on a Chinese or Persian scale. This evidence is not considered in an otherwise interesting chapter by Michael Moore on royal and episcopal regalia (including robes) in the Carolingian Empire. Perhaps a clearer conceptual distinction needed to be made between robing as investiture—that is, signaling a change of status—and the giving of robes as a regular, often annual, event in an ongoing relationship of service and reward.

Chapters by Xinru Liu on Chinese and Jenny Rose on Sassanian monarchic apparel take us into different and less theoretical territory. Gordon's model does seem to work for China, unsurprisingly, since the model was derived from the Chinese case. In Persia, the parallel symbolisms of monarchic robe wearing and robe giving do not demonstrably owe anything to Chinese example. The rest of the collection splinters the subject in ways that defy any single template, let alone monocausal model. Dizzingly diverse, the fourteen essays are of varied quality. Some have little or nothing to do with monarchy. If a single inference could be drawn, it would be that historians of Western Europe, especially art historians, are likely to be more theoretically inclined than historians of lands further east. For this reader, there was most to be learned, positivisitically, from chapters in the latter category, yet the most engrossing chapters of all were in the former. These include Annemarie Weyl Carr on appearances, in text, in iconography, and as relic, of the Virgin's veil (please note: Dominique Iogna-Prat, the author of path-breaking studies of the Virgin's cult in the earlier medieval West, is a "he"); Desirée Koslin on the robing and veiling of late medieval nuns, Bernard Berthold on the diffusion of red/purple robes, and their subsequent appropriation by pope and cardinals, at late medieval papal courts; and Martial Rose on the counterpoint of robing and nakedness in English mystery plays. In a concluding chapter, the editor-shepherd contrives to pen his flock into a hypothesis of semiotic ambiguity. Not even the contributors on medieval Europe cite Hagen Keller's important essay, "Die Investitur" (*Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 [1993]), but its concern with theories of law and politics (to the near-total exclusion of both robes and honor) might seem old-fashioned to many of today's younger medievalists. This book offers a set of takes on its subject that is timely not least because it *is* so varied and cross-cultural. It does, however, leave the reader to do the comparative analysis for her/himself: hard work. Perhaps discussing in the same frame *investitura* in everything from its etymologically original literal sense to its variegated derivative symbolic senses would be, if even harder work, a further fruitful exercise. Keller, meet the authors, and vice versa.

JANET L. NELSON
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JEFF RIDER. *God's Scribe: The Historiographical Art of Galbert of Bruges*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 360. $59.95.

In the 1960s and 1970s I read the "diary" of Galbert of Bruges every two years with the first year historians at my Ghent alma mater. I saw no reason then to disbelieve Henri Pirenne's decoding of this source as "a true journal," or his judgment on Galbert as a transparent everyman. James B. Ross corroborated, in her 1959 translation, most of Pirenne's stereotypes. Heinrich Sproemberg upgraded Galbert somewhat to an experienced jurist, and Jan Dhondt qualified him as an "average intellectual." Raoul Van Caenegem, in 1978, welcomed Galbert as a cultivated man with a critical judgment and capable of irony.

The fundamental shift happened in 1994, when Jeff

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Rider published the first critical edition of Galbert since Pirenne's of 1891. In this new book, Rider realizes a completely new interpretation of Galbert's personality, editorial technique, ideological motivations, and intended audience. Pirenne, Dhondt, and even Van Caenegem believed Galbert's work to be a true diary, recording events day by day without any later rewriting. Precisely this absence of revision made Galbert so valuable to them: he seemed to offer raw materials, unaware of how events subsequently traspired. Rider reverses the image. Galbert wrote no true journal, strongly revised the first draft, and was a literary talent and a brilliant raconteur. I totally agree with Rider's new discourse and his convincing argumentation. Rider's style is elegant, his logic perfectly constructed. I fully appreciate his refined use of contemporary linguistic analysis, with an eye for the variety of layers in one and the same text. Rider subtly explains the author's intentions and the variety of reactions by different intended audiences. He empathizes with Galbert's sensitivity to the power of a medieval author to create reality. Galbert's work is "a striking imposition of linguistic order on evenemential chaos" (p. 94).

The new close reading of Rider yields an exciting and innovative view of the genesis of Galbert's *Passio*. Galbert was an eyewitness to the murder of Count Charles in Bruges and the ensuing civil war in Flanders. He took notes for himself on wax tablets, and these "impressions" were combined with interviews, letters, and the memoranda of others into a seamless whole. Later, Galbert transcribed his notes as they were on parchment but organized them in a strict chronological order and added data from other informants. He finished this edition in May of 1127.

Between May and September 1127, Galbert completely changed his editorial ambitions and decided to expand and reorient his chronicle from a description of events into a sophisticated history with literary qualities, a panegyric portrait of Count Charles. He aimed to explain why God permitted the murder of a "good prince," and to secure the punishment of his assassins, the Erembalds. His intended audiences were the burghers, clergymen, and aristocrats of Bruges. With them in mind, Galbert introduced a global narrative with biblical and classical citations; he used direct speech in discourses that were probably never really spoken but added liveliness to his story.

In March 1128, Galbert started writing again, this time about the oppressive actions of the new count, Willem Clito, and the justified civic resistance that led to the death of Clito and the election of Count Thierry. In this phase, Galbert became alienated from his fellow citizens. He felt that they were bound together by a common lie, from which Galbert, as a solitary speaker of truth, was excluded. He resigned to continue his writing.

I have only two minor remarks. I regret that Rider did not go into the Dhondt thesis which discovered some early "stammerings of rational thought" in Galbert, who deployed great efforts to bring his religious belief in line with the lack of logic in God's behavior in successive phases of ordeals. Second, while I applaud Rider's hypothesis that, even in the absence of hard evidence, we should presume that notes and dialogues from informants in Flemish underly Galbert's Latin text, we must not exclude the possible use by Galbert of sources in French as well.

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PETER BILLER. *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxi, 476. $55.00.

This is really two books in one. The first half surveys the scholastic literature to determine what the intellectuals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries wrote about marriage, the sex ratio, and the avoidance of offspring and then tries to determine what the relationship was between these writings and popular behavior. The second half, after a thirty-page divertissement on "The Map of the World," considers the reception of Aristotle's *Politics* in relation to animals, life span, age at marriage, and notions of "multitude." Finally, Peter Biller tacks on another chapter that touches on population issues that crop up in Florentine vernacular books, mendicant preaching, and libraries as well as a short assessment of Giovanni Villani's writings and an even-shorter discussion of cantos 15–16 in Dante's *Paradiso* that contrast the state of current affairs in the early fourteenth century with "il buon tempo antico." This book, then, is a bit like a camel: a horse designed by a committee. Such an overall assessment should not detract from the great interest and scholarly achievements of some of the parts.

Biller is brave to broach the subject at all; as he notes on several occasions, medieval thinkers were grappling with many aspects of population studies long before the union of this intellectual discipline with mathematics and, indeed, long before the invention of the word *demographie* in 1855, or its first appearance in English some years later. So, what we get is an unsystematized set of thoughts on a variety of issues that would only be brought together much, much later into a system of thought. The essential chaos of the medieval approach to population issues bedevils Biller's best intentions. This problem is made more difficult to manage because medievals thinkers did not understand secular actions apart from a religious imaginary. Therefore, Biller's text is concerned with panning for nuggets in a language that is constituted in a different grammar. Furthermore, the very nature of medieval studies, which seems to prize the hunt over and above the trophy, makes for turgid prose, long-winded discussions, and seemingly endless dissections of relatively obscure passages from "sources [which] are usually skewed to learned men, usually churchmen, often members of the mendicant orders" (p. 14). What

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this means is that this Siamese-twinned book is far, far longer than it needed to be—at least that is the opinion of this early modernist.

Yet, hidden inside the accounts of the churchmen's concern with heterosexual procreation there are a few quite surprising concessions to other forms of reproductive behavior. One of Biller's strengths is that he tries to situate changing proto-demographic discourse into the context of population dynamics that scholars have worked out for the high Middle Ages. Thus, in the later thirteenth century, when the post-1000 population boom was largely played out, Thomas Aquinas payed heed to abstinence: "a person should not apply himself further to generation after a certain number [of children]" (p. 365). And, as if this were not enough to stick in the craw of black-letter Catholics, the Dominican Albert the Great grappled with the difficult Latinized version of Aristotle to write "*antequam sensus insit et vita, fieri oportet aborsum*," which Biller translates as "there ought to be abortion before sense and life are present." In order to make sense of Aristotle's pro-choice position, Albert wrote that "it is impious and against natural piety to kill one's own babies, [so] he [i.e. Aristotle] . . . says that it will be less evil to ordain that mothers who become aware that they have conceived should procure an abortion of the conceived seed before the seed receives life and sense." Now, of course, the Greeks were thought to have exposed their unwanted children after birth, which is the greater evil in comparison to which abortion is compared. The important point here is that there is no argument about "quickening" or the reception of "life and sense" at some point in the pregnancy; abortion is not welcome, but neither is it incomprehensible. Furthermore, and even more surprising, Albert's contemporary Guido Vernani goes much further in contemplating nonprocreative sexual actions. In conditions of perceived overpopulation, these learned monastics and friars were willing to contemplate not only abstinence but also abortion and same-sex (*coytum masculorum*) activities between consenting males. One can only wonder how far these alternative behaviors spread beyond the walls of the friaries; indeed, how far did they spread within the walls of the friaries?

Quite obviously, these writings relating to the domestication of Aristotle are the great surprise in this book. Biller's earlier section on other scholastic discussion of marriage and reproduction hinge on his acceptance of Richard Smith's argument about the long duration of a late marriage system in northwestern Europe. I happen to accept this line of argument but it has to be admitted that this is a slender—and deeply conjectural—foundation on which to build. We have no strong statistical evidence describing marriage ages for women before the emergence of parish registers, and so any connections between popular behavior and the preaching of mendicants or parochial clergy has to be accepted with this caveat. Still, Biller is able to accumulate a substantial body of diverse evidence relating to popular concern with reproduction, and what comes through clearly is that the model of "natural fertility" that is often used to describe premodern populations is deeply flawed. These people thought about controlling their numbers—indeed, they thought about their numbers—and were ready to do something about it, too. As Peter the Chanter said, seven hundred years ago, with something more than a nudge-nudge and a wink-wink, the simple priest had a duty to not corrupt his confessors by indicating "the thousand ways of having sex" (p. 172). The literature Biller surveys is thus poised on a knife edge: on the one hand, there is the danger of propagating too much knowledge and, on the other hand, there is a frank recognition that the flock had drunk deeply from the well of sexual knowledge. To modern eyes, this knife edge is made sharper by the church's insistence that sexuality was to be contained within a discourse of salvation, holiness, and penance.

At the heart of Biller's study, then, there is the exposure of a double standard on matters of reproductive activity. Not only did ordinary men and women think about these things, but the churchmen were not surprised about what they were thinking because they were thinking about them, too. The lay/clerical difference was keynoted by the fact that these thoughts were articulated in different grammars, which is why I would guess that Biller has thought it necessary to piggy-back the reception of Aristotle's *Politics* onto this discussion. Biller has teased out some linguistic double-takes with adroitness and an admirable honesty that is not afraid of anachronisms. For anyone interested in the prehistory of demographic thought, this book is an absorbing introduction to another way of thinking about it.

DAVID LEVINE
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LAUREL AMTOWER. *Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: Palgrave. 2000. Pp. x, 243.

This book by Lauren Amtower reflects the intersection of the disciplines of history and literary criticism at the end of the twentieth century. In a previous era, scholars of literature turned to historians to illuminate facts surrounding the life of an author and the world in which that author lived and wrote. Literary scholars did so in order to explicate aspects of an author's work that otherwise might be ambiguous or subject to anachronistic misconstruction. The late twentieth-century emphasis on the reader's varying and subjective interpretation of literature has profoundly altered the orientation of literary scholars' interest in historical research. Instead of looking to professional historians for their expertise in navigating archival sources to ferret out and verify biographical facts for individual literary figures, or to garner a general understanding of an epoch so as to explain oblique allusions to either political events, institutions, or social conditions, Amtower focuses her attention on the historical profes-

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sion's current interest in textual communities and, especially, in the history of reading as an evolving cognitive process. She draws heavily on the new history of the book, with its emphasis on the structure of the codex and the format of the page and their combined impact on reader psychology. Whereas previous students of literature relied upon historical research to understand the role that *scriptoria*, print shops, and publishers played in an author's creative process, the current interest of literary scholarship focuses on the impact of these institutions on the evolving format of the physical volume and its page layout and consequently on the reader's perception of the author's text. For the late Middle Ages, the result of this approach is a renewed fascination with the evolution from the aural to the visual reception of literary works.

Amtower begins her study with an overview of the historical change in the reading experience in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Succinctly stated (and, unfortunately, the author is not always succinct) the book of the early and central Middle Ages was primarily perceived, at least by laymen, as the conveyer of the oral word of God, the preservation, dissemination, and interpretation of which was the provenance of a clerical elite defined by its Latin literacy. In contrast, during the late Middle Ages we encounter private, silent reading by an ever-growing public of lay men and women, literate in the vernacular and, to a lesser degree, in Latin. For this new readership, books came to represent an avenue to an individually imagined reality. By virtue of the private mode in which the content of a corpus of texts was imbibed, a new and subjective literary universe was created in which laymen felt freer to interpret literary works (vernacular romances or ancient Latin classics) than had anterior clerical and scholastic readers of theological texts.

Consequences of Amtower's approach are a heightened interest in medieval manuscripts and early printed books as physical objects and a far broader definition of what constitutes source material for the history of late medieval literature. Psalters and especially books of hours, previously ignored, become a precious source for tracing an evolving interaction between the written text and its lay readership. Thus books of hours were not mere holy talismans of the aristocracy, valued for their beauty; they were volumes that were intended to be read. For this reason, scribes copied them in a very clear form of Gothic script, free from excessive abbreviations. Books of hours were also usually illustrated in a programmatic manner that facilitated their rapid access by lay readers whose command of Latin was limited. Vernacular rubrics helped them along. In a few instances, special illumination in books of hours depicted the interior imagination of their lay owners: for example Mary of Burgundy, who was depicted contemplating the Virgin with Child and the Crucifixion while praying from the written text. The marginal and intratextual illumination in psalters, hours, and other lay prayer books routinely depicted laymen with books, engaged in individual silent reading and meditation.

In addition to providing evidence that prayerbooks were mass produced and that their illustrations depicted a literate laity, historical research has provided extensive evidence of the popularity and distribution of vernacular books to various strata of society. Here Amtower cites recent works of scholars such as Anne Hudson on the spread of Lollard texts in late fourteenth-century England and bibliographical research that indicates a remarkably wide dissemination of some English vernacular compositions. Although a scholar might quibble with the aptness of one or another of her examples, Amtower is undoubtedly correct in her global thesis: the late Middle Ages had far more books than earlier times, and many of these books, by virtue of their script, vernacular language, and simplified organization, were easily accessible to laymen, who read them in a manner unknown to both clerics and laymen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This new corpus of objects and the growing number of readers changed the reading experience both in sociological and psychological terms. The use of the vernacular and the growth of humanism created across Europe a new series of textual communities. Amtower correctly observes that the glossed page, perfected by university jurists in the thirteenth century, devolved in fourteenth-century Italy to the vernacular works of Dante Aligheri. Dante in effect sought to guide the reader through the anticipated isolated reception of his own composition. Within the Latin-literate textual community of early Italian humanists, Amtower convincingly portrays the new personal nexus that the author-writer Petrarch established to his individually addressed, private, silent reader. While this intimacy had antecedents within the scholastic circles of earlier centuries, within the newly formed community of humanists (with their emphasis on rhetorical and philological skills as well as moral philosophy), the status of the reader appears more elevated and his or her independence of judgment enhanced. Thus Amtower detects in Petrarch's writing, with some degree of plausibility, a late medieval antecedent of reader-response criticism, for Petrarch acknowledged that the reader had a right to find lessons in the writings of Virgil of which the author himself had been ignorant when he wrote. In her concluding chapter, Amtower argues that late medieval secular writers, addressing a diffuse public of private lay readers, were conscious of a heightened ability to influence readers' perceptions and that these readers in turn had a heightened sense of their individual capacities to judge authors as they attempted to exercise this power.

While the general thesis of this book that in the late Middle Ages readership came to exercise a greater autonomous role in the experience of literature is substantially correct, the articulation of the argument is at times problematic. Geography in particular is given insufficient consideration. The reading experi-

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ence of Italian humanists is assimilated with an analysis of reading northern vernacular texts, of which the examples given are almost all English. The basic fact that the surviving corpus of books of hours is largely French is not discussed. Petrarch's *Secretum* is quoted in some detail, but the vast corpus of Italian, German, and vernacular literature of the fifteenth century is unmentioned, and even French material is given relatively scant treatment. The result is that the genuine virtues of this short monograph are mitigated by a lack of balance in the exploitation of potential original source documentation, a failing which is perhaps understandable in a volume that sets forth as a goal not to present new research but rather to articulate a synthesis of current scholarship.

PAUL SAENGER
Newberry Library

LESLEY A. COOTE. *Prophecy and Public Affairs in Later Medieval England*. (York Medieval Press.) York: York Medieval Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 301. $90.00.

Because my review will be critical, I must begin by acknowledging that Lesley A. Coote has written a useful book that most likely will serve as the standard guide to its subject—political prophecy in medieval England—for years to come. Partly this is because competition is lacking (the last survey appeared in 1911); partly it is because Coote covers most of the obvious ground and endeavors laudably to keep her eye on the larger picture. She wants to line up her prophecies with main trends in English political history, and although her success in doing so is varied, her commitment keeps the reader's mind on the larger picture as well.

But there are many problems. For one, Coote insists with astonishing assurance that her prophecies were meant to be clear, despite all the apparent obscurities that meet the eye: strange vocabulary, emblematic allusions, puzzling syntax. In her view, the proof of their clarity rests in the fact that they circulated widely: people would not have copied them so often had they had difficulty understanding them. But this is mere supposition: modern consumers are willing to buy books in large numbers whose meaning may flummox them: *Finnegans Wake*, for example, or *Pale Fire*. Regarding prophecy, one need only consider the perennial vogue for modern renditions of "Nostradamus"—strings of bizarraries that sell briskly, above all when someone notices a phrase in them such as "high towers" or "burning bush." Instead of regarding popularity as proof of lucidity, one should rely on a commonsense estimate of the texts themselves, supported when possible by surviving explicit statements regarding meaning.

A not untypical English political prophecy opens with the words *Anno cephas mille canus catulus cocadrille* ("In the year head/stone [?] one thousand dog calf crocodile"). *Anno* seems to be setting a date, and *mille* is one thousand, but can we follow Coote in making the line refer to 1300 because the first letters of *canus catulus cocadrille* yield CCC? Why omit *cephas* ? Why exclude the possibility that dogs, calves, and crocodiles bore an import for the author that had nothing to do with their initials? Why even exclude the possibility that the author was not quite sure of what he was saying but intended merely to open his text with suitable portentousness? Granted that many prophecies were probably fathomable in their overall purport, it remains salutary to bear in mind that when actual glosses survive, the meanings offered usually differ greatly.

Coote's certainty that her prophecies of calves, crocodiles, and such like "were not hard for educated contemporaries to understand" (p. 13) leads her to interpret them herself with confident aplomb; one is reminded of Humpty-Dumpty explaining magisterially to Alice that "*Brillig* means four o'clock in the afternoon" and "*toves* are something like badgers . . . and something like corkscrews." For example, Coote knows for sure that "the high cedar of Lebanon" in a popular prophecy is the pope but offers no shred of evidence that the biblical term was employed as an emblem for the papacy in any medieval exegesis or independent propaganda. Nor does she acknowledge the existence of medieval glosses of the prophecy that make the "high cedar" variously "the humility of holy mother Church" or the Turk. This is not an isolated case. Repeatedly the author just knows what a strange text is saying, mostly on the basis of *prima facie* notions of the contemporary political situation, but with little or no attempt to root her pronouncement in independent evidence.

There are more weaknesses. Although Coote strives for bibliographical thoroughness, she neglects to mention titles in German even though German scholarship has always been highly attuned to British prophecy. (If she does not read German, she should have said so.) Her insularity is evident as well in her failure to refer to the obviously continental royal initials in the Tiburtine Sibyl, which complicate the text's English popularity, and also in several mistakes regarding continental ecclesiastical affairs: she confuses Innocent IV with Gregory IX (p. 67), places the Council of Constance in 1433 (p. 163), and seems to think that the pontificate of Gregory XII lasted for decades (p. 186). Although she offers an extensive handlist of manuscripts, it is far from complete, both in terms of manuscripts chosen and listings of contents. A book of this sort should have been vetted by several competent scholars in the field.

ROBERT E. LERNER
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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PAMELA O. LONG. *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity*

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to the Renaissance. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 364. $55.00.

This ambitious study takes on the history of the technical arts in European history from Periclean Athens to the Scientific Revolution. Although Pamela O. Long claims to make no attempt at exploring "the substantive content of a particular discipline" (p. 1), her narration of this history is nonetheless studded with detailed expositions of technical literatures devoted to glass making, siege engines, architecture, medicine, and many other practices. In fact, perhaps the most impressive things about the book are the range and depth of the author's erudition, and perhaps the most useful thing is its value as a compendium or, more accurately, a set of compendia, a *compendium compendiorum*, of the technical arts through the early modern period.

Still, as Long claims, this book is more than a technical study of the technical; it advances theoretical claims about the vast body of writing it analyzes. Her title suggests the set of questions she explores. When and where is technical knowledge openly related in written texts, and when and where is it occluded or encoded? Related to this question is a further one: what makes a text worthy of being "authored," of bearing the writer's name and the sense attendant cultural authority? Are the answers to these questions as simple as demarcating the boundary between the "low" text that conveys technical information from one generation of craftsmen to the next and the "high" text that articulates original, and often more theoretical insights? The questions Long poses wed intellectual history, fed by her considerable learning, to both the history of authorship, usually associated with Michel Foucault, and to social history more broadly.

The answers Long provides to these questions are many and various, appropriately so given the complexity of the subject. She shows, for instance, that the idea of secrecy could have different origins. On the one hand, there was an ancient tradition of occlusion in the hermetic arts that stood in marked contrast to the open transmission of craft knowledge. On the other hand, during the Middle Ages, writing about those same crafts began to develop a tradition of secrecy, based this time on the growing value of information as the economy began to ramify and guilds were established to control both the quality and the value of the work of the craftsman.

The story, or stories, that Long tells are fascinating and important ones. If nothing else, they establish a complex prehistory to ideas that are commonly studied as products of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The history of intellectual property, Long demonstrates, cannot begin with the Statute of Anne (1710) or with John Locke's defense of private property or even with the invention of the printing press. One must go back at least to the advent of the guild system if not earlier to understand this phenomenon. Another by-product of this study, although not one Long pursues explicitly, is its revision of the familiar story of public-spirited scientific inquiry associated with Francis Bacon and his followers. Long shows that the debate over whether publicly useful knowledge should be freely shared or privately enclosed is an old one, far predating Baconian propaganda.

If this book has a weakness, it is that much of its argument lies at the level of implication. Chapters and sections begin and end with broadly stated claims, but the large majority of the pages are given over to very elaborate exposition of the texts being read. This exposition does not generally advance the argument in an explicit way, so that it is sometimes difficult to discern the relation between the forest of the introduction and conclusion and the trees of the textual exposition. Fortunately, the book develops a very consistent set of themes, and one can still navigate one's way through the foliage. Even if there is inadequate analysis of texts, therefore, the framework of a powerful and nuanced argument can always be intuited.

This thorough and learned book is a significant addition to our knowledge of artisanal culture and writing, the history of authorship, the history of the book, and the history of science. It thus belongs on the bookshelf of scholars in a wide variety of fields. I would think that it would be a particularly welcome study for those engaged in early modern studies who need to understand the intellectual and social roots of humanism, Baconian science, or urban, "mechanical" culture.

KEVIN DUNN
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KEN ALBALA. *Eating Right in the Renaissance*. (California Studies in Food and Culture, number 2.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 315. $39.95.

This monograph is not about what people in Europe ate during the late medieval and early modern periods. Neither is it concerned with how food was prepared and served, nor where the food came from, whether it was the Indies and the Spice Isles, the Americas, the Mediterranean, or the market garden behind the cottage. Rather, Ken Albala looks at the vast body of writing—mostly prescriptive or didactic—that was produced to instruct people regarding what foods were "good" for them and why. The literature also dwelt to a considerable extent on what foods were "bad," and in either instance a great deal of the emphasis and analysis was shaped to explicate the link between humoral and medical theories about the human body (of the eater) and the nature of what he or she was consuming.

It comes as no surprise to find that there was a vast body of this kind of scientific-cum-literary material, produced all over Europe between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Western Christian society—both Catholic and then Protestant—was ready, willing, and able to steer large numbers of theologians, medi-

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cal theorists and practitioners, moralists and social philosophers, and "creative" writers to discourse on what was good for their readers (and those the readers might talk to). Such literature, dealing with sex, clothing, and interpersonal and intrafamilial relations as well as food and eating, reminds us of how broad are the oft-contested lines between the private and the public. This volume is an illuminating case study of the way that advice literature and social control literature can be close companions, if not equal partners, in the endless struggle for the regulation of behavior and the inculcation of values.

Albala presents his exposition in three chronological stages, covering the schools of thought or the predominant modes of interpretation and explication. From about 1470–1530, the literature was governed by "courtly dietaries," with courts, the aristocratic lifestyle, and vast meals the main focus (Charles Laughton's cinematic depiction of Henry VIII at the table comes to mind). A "Galenic Revival" then followed (1530–1570), marked by widespread "adulation" of Galen touching health, balance, and moderation—teachings now readily accessible thanks to the advent of the printed book. In these years, writers placed a great emphasis on the humoral tradition of physiology and health while also trying to meet such challenges to theory and practice as those posed by alien and novel items, creatures like the tomato and the potato (not to mention the eggplant, long familiar but a perennial problem for the theoreticians). The inherent difficulties of finding a single theory or paradigm to cover all foods, all eaters, all social classes, and all the variations and permutations regarding who ate what and under what circumstances, eventually (and predictably) proved too weighty. So, finally, we come to the "Breakdown of Orthodoxy," carrying us from the 1570s to about 1650. Diversity of opinion became accepted, alongside the growing diversity of foodstuffs.

As a monograph that links the history of ideas and social theories, Albala's book looks much more at what people were told to do than what they did. His exposition of both the virtues and the logical pitfalls of humoral theory is generally clear and as consistant as the nature of the material allows. It is reassuring to learn that the explanatory approach of earlier times could meet the challenge of explaining why medicine should taste bad, why sugar was supposed to taste sweet, and why it was a mistake to tackle serious intellectual endeavors immediately after a heavy meal. Sex was best after digestion had been completed, while root vegetables were "gross," although their value as aperitives and diuretics was not to be denied. Behind all this, to Albala's credit, is a focus that always strives to take "their" science seriously, although the disinterested explanations of the day often had to vie with a powerful impulse to regulate and to prohibit.

The social thought of the writers covered in this study was invariably snobbish and demonstrated little, if any, regard for the poor, let alone for the hungry. Although this gives us an insight into the gap between the world of bourgeois and literate culture and "reality" as lived by the many, there are times when Albala could probe a bit more at this disjunction or dissonance. Would different theories have meant a greater supply of basic foods, or of different social and economic policies regarding crops, harvests, and distribution? Intellectual history, at least for the social historian, is a world that steers us too easily toward conservative interpretation. In a critical vein, the volume does have a weakness for repetition and a desire to use all the note cards. The title is slightly misleading: "early modern" is a more accurate tag than "Renaissance." To divide "schools of thought" into three segments over a span of only 180 years seems a bit schematic. But the contributions of this volume are serious and significant, and it offers much for scholarly perusal and for the classroom. It is a welcome and useful contribution to the literature touching a number of areas of current scholarly endeavor, and it opens the door to a body of literature that was of some import and is still of considerable interest.

Joel T. Rosenthal
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Paolo Rossi. *The Birth of Modern Science*. Translated by Cynthia De Nardi Ipsen. (Making of Europe.) Maldin, Mass.: Blackwell. 2001. Pp. ix, 276. $27.95.

The author of this book, Paolo Rossi, recipient of the History of Science Society's prestigious Sarton Medal in 1985, is one of the most distinguished historians of science of the past half-century. To have such a scholar write a synoptic study of his special period is therefore a signal event. The present volume is one of a series called "The Making of Europe," involving a collaboration between Blackwell Press in the United Kingdom, Beck in Germany, Le Seuil in France, Laterza in Italy, and Critica in Spain; it first appeared in Italian in 2000. The evident political idea behind this series, now well under way, is one worthy of discussion, but in the present case more mundane aspects of the project are particularly evident.

Translation is a difficult business, and the multiple translations required of titles in "The Making of Europe" no doubt place greater strains on the system than usual. So it should be said first of all that there are quite a few places in Rossi's book where curious forms of expression, which might be misleading, and apparently erroneous statements owe their origin not to the original text but to the misconstruals of a translator unfamiliar with the subject matter. These appear along with typographical errors of far more than the usual number, including examples in the (variable) spelling of proper names, in dates, and in direct quotes that lack either the opening or closing quotation marks (these last are especially frequent). Given the unusual publication system involved, such faults must be laid primarily at the feet of the publishers.

Rossi's book is presented as one intended for a

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general audience rather than as a textbook aimed chiefly at students. Its purpose is to give an overview of an important part of European history rather than to provide a reference work containing all the "standard" names, dates, and facts. As a result, some of its intended readers might find themselves a little lost; as a compromise, therefore, Rossi does occasionally include basic information on the first introduction of a significant figure.

The overall historiographical stance is one that stresses contingency in the historical development of science. The importance of this move remains considerable, even though classic historicism finds few champions these days. In writing the history of science, the temptation to lapse into a teleological tale is great, and an explicit stress of the kind provided by Rossi on the place of contingency—or, as he puts it, "choice"—in the development of scientific knowledge is of salutary value in a book aimed at a nonspecialist readership. Another guiding theme, which is less prominent after its initial introduction than it could have been, is what might be called "social role": Rossi notes that the period under discussion sees the addition of "the mechanic, the natural philosopher, and the virtuoso" to the previously established characters of the humanist, the courtier, the soldier, the priest, and so on (p. 22).

The book is divided into seventeen fairly brief chapters, each of which deals with a distinct topic, such as "Secrets," "Engineers," "Chemical Philosophy," "Descartes," and "Classification." The disadvantage of this format is that there is little sense of chronology; each of these distinct topics sweeps over the entire period of two centuries, with a necessary weakening of integration between them. The temporal structure of the work as a whole is therefore given primarily by the sequencing of the chapters dealing with individuals, and to some extent by the order of presentation of chapters the content of which is primarily sixteenth-century ("Secrets") or seventeenth-century ("Academies").

The narratives given in the chapters themselves are representative of a well-established historiography of the period, perhaps reflecting the emphasis in the bibliography on secondary literature from the 1960s and 1970s; the material cited from the 1980s and 1990s is by contrast relatively sparse, despite the enormous amount of work on the Scientific Revolution published in that period. The style of discussion tends to shy away from the more contextualist approaches that have become popular in recent years, with, for example, references to William Harvey's work on the "oxygenation" of the blood (p. 160), or Isaac Newton's discussion of the "polarization" of light (p. 216), phenomena that would now seldom be characterized by those strictly anachronistic labels. Similarly, the discussion of chemistry and alchemy observes: "Modern chemists do not descend from a long line of great and noble scientists dating to Antiquity and the Renaissance. There is no figure like a Euclid, Archimedes, or Ptolemy in the history of chemistry" (p. 139). One wonders, again, whether the translation may be at fault, removing signs of irony that may have been present in the original.

The shortcomings of this volume obtrude all too often. It is still possible, nonetheless, to find signs of Rossi's own powerful contributions to our understanding of the period and its issues, as in his discussion of the upgrading of craft knowledge in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, or in his discussion of "Time and Nature," as well as of universal languages. This is a book written by a scholar with a powerful vision of his subject, developed over decades of thought and research. It is unfortunate that the account published conveys only an echo of its author's capacities.

PETER DEAR
Cornell University

ALAIN CABANTOUS. *Blasphemy: Impious Speech in the West from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century.* Translated by ERIC RAUTH. (European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 288. $29.50.

One is tempted, in reviewing a book on blasphemy, to offer one's own impious opening, such as the *aperçu* that, given sufficient time in the company of sailors, even an academic can learn to curse. And so Alain Cabantous, whose earlier work has notably chronicled seamen and navies, has logically moved on to consider this very specific sort of cursing. His work represents a significant contribution to the understanding of impious speech as a reflection of more general shifts in European thought and culture. This new, often deft, English translation by Eric Rauth will prove useful to scholars in a variety of fields.

The only weakness here (and admittedly this may reflect the reviewer's puerile interests more than a true flaw in the monograph) is a paucity of actual blasphemy in favor of a thorough consideration of how institutions perceived and dealt with the crime. The slight variation between the French title of Cabantous's original work, *Histoire du blasphème en Occident: Fin XVIe–milieu XIXe siècle* (1998), and the English title of this translation is actually significant. And while one can hardly blame the American publishers for choosing the punchier title, the French version is in fact more accurate. This work traces, quite ably and often with wit and verve, the history of the crime of blasphemy. The spotlight, therefore, is not on the blasphemers or their imprecations (although they appear from time to time throughout) but on the authorities who deplore them. This is an evening with the gentlemen of the consistory—be it Catholic, Protestant, royal, or revolutionary—not with the errant and motley parishioners whooping it up, incarcerated in the basement.

Cabantous begins by examining how church and civil

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authorities defined blasphemy before his specific period, how and when they prosecuted it, and how they at least sought to punish it. He then traces how these issues changed in the course of two and a half centuries, leaving a much-diminished role for blasphemy in the pantheon of high crimes. Along the way, he shows how blasphemy laws and prosecutions both reflected tensions in European society and produced new power relationships, especially between church and royal (secular) courts and officials. The last section of the book considers the influence of revolutionary and postrevolutionary thought on perceptions of this crime. Examples are drawn from France, Italy, Spain, England, and the Holy Roman Empire, with a concentration of French examples indicating the author's particular expertise.

From its original status as an offense of the utmost gravity—profanation of the name or abilities of God, which threatened to bring divine vengeance down on the entire community—blasphemy became more complicated. Or rather, authorities gradually came to consider it in a more complicated (and thus less thoroughly recriminatory) way. Cabantous writes of the gradual "decriminalization of blasphemy throughout Europe" (p. 148), beginning in the seventeenth century, and the process, while not seamless or welcome by all authorities, generally continued. According to the author, "the eighteenth century 'desacralized' the sin by taking up in detail blasphemy's extenuating circumstances, by asking itself about its variations of meaning, by limiting the coercive interventions of the state relating to its perpetrations" (p. 149).

Space does not allow the reviewer to do justice to this sophisticated work. But several of Cabantous's more interesting findings are worth mentioning. He observes that even in its earlier, more threatening manifestation, blasphemy always provoked concern from authorities because of its potential to incite more general disorder, either of a civil (riot or political sedition) or of a religious nature (heresy). Later in this period, this became even more true, as the crime was prosecuted primarily in connection with other disorderly behavior. In this, Cabantous echoes the findings of scholars of witchcraft accusations, in which, despite authorities' efforts to portray witchcraft as the result of a pact with the devil, actual prosecutions usually resulted only when *maleficium* (the doing of harm to one's neighbors) was also present.

Cabantous finds that blasphemy was largely a male affair, especially of young men, often cited among sailors, soldiers, gamblers, and tavern denizens. The preponderance of antiblasphemy laws directed against sailors, he finds, reflects less a greater propensity to blaspheme among these young men than the concern early in the period of the communal harm that would come to an entire ship's company through God's vengeance against individual sins. Ships were dangerous enough places without courting divine wrath. As Europeans (and European authorities) became less convinced of the likelihood of God's immediate retribution (in part through Enlightenment rationalism), they became less concerned about blasphemous speech.

This work will prove useful to scholars across a wide array of fields, including legal history, the history of free speech, the under-considered history of atheism and unbelief, witchcraft, and general "outsider" history. The tension between church and state authority in this pivotal period is particularly well treated. If Christopher Hill's exuberant Ranters, or Carlo Ginzburg's deliciously defiant Menocchio, make only cameo appearances here, one can only say "Zounds" and read on.

PATRICIA BEHRE MISKIMIN
Fairfield University

NEIL MACMASTER. *Racism in Europe 1870–2000.* (European Culture and Society.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. viii, 248. Cloth $69.95, paper $19.95.

Neil MacMaster's narrative of modern racism in Europe investigates the parallel roles of anti-Semitism and anti-black racism as the two dominant forms of prejudice in Europe after 1870. In doing this, MacMaster implicitly follows in the footsteps of Hannah Arendt (*The Origins of Totalitarianism* [1951]), who viewed the two, together with imperialism, as the foundation of European violence and hate. In the first two parts, MacMaster presents a shorter version than Arendt's of the story of racism up to World War II. In the final section, the book deals with the postwar years up to the present, including the rise of the new racism, populism and anti-immigration sentiment at the turn of the millennium.

In general this is a readable book that covers many of the highlights of writings on race as well as major issues of the period. I would like to have seen a more nuanced treatment of some of the historical material; in particular, a focus should be paid to the internal contradictions in ideologies and political developments. For example, one would not know from the book that the category "Social Darwinism" was not a self-designated label but rather a historical critique that included many contradictory views. In addition, I for one was surprised to read that there was a correlation between neo-Lamarckian eugenic policies and Progressive eugenics (p. 52). Before World War II (or after), one would be hard pressed to find correlation between an individual's science and racial politics.

The last part of the book deals with the transformation of racism to include anti-immigration and anti-refugee policies. MacMaster places the responsibility for racism on many parties and individuals. It seems that everyone is implicated. One may ask whether there are (or were) individuals or groups that are more responsible than others for racism. It is no doubt valuable to explore the various manifestations of racism, including the rise of anti-immigration policies and restrictions on refugees in the last generation, as well

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as more moderate forms. Yet the text's classification of racist discourse overstates the similarity or lack of differentiation within the public space.

Racism is explained as the result both of manipulation of the popular mind by elites ("Far more crucial than the strength of popular pressure was the extent to which racism 'of the people,' no matter how weak, was used by political elites to legitimate anti-black measures"; pp. 178–79) and as a popularly driven xenophobia ("Ultimately, it is this 'everyday racism,' almost universally diffused within society, sustained by millions of daily speech acts, that constitutes the bedrock of prejudice and violence"; p. 198). Everyone, regardless of political opinion, seems to be racist and similarly responsible for racist policies, and the various manifestations of racism are viewed as essentially similar. In other words, right-wing and left-wing politics, new and old racism, all are part of a pattern.

The book also indicts governments for manipulating hate in the service of racism: "European governments ... have played a greater part in reproduction of racism and discriminatory practices in Europe than have the violent and overtly racist political movements of the extreme right" (p. 204). Concurrently, the New Right in Europe is presented as not a very new source for racism. Instead the focus is on mainstream parties, and left-wing parties are presented as just as guilty as those of the New Right. Racism seems always to grow worse. The trend, even in the 1960s, only "led to a deepening of post-war institutional racism" (p. 177).

MacMaster views the various parties to a local (geographically and chronologically) debate as manifesting more or less animosity against "the Other." This constructs a rather monochromatic diachronic depiction that reminds one of Benjamin Disraeli's statements that "race is everything," only this time with a twist, not race but "racism is everything." Perhaps this is the case, but I wonder about an analysis that does not compare the relative merits of policies and ideas in the political and ideological marketplace but rather condemns most political views as racist. It is harder to find in this text the description of those who opposed racism, or of the policies that provided an alternative. I am of the mind that European expectations and demands for equality and fair treatment of fellow human beings have increased over the years, that human rights which hardly existed seventy years ago have become the center of European public attention. This shift could not have come about if everyone was indeed just following his or her own worse racist instincts. New aspirations for greater equality bring along with them the frustration that goes with the violations of those standards. Often the critique is a result of the tension between conflicting ideals (e.g. equality and identity), which is not easily resolvable. This book is more useful in highlighting the various ways in which policies have been criticized as racist than for a discussion of the nature of racism in the context of politics in the second half of the twentieth century.

Toward the end of the book, we encounter a more nuanced contextual view: "One way ... is to regard each individual as entertaining a whole complex of racial stereotypes, usually placed in a hierarchy, and that these modalities constitute a latent resource, a kind of wardrobe or kit of racial types, that can be called upon or activated within a specific historical context or conjuncture of events" (p. 215). One would have hoped for precisely that kind of judgment in evaluating the diverse sources of racism described in the book and less of the moralizing tone that indicts everyone at all times.

ELAZAR BARKAN
Claremont Graduate University

JEFFREY GLEN GIAUQUE. *Grand Designs and Visions of Unity: The Atlantic Powers and the Reorganization of Western Europe, 1955–1963.* (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. 326. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This book by Jeffrey Glen Giauque examines American, British, French, and German involvement in European integration and transatlantic relations in the period 1955–1963. It begins in the aftermath of the rejection by the French Parliament of the European Defense Community (EDC) amid widespread fear in France of German rearmament. The failure of the EDC left a bitter taste in American and German mouths (the Americans had become the EDC's biggest champions). But it cleared the decks for economic integration and allowed France, Germany, and other like-minded states (Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) to go back to the future and revisit the Dutch plan for a customs union.

Thus the negotiation of the Treaty of Rome in 1956 and early 1957 represented less a radical change of direction than the resumption of the initiative launched by the same six countries earlier in the decade, resulting in the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. Although Giauque acknowledges that "[i]n general, the degree of continuity, both within the period of study and in the decades before and after, is striking" (p. 232), at the beginning of the book he exaggerates the extent to which the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) marked a new departure in relations among Britain, France, and Germany. After all, Britain had already opted out of supranational integration in the mid-1950s, while France and Germany were in effect wedded to each other. The strength of the Franco-German marriage undoubtedly varied over time, but the marriage itself was a fact of diplomatic life by then.

Giauque tells the story of American, British, French, and German involvement in a number of key European and transatlantic developments: the negotiation and launch of the EEC; Britain's efforts to subsume the EEC into a wider free-trade area; the cementing of Franco-German ties; America's grand design for transatlantic relations; the Fouchet plan; Britain's first

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application for EEC membership (one of the most remarkable U-turns in British history); and the conclusion of the Elysée Treaty. It is not the full story. By focusing exclusively on the four key players, Giauque neglects the occasionally pivotal role of other players, such as Jean Monnet, who headed a transnational interest group, or the Netherlands, which revived the customs union idea in 1955 and thwarted the Fouchet plan in 1962. Nevertheless it is a story well told: Giauque is a scrupulous scholar and an engaging writer.

Although an original work, this book is not as unique as the author suggests. A number of publications have appeared recently on the events examined here, involving most or all of the players. Surprisingly, Giauque does not mention Andrew Moravcsik's provocative work on British, French, and German approaches to European integration in the late 1950s and early 1960s. One of Moravcsik's main theses—that the politics of the Common Agricultural Policy cemented the Franco-German axis and shut Britain out of the EEC—is not addressed (unless Giauque's neglect of it is, in fact, a telling comment).

That said, this book makes a great contribution to the burgeoning literature on the early years of European integration. It is modestly priced and should have a place on the shelf of any serious student of European integration and transatlantic relations.

DESMOND DINAN
George Mason University

ADAM FOX. *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700.* (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 497. $74.00.

Adam Fox's survey offers the richest account we have of the connections among the exchange of news, gossip, opinion, and proverbial wisdom in oral, manuscript, and printed forms in early modern England. It is based on a very substantial array of sources in manuscript and print, including diaries, separates, manuscript compilations, printed books, and, most valuably, extensive court records, which offer insight into actual exchanges that violated norms. Its strength lies in its anecdotal opulence and in the copious stories and pictures of the kinds of communicative exchanges that characterized both rural society and London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its weakness lies in its failure to synthesize this abundance, to marshal it into support of a sustained and focused argument, and to reflect on the broader social and communicative patterns constituted by these exchanges. The result is a picture richly painted with broad brushstrokes that neglects to elaborate some of the most intellectually challenging and interpretatively critical details.

Fox demonstrates that oral, manuscript, and printed communication were more complementary than competing, and that their boundaries were fluid. Oral exchanges fed off the enhancement in the supply of news by the invention of the printed periodical; news and rumor moved freely between printed and manuscript exchange; writing reinvented oral traditions. Early sixteenth-century England was not simply an oral society; late seventeenth-century England was not simply a text-based society; and although the relationships between modes of communication shifted in the period, this shift cannot be reduced to one displacing another. Fox's thesis is not particularly original, but it has not previously been defended at such length or in such detail. A corollary thesis is that reading was far more ordinary than is assumed, being taught in a variety of environments, and that literacy rates were higher than is usually accepted. Early modern England was an acutely text-conscious society, and this consciousness penetrated right down the social scale. Fox definitively repudiates T. B. Macaulay's caustic presentation of a clownish and text-starved English peasantry. Ironically, as the author notes, an account of oral communication turns out to emphasize the importance of texts.

Fox resists the temptation to depict a reductive transition, offering instead a cautious account of a restructuring of communication. At times the anecdotes seem insufficiently distinguished according to chronology and source, and the possibility of contrasts and conflict is underplayed. The exception to this is the concluding chapter on "Rumour and News" which endorses a Whiggish account, deriving from Victorian news historians, of the emergence of printed periodical news and the expansion of news communication. The problem here is the impressionistic chronology and imprecise account of the defining characteristics—and sociological significance—of the different technologies for presenting news. Despite Fox's use of the word "restructuring," the nature and shape of these changing structures are never adequately thrown into relief.

While Fox's thesis clearly aligns itself with the work of the late Donald F. McKenzie, he does not emulate the latter's attention to the relationships among text, material context, and physical form. A similar criticism might be leveled against Fox's use of the word "England": anecdotes from Scotland and Wales are freely incorporated, without respect to the social differences of those countries. Moreover the use of sources is at times careless. Cony-catching pamphlets of the late sixteenth century are not evidence of "occupational solidarity" (p. 95) among the fraternity of thieves and vagabonds. It is true that they are not "a mere literary fabrication" (p. 96), but that does not make them transparent windows on social practice. Similarly, a play by Thomas Dekker, much of it written in verse, is indifferent (if colorful) proof of cobblers' use of rhymes.

Fox's book has been justly applauded for its superbly well-documented overview of communication, informed by developments in book and media history as well as more traditional social history. Its account of rumor and ballads in particular is excellent; its depic-

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tions of the sense of place, of accent and dialect, and of proverbs are rewarding. There are numerous well-documented and original observations on English society. Most importantly, Fox juxtaposes a mass of contrasting kinds of communication and asks questions of them leading in many directions: gender, historical memory, youth, legal custom, and performance. There is much to learn from this book. What Fox does not offer, and what his book publishes the need for, is a move toward a more synthetic account of modes of communication and how these fit together in a web of intellectual and material transactions. Recent literary and historical research has tended to overstate the influence of manuscript dissemination in relation to print, as if these things can be measured on a single scale. As Fox intimates, we should focus more on the relationship between the two, adding oral communication into the formula. Oral exchanges, manuscript, and print inflected or transformed one another according to precise conditions, generating highly localized pathways of communication and feedback that together formed the national and international dimensions of verbal exchange. A map or formula for this web would complement Fox's work.

JOAD RAYMOND
University of East Anglia

LUCY E. C. WOODING. *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 305. $70.00.

Tudor England's bewildering series of regime-imposed religious changes might appear less confusing when we become aware, as we may through Lucy E. C. Wooding's extensive and profound research and analysis, of a broad common ground shared by English Christian schools of thought, especially in the decades down to the 1560s. With Erasmus as a guiding hand, the consensual features in the religious literature of the earlier sixteenth century were insistence on ecclesiastical reform, war on superstition, reliance on Scripture, and acceptance of the primacy of grace in winning redemption. Strongly to the fore in Henry VIII's reign was the royal supremacy itself, alongside Erasmian Christian humanism, knowledge of Scripture as well as the Church Fathers, and an "evangelical" soteriology that stressed the need for justifying faith along with good works. However, the function of the supremacy was seen not as that of innovating doctrine but rather of conserving patristic, early conciliar and, above all, biblical faith. The inerrancy of Scripture guided, for instance, the thinking of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and the archetypal Henrician Catholic, who managed to combine belief in both free will and predestination because both were to be found in holy writ. Gardiner's ability to hold apparently opposing lines of thought in a tension of concord is also evident in his doctrine of the Mass. The Council of Trent was to endorse the view that the Mass was a sacrifice—in fact, Christ's on Calvary, renewed daily—while Lutherans consigned the rite to the status of a vain human good work. A typical Marian work, however, twinned such a notion of the sacrifice of the Mass with appreciation of the sovereignty of saving grace that, through the ongoing reenactment of Christ's death, poured out free grace anew from the Redeemer.

Consensual themes surrounded Mary Tudor, too. Even during her Protestant half-brother Edward VI's reign she was acclaimed as patroness of Scripture; after she ascended to the throne, her late father was refashioned as a pious Catholic prince, and the focus of Marian Catholic orthodoxy was not so much papal primacy as sacramental unison—and Scripture. Perhaps Wooding takes the point a little too far when she dismisses the issue of the papacy as irrelevant—witness the great Mass of reconciliation—although papalism does appear to have been a particular concern of Cardinal Pole's. Likewise, Wooding may tend to exaggerate concord under Mary over works versus grace, for London's Bishop Bonner attacked "the late inuented . . . onely fayth, or fayth alone" (p. 158), while the Marian Catholic Thomas Paynell showed how the Christian was "redemed . . . with almose and charitable dedes" (p. 145).

So, although on such issues as grace, free will, and justification there was still a Marian consensus that seemed to align English Catholic thought with the "evangelical" variant found, for example, in contemporaneous Venetian pious circles, there obviously were issues to be controverted; if there were not, the English Catholic tradition would, presumably, simply have merged with the Elizabethan reforms. That, of course, did not happen, and, as Wooding shows, although writing that blended a quasi-Pelagian with a solafidean soteriology continued to appear, from the middle of the 1560s a combative, papalist, Tridentine-inspired, anti-Erasmian Catholicism entered the lists, fueled intellectually by revived scholasticism and fired emotionally by persecution.

Adding to the mounting bibliography and historiography of Tudor Catholicism, this is a fine, scholarly, and relatively short book by a historian who will make a major contribution over the years to come. Better editing should have eliminated such grotesqueries as "mutual" for "in common," "different to," "English" used in contradistinction to "European," the appalling "privileging," and other small horrors.

MICHAEL A. A. MULLETT
University of Lancaster

PETER LAKE. *The Boxmaker's Revenge: "Orthodoxy," "Heterodoxy" and the Politics of the Parish in Early Stuart London*. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 422. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

This intelligent, sophisticated book is a clever examination of religious conflict in parish London in the decades leading up to England's wars of religion in the

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1640s. It is a conscious and highly successful marrying of the micro and macro, relating the struggles of two men, a minister and a sectarian. In the process, Peter Lake engages with the wider story of Puritanism and Arminianism in the early seventeenth century and the highly developed historiography associated with that conflict.

Lake's intriguing tale hinges on two intersecting lives, and, like all good microhistories, the story begins dramatically. In this case, the point of departure is the shame punishment inflicted in 1627 upon John Etherington, a London water conduit maker and former boxmaker (strictly speaking, the book should be called *The Water Conduit Maker's Revenge*). Etherington was made to stand in front of the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, with a condemnatory paper attached to his chest, while the preacher, Stephen Denison, the minister of St. Katherine Cree, denounced his heretical beliefs. This denunciation was consolidated later that year in a printed tract, *The White Wolf*. Etherington did not forget. He bided his time, and in the new-found freedom of 1641 he replied in print to his earlier detractor. Meanwhile, Denison himself had fallen foul of the Laudian authorities. Indeed, this scenario, which links Christopher Hill's radical underground with the revolution and traces the disputes and debates of the 1620s and 1630s, is almost good enough to be an invention! There is even a link to early Familism.

But there is absolutely no trace of any mechanistic link between Lollards and Levellers in Lake's history. The polemical conflict between the radical Etherington and the moderate Denison—and the paper trail of sermon notes, pamphlets, and state, company, and church records—enables him to explore the intricacies and dynamism of religious interaction in early seventeenth-century London, and to challenge those easy ascriptions, "radical" and "moderate." The book thus makes a range of contributions. The first two chapters on Denison's theology and religious practice are superb examples of Puritanism in action at a parish level. Not since Paul S. Seaver's Nehemiah Wallington have we had such a compelling case study. The conclusion is simply brilliant: a prime demonstration of a historian at the height of his powers as he teases out the implications of his work. Lake has provided a compelling study of the popular dynamics of Puritanism and of the dialectics (it is the most appropriate word) between what are traditionally referred to as Puritanism and nonconformity. He writes of "creative bricolage, kaleidoscopic combinations and recombinations of ideological materials," and of trackings back and forth, rather than "some hermetically sealed" sectarian tradition (p. 400). Whether the religious milieu described by Lake is best described as a Puritan underground or a Puritan public sphere will need to be explored in future work; an underground no longer seems appropriate, but the public sphere argument, while attractive to this reviewer, implies an openness not entirely demonstrated. We still need a word that distinguishes interactions of the decades before 1641 from the openness thereafter.

While the book has its lighter moments—Denison's thoughts on the perishing of excess hair at the day of judgement—it will be a disappointment to readers expecting the crispness of Seaver's *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (1985), and I think that Lake's own silly dismissal of "short silly book[s]" (p. ix) may come to haunt him. His book is simply too long, with a coverage not justified by its relatively slender source base. It will appear infuriatingly self-indulgent to some readers, both in the detail of its exposition and its assumption of historiographical knowledge: references to Patrick Collinson marks three and four (p. 12) betray a tendency to communicate with the cognoscenti. Potential student readers will not necessarily share the author's rapture over the finer points of Protestant theological debate. However, readers should persevere. This is one of the most important works on early modern English religion to have appeared for many years.

BARRY REAY
University of Auckland

RICHARD GRASSBY. *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580–1740*. (Woodrow Wilson Center Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press, and the Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Washington, D.C. 2001. Pp. xix, 505. $64.95.

Refusing to "genuflect to the reigning ideologies," promising an "uncompromisingly empirical" study that will "extirpate error, root, and branch, without regard for the consequences," this work is intended to be an antidote to "the vices of cultural history" (preface). It is not an enticing start.

Following his previous work on the London business community, and working from his personal data base (which he will destroy once the final volume is published) supplemented by printed literature and private documents, Richard Grassby examines the families of 28,000 London businessmen between 1580 and 1740. The sample is subdivided into four financial brackets and four generational cohorts. Grassby rectifies what he believes is a lack of knowledge about the world of business by supplying a copious amount of statistical information on family structure such as age at, frequency, and duration of marriage; number of children; age at death, survival rates of brides; duration of widowhood; extent of orphans, and bequests to kin and friends. He also exposes the financial underpinnings of these families by examining charitable donations, origins and training of businessmen, sources of capital, land and property holdings, dowries, occupations of sons, status of spouses, and business assets of widows. The book is conceived as an information-finding project, and Grassby employs the same model in each chapter: he begins with "fact finding questions," sup-

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plies the data to answer these, and summarizes the results.

This is an astonishingly labor-intensive work that, unfortunately, does not reveal much that is new about the family. Marriages depended on multilateral consent, a husband and wife had mutual duties but not reciprocal rights, parents were invested in their children, women were discouraged rather than excluded from business, and the primary beneficiaries of businessmen were always their widows and children. The final part of the book examines the constituent features of the family business. Early modern businesses were a network of family partnerships, not an accumulation of individual entrepreneurs operating in an impersonal market. English capitalism, Grassby argues, was determined by the attitude of parents towards the endowment and advancement of their children. In practice, kinship and capitalism complemented and reinforced one another. Grassby stresses the importance of the family business: without the capital and flexibility of family firms, there would have been no economic growth in early modern England.

Grassby asserts that because of the variety of individual goals and practices, no one model is capable of explaining all diversity in the early modern family and that scholars who have pursued such an agenda are misguided. Grassby is equally dismissive of the concept of mentalities: "It is implausible that huge numbers of people would simultaneously recognize a system of shared meanings" (p. 388), thereby invalidating all communication theories in one fell sweep. Grassby's preferred image of families as being "infinitely diverse aggregations of individuals in motion" rather than "rational structures conforming to rules" (p. 389) is as much a model of interpretation as all the others he rejects, and a model beset with problems. He concludes that because "there was no coherent, universally accepted ideology of the family . . . the identity of a family was defined by its distinctiveness not by shared norms" (p. 388). If there were no shared norms, how could an entity be recognized as distinctive? Throughout the book, Grassby oversimplifies debates and caricatures other perspectives. For example, he is surprised that any historian should ever have depicted early modern English society as one "in which randomly associated possessive individuals competed in a disembodied marketplace" (p. 397), a distorted representation of the arguments for English individualism.

Too antagonized by the "pretentious rubbish" of much recent work on the family, too defensive about his own place in the profession (independent scholars have "pariah status," a claim undermined by the fact that his research has been funded by several grant-giving bodies), too pessimistic about the current state of history (a "wasteland" of ill-mannered scholars obsessed with theory and jargon), and too convinced of the accuracy of his own position to deconstruct the categories he employs, Grassby turn his empirical study into a vehicle for the expression of his own hostility.

Linda A. Pollock
Tulane University

Perry Gauci. *The Politics of Trade: The Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 302. $65.00.

This book examines the part played in public life by overseas merchants, more particularly those of the City of London. The City merchants, their backgrounds and training, and their participation in parish, municipal, and company affairs are all carefully studied, and illuminating comparisons are made with the merchants of York and Liverpool. Then the City merchants' relations with the mercantile press and with English society as a whole are thoroughly dealt with. A further chapter is devoted to their role as burgesses in the House of Commons. Finally, these avenues of research are all brought together in a detailed treatment of the words and actions of these burgesses in the debates on the Commerce Bill of 1713. Perry Gauci has researched widely in his chosen subject and period. He writes well, and he provides a full critical apparatus of footnotes, list of manuscript sources, and bibliography. His conclusion is reasoned and judicious.

Yet doubts remain about the depth of his understanding of some aspects of early modern English society. In the course of his period, he says, "The Commons had become the dominant instigator of economic legislation" (p. 210), whereas really it always had been. At the end of a review of their public lives, he remarks that the merchants' "success in business was the immediate and essential objective; such a goal could be facilitated by the close, supportive networks founded on kinship, religious and business ties" (p. 86). This seems to underestimate the extent of genuine Christian belief. It also puts the cart before the horse. A different point of view came from a young draper: "It is likely he that hath done well for himselfe, will know how to do well for the publicke good, being put to it. Wealth being gotten, their minds may with more diligence intende the publicke affaires, having enough to maintaine servants to performe the domestick" (William Scott, *An Essay of Drapery* [1635]).

In his chapter on the Commerce Bill of 1713 and its aftermath, Gauci generously acknowledges that he has drawn heavily on D. C. Coleman's work. Gauci builds on this to deal with the intricacies of the political confrontation that developed in Parliament and in the pamphlets and special journals distributed in the country at large. He does so well, though he would have done better had he explained to his readers that between 1643 and 1667 the French king (Louis XIV) had increased the duties on imports of English textiles fivefold, in 1667 doubled them again, and in 1687 raised them by a third. This was tantamount to a total ban on their import, and Louis's prevarication in 1713

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about what rates would apply, to a declaration of commercial war. As the trade negotiations were governed by the royal prerogative and conducted under a veil of secrecy, English people were being invited to buy a pig in a poke. They were left guessing what the rate on textiles might be and feared that French inspections at the three designated ports to ensure that all cloths conformed to French dimensions and specifications would be used to exclude English ones. It would also have been helpful for Gauci to have explained that textile exports and wine imports were closely linked and the exporters of textiles and the importers of wines largely the same persons. Gauci states that Iberian and Mediterranean traders were those "most directly threatened by the commerce treaty" (p. 261). The Levant Company had a major commercial and naval base in Leghorn and traded throughout the Mediterranean. The reader is left puzzled as to how it was threatened and wondering exactly why at the very beginning the company petitioned for a peaceful commercial settlement with France (p. 237) and then, in May 1713, its general court voted overwhelmingly to petition against the commercial treaty proposed by the crown (p. 246).

All in all, however, this is a good and useful book.

ERIC KERRIDGE
University of Wales, Bangor

ÉAMONN Ó CIARDHA. *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685–1766: A Fatal Attachment*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2002. Pp. 468. $45.00.

It is often said that there are too many books about Jacobitism. If this is the case, it remains surprising that there are so few books that deal in any thorough way with Jacobitism and Ireland. J. G. Simms, as Éamonn Ó Ciardha observes, more or less brings the curtain down on Irish Jacobitism after the Treaty of Limerick, while Breandán Ó Buachalla's *Aisling ghéar* (1996) is still only available in Gaelic. In this context, the way lies open for Ó Ciardha to write a standard work on Irish Jacobitism, and it is very much to his credit that he does so in his first book.

The book is divided into seven chapters that provide a fairly straightforward chronological account of the significance of and support for Jacobitism in Ireland. The level of primary research is high, but the author is as much interested in *mentalité* and culture as in diplomatic or political history. Building on the revisionist paradigm of English Jacobitism provided by Jeremy Black, J. C. D. Clark, Eveline Cruickshanks, Howard Erskine-Hill and Paul Kléber Monod, Ó Ciardha is interested in outlook, belief and cultural expression as much as in action and intrigue. For these writers, Jacobitism was a challenge with many more dimensions than that of dynastic threat alone, and that is how Ó Ciardha sees it.

His acquaintance with Scottish Jacobite revisionism is not quite so complete. The present reviewer would like to have seen more on the Gaelic culture of Scotland's western seaboard and its relation to Ireland, still strong in the seventeenth century, and on Irish Brigade recruitment in Scotland. Ó Ciardha also seems not to have examined the political sentiments of Scots Gaelic songs at firsthand, or he might have discovered (in Sileas na Ceapaich, for example) political sentiments more akin to those of the Irish writers. Indeed, at times Ó Ciardha seems to teeter on the brink of Daniel Corkery's schematized separation of the political sentiments of Jacobite Ireland and Scotland in *Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century* (1924). Opposition to the Union was the major engine of Scottish Jacobitism after 1707, and Ó Ciardha's thesis would have benefited from integrating this more fully. Themes such as the marriage of the king to the land are common to both countries and sustain a richer understanding of their interrelationship. Within an Irish context, Ó Ciardha might have examined some of the flaws in the legacy of Jacobitism: notably the possible influence of the gun money debacle on the attitude to short coin in Wood's halfpence.

These points are worth raising because so much else is good to the point of brilliance. Ó Ciardha's use of songs as evidence is masterly and highly informative, yet it is only one facet of a book full of both promise and achievement. Issues addressed include the number and composition of the Irish Brigades, foreign aid, internal plots, expatriate Jacobites, individual cases and outbursts of seditious behavior, and much else—not least the nineteenth-century urge to convert the royalism of an earlier generation of Irish patriots into an avatar of the United Irishmen or Fenianism. The depth of the author's reading in every kind of source is profound and impressive. The book makes a case, but the case it makes is, if revisionist, not of the stamp of revisionism currently dominant in Irish history. Instead, Ó Ciardha revalues the politics of eighteenth-century Ireland on their own terms, and in the process he writes a book that is highly significant both for the study of the Irish politics and intellectual history in general, and for Jacobitism in particular. His knowledge of Irish Gaelic only further serves to underpin what, even in Anglophone terms, is a remarkable achievement.

MURRAY G. H. PITTOCK
University of Strathclyde

ROBERT J. MAYHEW. *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Language of British Geography, 1650–1850*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. viii, 234. $65.00.

The central argument of this book is that, whereas geographies before the nineteenth century had inevitably been forced into political and religious reflections, after the time of James Rennell (1742–1830) there was "a break in the interaction of geographical and political discourse" (p. 255). Robert J. Mayhew

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has little difficulty in teasing out the political attitudes of his seventeenth and eighteenth-century subjects, many of whom will be familiar to readers of this journal.

Peter Heylyn (1600–1662), author of *Microcosmus* (1621), was a moderate Anglican and suffered for it. John Ogilby (1600–1676), author of the coronation arches of 1661 and of *Britannia* (1675), was an ardent royalist whose street furniture celebrated the restoration of Charles II as his *Britannia* would celebrate the newly restored London after the Great Fire of 1666. On this publication there is an interesting section, showing how in successive editions of *Britannia* the iconographic symbols of authority became increasingly abundant (p. 93). This is in contrast to Richard Helgerson's observation that in successive editions of Christopher Saxton's English county maps of the 1570s, the symbols of royal authority are progressively effaced.

The close analysis of the relationship between geographical narratives and their authors' political attitudes at times becomes a little tedious, as in the section on Edmund Bohun (1645–1699), where we are invited to consider "Was the second edition of the *Geographical Dictionary* Jacobite?" But, in general, it is curious to see how geographical thought reflected the political concerns of the author. The geographical observations of Dr. Johnson are famous in this regard, and chapter eight brings out very well the nature of his "Tory High Church Anglican Scotophobia" (p. 156).

The concluding chapters, ten to twelve, seem rather to lose, or even to contradict, the author's original line of thought. With Rennell we reach a geographer who seems to Mayhew thoroughly "modern" in his lack of encyclopedic ambition and his determination "to trace causal relationships" (p. 213), often through fieldwork. However, even this paragon turns out to be profoundly political in his attitudes, "working in the context of a formalized and institutional geography, and deploying that argument for imperialist purposes" (p. 194). The case is even worse with Halford John Mackinder (1861–1947). In his insistence that "little they know of England, who only England know," Mackinder was arguing for an end to Little Englandism, at a time when only a worldwide imperial trading partnership seemed likely to be able to withstand the economic and political challenge of the "heartland powers."

What are we to make of this closely argued book, which begins by claiming that there was a cleavage between geography and politics in the early nineteenth century but goes on to show that such a split did not take place? Does this anomaly have something to do with the geographers' perennial desire to identify the "central core" of geography as a discipline? Historians must surely understand this desire, even if they realize that it is a fantasy, given the variety of fields upon which geography—and history—impinge. Perhaps we all ought to realize that Marc Bloch's "seamless web" is not to be rent by those of us who study human thought and action in the past—which is also the present.

As the author is fond of quoting, "History without Geography is a Dead Carcass without Life or Motion." This is clearly true for many kinds of history but also untrue for many others. We are all engaged, historians and geographers, in an enterprise whose central rule is that our narrative must conform "to what the evidence obliges us to believe" (p. 19). It is essentially vain to worry about how we define and subdivide our largely common endeavor.

DAVID BUISSERET
University of Texas, Arlington

DONNA T. ANDREW and RANDALL MCGOWEN. *The Perreaus and Mrs. Rudd: Forgery and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century London*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 346. $35.00.

Historians are torn between the roles of storyteller and analyst. In recent decades, with the rise of the "narrative turn" and a reaction against structuralism, a crop of popular and academic studies has appeared focused on some dramatic event or circumstance around which a strong storyline can be built. The present volume follows in this trend; and like the best—but not all—in the genre treats its subject as a window through which to explore deep-seated social processes.

Donna T. Andrew and Randall McGowen see their story as "a parable of the times" (p. 164). The cause célèbre examined here is the courtroom sensation of the mid-1770s, the trials of the brothers Robert and Daniel Perreau and Mrs. Rudd (who lived with Daniel and bore him three children) for forgery (of a monetary bond). The affair drew into its orbit some of the wealthiest and most famous in the land, engaged the attention of the highest levels in the judiciary, and filled the pages of the newspaper and pamphlet press.

The book opens with an account of the Perreaus' execution and the indictment and trial that preceded it. The volume then draws back from the immediate narrative and in a series of key chapters explores the wider context to the case. The power of the burgeoning press is emphasized, the authors arguing that it "was to have a decisive impact upon how the case developed and how the public experienced it" (p. 53). The social background of the three protagonists is carefully reconstructed, and they emerge as paradigms of a middling order driven by emulation and ambition, determined—even to the extent of engaging in shady business practices—to enter the inner circle of the social elite. If this all sounds a bit like a "parable" for the twenty-first century as well as the eighteenth, the parallels are even more pointed when Andrew and McGowen reveal the accused's and Georgian society's fascination with conspicuous consumption and the vital role played by fashion in forging self and social identities. Two further chapters examine the economic

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and legal context to the case, exploring especially anxieties about the use of "paper money" in the wake of the severe financial crisis of 1772 and contemporary fears about the operation of the criminal and judicial system. The final chapters plunge us back into the flow of the story, focusing now on the fate of Mrs. Rudd. Despite being heavily implicated in forgery, she managed to escape initial indictment (by turning crown witness against the Perreaus) and then when tried on her own obtained a verdict of not guilty—all this seemingly due to a mixture of gritty determination, ruthlessness, intelligence, and a remarkable capacity to exploit the media, skillfully deploying press and pamphlet to create an image of herself as the "epitome of the sentimental heroine" (p. 201). She may in the short term have saved her skin, but in the long run her reputation was irreparably damaged, as the gallows turned the Perreaus into male martyrs, whereas posterity judged her "the whore who exploited men and turned male institutions upside down" (p. 292).

This is an engaging and thought-provoking study that draws fruitfully on the differing disciplinary backgrounds of the two authors and manages to weave together storyline and analysis with considerable aplomb. However, the narrative approach does raise a number of queries. On occasions, the variety and personal histories of the characters and complexity of the plot become a little overwhelming (a brief biographical appendix would have helped). Points relating to some issues of central importance—such as kinship, patronage, urbanization, and gender—are addressed in rather bitty fashion as the story unfolds rather than being gathered together in extended analytical sections. Despite some tantalizing passages, there is no concerted discussion of how London (an extraordinary city by any standards) shaped and was shaped by the affair. The narrative approach inevitably involves a concentration on the characters of the Perreaus and Rudd. But how typical were their values and ambitions of society as a whole, or indeed of the majority of the middling orders, who—it is arguable—possessed a cultural system that in certain key elements was at odds with that of the traditional elite? Nonetheless, such queries should not deflect from the fact that this is a beautifully crafted, highly entertaining, and richly suggestive study.

PETER BORSAY
University of Wales, Lampeter

BRIAN LEWIS. *The Middlemost and the Milltowns: Bourgeois Culture and Politics in Early Industrial England.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 580. $65.00.

Studies of the middle strata of society have increased in tandem with those questioning the usefulness of "class" as a concept in understanding social structure. These two developments in historical writing are not unrelated. The flourishing historiography of the "middle" has exposed the huge complexity, internal differences and contradictions, and enormous disparities in wealth, power, and status embraced by it. Brian Lewis's account of the middle ranks of three Lancashire milltowns (Blackburn, Bolton, and Preston) between the 1780s and 1851 is no exception. Indeed, he makes a virtue of this very complexity by using it to explain just how the bourgeoisie was able to navigate successfully the turbulent waters of industrializing England and avoid serious social upheaval.

In doing so, he develops four key arguments. First, the bourgeoisie united with other propertied classes behind the flag of order at critical moments. This was possible because of the relative restraint of the military and the willingness of the state to accommodate middle-class interests. Second, although often wracked by division and indecision, the bourgeoisie nevertheless backed measures aimed at preserving order and creating a more disciplined, policed society. Third, alongside its support for repression when deemed necessary, the bourgeoisie embraced ameliorative measures designed to incorporate the working classes. Finally, and most critically, the lack of solidarity among the bourgeoisie was, paradoxically, evidence of strength not weakness, providing opportunities for cooperation with the working classes and for cross-class alliances that helped defuse the potential for conflict and maintain the hegemony of liberal capitalism. None of these arguments is new, but Lewis weaves them into a thoroughly researched, cogently argued narrative.

He begins by examining the divisions within the bourgeoisie over loyalism and the part played by war in strengthening its attachment to the aristocratic state. He next considers the dilemma in individual lives caused by the tension between wealth accumulation and a frugality born of the Puritan-evangelical tradition. Bourgeois culture is explored further in chapters that deconstruct the language of domesticity and the debate over separate spheres and dissect how consumption and the management of time and leisure produced multiple forms of identity. He shows how social order was underpinned by state coercion and the rise of policing and of imprisonment as the principal form of punishment. An important chapter on religion illustrates extremely well, in microcosm, Lewis's approach to understanding the bourgeoisie and the mainsprings of its power. For religion was the site, on the one hand, of sectarianism and of huge disparities in wealth and influence and, on the other, of a common faith and an attachment to shared objectives. The various denominations could therefore work together for particular ends while their disagreements kept open the possibility of cooperation with the working classes. Chapters on poverty, voluntary associations, and municipal reform elaborate this theme by showing how the bourgeoisie was divided into different networks and political groupings and yet could unite behind charity, education, and sanitary reform to preserve social order. However, unity was less easy to

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come by when it came to factory legislation, with the millowners remaining wedded to paternalism. Indeed, there were always limits to the radicalism of the middlemost, who would never take to the barricades while the state showed itself sufficiently responsive to their ambitions.

It is difficult to find the right language to describe the complexities of class and the constantly shifting patterns of power relations. Lewis tries to do so by using the image of the kaleidoscope. However, patterns of power were not always random and were influenced by differences in wealth, status, occupation, and so forth, and Lewis's metaphor does not adequately capture this. Similarly, the term "middlemost" employed in the title, drawn from a poem of 1808 by a Preston clergyman, is never conceptualized and plays little part in his narrative. Indeed, he prefers the term bourgeoisie but employs it in a purely descriptive way. This is surprising, because he has undoubtedly been influenced by a range of (mostly left) theorists. For example, there are echoes of E. P. Thompson in the emphasis on a class both "creating and being created" (p. 2); the affirmation throughout of the importance of politics in its broad sense as a site of contestation owes much to Dror Wahrman; his understanding of how hegemony is grounded in the fluidity of belief-systems draws on Antonio Gramsci; and he looks to recent social history generally in his articulation of the importance of discourse in constructing identities. Yet these are never woven into a model of social relations; the method is eclectic, providing little more than a "flavorful mélange of theorists" (p. 404). The importance of interlocking or overlapping interests and the loci of bourgeois power remain insufficiently explored or theorized and, at the end of over five hundred pages, although we are much more knowledgeable about the Lancashire middle classes and the many collectivities into which they can be divided, we are left wondering how they related to the bourgeoisie as a whole or how, precisely, they were able to effect the transformation of British social, economic, and political life.

David Nicholls
Manchester Metropolitan University

Lisa Z. Sigel. *Governing Pleasures: Pornography and Social Change in England, 1815–1914*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 227. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.00.

Lisa Z. Sigel's book takes a refreshing and well-documented approach to the history of pornography. She depicts pornography as neither uniformly oppressive nor liberatory but rather as a "social imaginary" that allowed its consumers to explore fantasies about politics, empire, class and gender. Sigel excels at empirically tracing changes in the class of English audiences for pornography in different periods of the long nineteenth century.

Early nineteenth-century pornography publishers, as Iain MacCalman has previously demonstrated, had their roots in the ultraradical underworld of the 1790s (*Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* [1988]). MacCalman argued that radical pornographers lost their political edge as they moved from publishing satires to purely pornographic works. Sigel begins her first chapter by trying to refute this argument, suggesting that even "pure" pornography could have a political message. First, she notes that these publishers made pornography relatively democratic, distributing works such as the "Frisky Songster" to the working class. Second, she points out that artists such as Thomas Rowlandson used "sexuality as a means to mock hypocrisy [and the clergy and aristocracy] but do not condemn sexuality itself" (p. 35). By the end of the chapter, however, she has refuted her own argument, tracing the orientalist presumptions of *The Lustful Turk* (1828) and pointing out that William Dugdale reserved descriptions of more exotic sexual practices for expensive pornography, leaving working-class audiences with conventional heterosexual sex.

Sigel's best chapters concern the middle of the century, when censorship restricted pornography to an upper-class elite. In a fascinating account, she demonstrates how scholars, politicians, and imperial servants gathered together in the seemingly erudite London Anthropological Society to present scientific papers on racial differences, hermaphroditism, and "native customs" but in private circulated fantasies about whipping slave women and schoolboys. Their pornography was not transgressive but instead reinforced hierarchies of race and class. After the abolition of slavery, a white man could no longer purchase a black woman, but he could still fantasize about dominating her through violence.

By the 1880s, access to pornography had expanded somewhat as entrepreneurial publishers posted pornography from the continent to England. The government reacted with horror, continually confiscating such packages and intercepting mail from their customers. Sigel has done excellent work on the Home Office files to delineate the extent—and inefficacy—of censorship. When the Home Office discovered a member of Parliament ordering pornography from abroad, for example, it halted its postal espionage. In the 1880s, critics have argued that commodified pornography lost whatever literary value it possessed, but Sigel suggests that in losing narrative value it may have gained in pornographic efficacy, portraying all types of sexual pleasures and relationships. At the same time, however, pornography was still too censored and expensive to be available to the middle or working classes. (In fact, pornographers trawled for customers on the society pages.)

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the advent of photographic postcards meant that images that could be interpreted as obscene became widely and publicly available to women and the working class. Working-class women could laugh at images sexually

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mocking upper-class ladies. Yet other images reproduced the imperial and class-based social order. For instance, "natives" could be depicted bare breasted or even nude on postcards. Magistrates feared that these images could inspire "native" discontent, and even rape, and tried to censor them. Their fears were unfounded, points out Sigel, since the content of pornography so often reinforced the social order.

In her conclusion, Sigel tries to argue that pornography can be either politically conservative (reinforcing racism, for instance) or radical (criticizing the aristocracy), sexually radical (with a pluralist menu of sexual options) or conservative (normativizing heterosexual penetration). To be sure, her analyses do not always live up to the theorizing of the introduction and sometimes lack subtlety. Her definition of pornography is rather loose and unresolved, ranging from bawdy songs to sexual novels to naughty postcards. As a result, she does not go as far as she might have in exploring pornography's place in the field of sexuality and sexual behavior as a whole. She is excellent at delineating the class basis of its audience, but she does not analyze in detail how these audiences used such material: gawking at postcards in a window, solitary pleasures, erudite collecting. But Sigel's research, chronological documentation, and even-handed analysis overcome these flaws, making her book a significant contribution to the history of sexuality.

ANNA CLARK
University of Minnesota

LEIGH SUMMERS. *Bound to Please: A History of the Victorian Corset*. (Dress, Body, Culture.) New York: Berg. 2001. Pp. 302.

It is the unhappy task of this reviewer to report that *Bound to Please* did not. Unhappy, because, at first glance, it appears to be a solidly researched, lavishly illustrated, beautifully designed volume on an important topic. Unfortunately, in literature as well as in costume, appearances can be deceiving.

Leigh Summers is strongest when she remains closest to what she apparently knows best, corsets as material culture. We learn a great deal about the design, manufacture, and sale of late Victorian corsets. Summers evidently recognizes that her subject can and should be tied to larger themes, but she has trouble doing so effectively. Part of it is a historiographical miasma that locates her work in the early feminist histories of the 1970s, when physicians were uncomplicated bad guys, pregnancy was universally tabooed, and public and private were rigidly essentialist categories.

One of the oddities of the superficial analyses herein is that, although Summers tries to deconstruct the patriarchal discourse of the Victorians, she also takes many of their assumptions for granted. She assumes the corset, rather than women's nature, was the cause of the Victorian woman's fabled delicacy, but she never questions the assumption of ill health in the first place, despite demographic evidence showing that women lived longer than men, or the work of many recent historians who have shown that middle-class women often lived lives of vigor and vitality. Similarly, in a discussion of the prolapsed uterus, Summers assumes that corsets were the cause, aparently innocent of the fact that women in the post-corset era are still troubled by the condition, or of modern medical research that might explain the ailment.

Summers also has trouble dealing with larger themes of class and period. Although she makes some important points about the different meanings corsetry had in the lives of middle and lower-class women, the reality of the experience of the working class is soon forgotten. Yet most women's historians have long argued that class was deeply implicated in the eroticism of female musculature (or the lack thereof), a theme central to Summers' book yet discussed briefly at best. Class definition is something of a problem throughout the work. Who are these stereotypical middle-class women of whom Summers writes? She assumes that they all came out at society balls, surely the hallmark of only the most affluent. Moreover, while the upper class is absent theoretically, in reality, much of her evidence comes from their accounts.

If Summers is casual about class, she is no better about time. If this is a particular historical moment, one would like to know more about what came before and what finally ended it. In the eighteenth century, we are told, corsets were worn by both sexes, but by the mid-nineteenth century, corset wearing had become "both compulsory and gender-specific" (p. 63), an important observation that merits some evidence and discussion. But Summers' sloppy use of historical evidence is pervasive. The death of Maria Gunning from cosmetic abuse took place in 1760, a fact of which Summers seems oblivious. Nor would one have thought that a book identifying corsetry as "a powerful and multi-faceted signifier of both transgressive and normative femininity" (p. 7) would elide undergarments with cosmetics. Elizabeth Cady Stanton is taken out of context and misread (p. 95), although her ironic comment, properly understood, would have assisted Summers's interpretation that, far from being hapless victims, Victorian women consciously used corsetry for their own purposes in a world not of their making. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the famous American physician and writer, is described as an English novelist who failed to provide a shred of medical evidence for his claims (pp. 164–65). Summers not only misspells Lady Amberley's title but does not recognize her as a feminist and proponent of birth control.

What is perhaps most shocking, however, is the superficiality of explanations when, on rare occasions, they are attempted. Thus the use of classical themes in corset advertising became possible after the Elgin marbles were brought to Britain in 1807. Only then, in Summers' account, did public and private schools take up the study of Latin and Greek (p. 187). By the 1890s,

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corsetry advertisements became more sexually explicit, owing to the "rediscovery of female sexuality" (p. 198).

Inevitably, analytical weakness produces incoherence. Neither the dress reform movement, the tight-lacing controversy, nor other major topics are presented effectively. This is unfortunate, because, at least early in the book, Summers offers some important insights as to why women wore corsets despite the discomfort they caused. One wishes these insights had been developed further. Nevertheless, this book may point the way to both the possibility and the necessity of the more sophisticated treatment the subject merits.

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STEWART J. BROWN. *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801–1846*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 459. $95.00.

Although this book by Stewart J. Brown looks for the most part like a quite conventional study, it presents a fresh argument. Pulling together the history of the established churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, it tells of the attempt in the first half of the nineteenth century to create a unified Protestant nation-state in the British Isles. The tale is freshened by being written from the vantage point of Edinburgh, free from the usual scholarly preoccupation with the Church of England. But the most remarkable part of the story has to do with Ireland.

The established churches were confronted by a common challenge during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars: an unprecedented growth in Dissent, fueled religiously by evangelicalism and socially by the shifts in population and aggravated forms of deprivation that accompanied the Industrial Revolution. But equally impressive was the common response that this challenge evoked across the United Kingdom, a response that rejuvenated the old alliance of church and state. Jointly anxious to restore political stability and social harmony, Parliament cooperated with the established churches in a two-pronged effort to reinvigorate the ancient parish system, funding the construction of new churches in now densely populated areas and ensuring a more effective parish ministry by curbing the worst abuses of pluralism and nonresidence.

The story to this point does not break much new ground, although it accentuates the common elements in the experience of Scotland and England valuably. It moves onto less familiar ground when it turns to Ireland in the mid-1820s. Brown describes a remarkable effort made then to convert the Irish to Protestantism, loyal to the United Church of England and Ireland. This "New Reformation" movement brought evangelicals and high churchmen, Bible and educational societies, parish clergy, bishops, and prominent propertied laymen together in a common cause. For a while, it impressed religious and political leaders in Britain, and it resulted in parliamentary setbacks in 1825 and 1826 to the campaign for Catholic Emancipation. But competitive challenges are good for churches as for business. The New Reformation movement galvanized resistance in the Catholic community, which was simultaneously enlivened by movements toward a richer communal life. The number of Irish Catholic converts to Protestantism was never more than tiny.

The narrative resumes a familiar course in 1827 with the stroke and removal of Lord Liverpool from office. This event triggered a chain of political consequences that dashed not only the hopes of the New Reformation in Ireland but also, with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, led to the abandonment of the effort to create a Protestant nation-state throughout the British Isles.

That outcome and how it came about are fairly familiar to historians, although the account here draws the story throughout Great Britain together well and is always especially good on Scotland. It also brings out the reviving vitality of the Churches of Scotland and, more enduringly, of England. Sir Robert Peel was the leading actor here between 1835 and 1846. The assistance that he gave to church reform restored self-confidence in the established churches of Britain to such an extent that by 1838 they could envisage a revival of the Protestant nation-state, at any rate in the larger island. But that confidence was checked in Scotland by a mounting quarrel over lay patronage and, as a result, a widened resistance to state funding of church extension. During the ensuing Great Disruption, the Church of Scotland ceased to enjoy majority support. As for the Church of England, Peel enabled it to help itself but without financial support from the state. The Church of England also learned that, while Parliament would not undermine its work as a provider of elementary education, neither would Parliament strengthen the church's efforts in this direction. Unable to count on aid from the state, the established churches paid more attention to their autonomous spiritual credentials under the tutelage of religious movements, the most conspicuous of which was led by the Tractarians of Oxford. But by mid-century, these movements, while reluctant to recognize it, accentuated the fact that Great Britain, to say nothing of the United Kingdom, had lost its religious cohesion.

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PAMELA J. WALKER. *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 337. $35.00.

This book appears to be a labor of love. Although Pamela J. Walker is not a Salvationist and specifically includes a disclaimer in her acknowledgments page, clearly she has a kind of empathy for the subjects of her investigations. This approach is to the good, for Walker, in writing a "religious history," blends view-

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points that standing alone often contort and caricaturize the historical face of religious belief. Walker's account of the Salvation Army strikes at the heart of the idea, for example, that religious belief was the "opiate of the masses." Here we have no pontificating patricians assuring wretched but otherwise deserving underlings of a vague celestial comfort. On the contrary, the Salvation Army practiced "immersion" evangelization. Salvationists moved into working-class neighborhoods, even the heart of London's East End. They did so without maintaining the social distance that plagued similar movements like Anglican settlement houses. Salvationists appropriated the very tools of competing working-class attractions: the music hall, the penny circuses, the cheap press, posters, fliers, hawkers, and singing girls. Originally, in the 1860s through the 1880s, the Salvation Army was about saving souls. The techniques of infiltration and cooptation of working and lower-class leisure culture were designed to one end: to bring the unrepentant sinner to a holiness experience. The orginization was decidedly Pentecostal in its theology; placing substantial emphasis on the workings of the Holy Spirit and a palpable sensation of conversion in the believer. Thereafter the challenge was to sustain a new way of life in an external environment that had not changed. Integrating the convert into the Salvation Army and its work was one way to do this, but the challenge remained, sometimes with tragic consequences.

Here Walker skirts the danger often faced by "in-house" histories of religious groups: triumphalism. Not every new member in the Salvation Army who first felt the pull of conversion and participation could sustain that surge. Walker's work with case records, particularly of "fallen women," shows that Army leaders did not always understand the objects of their evangelization. Amid the innovation, the color, and the hoopla, there also lurked class prejudices, a certain rigidity, and sometimes rejection. The early Army did not break out of more familiar Victorian habits of social deference, paternalism (even paternalism practiced by its female leadership) and elements of respectability. Walker details the case of one young woman who was the daughter of a French prostitute. Salvation Army workers cut her off from her mother, concealed the relationship, and tried to transform the girl into a functional member of the British "servant class." When the girl herself showed what we would understand as psychological trauma and reactive attachment disorder, Army workers became increasingly frustrated with her. She was shuffled from a number of "positions" and finally written off. Recidivism did not fit neatly into Salvation Army theology or practice.

Also in the early years, the Army's boisterous, even vulgar appeal alienated it from upper levels of British society and opinion. Where Army activists might find themselves competing, confronting (even physically), and cajoling lower-class targets, they were themselves objects of disdain from middle and upper-class reformers. Rather than seeing Salvation Army methods as innovative, mainline social reformers reviled and mocked them. Use of music hall style, the appropriation of slang and street patter, the dumbing down of Christian theology, the simplistic understanding of conversion, and—most of all—the female preaching all made the Army a subject of ridicule and even scandal. Only in the late 1880s and 1890s, when William Booth, still the influential leader, broadened the organization's mission to social services and nonsectarian relief work did the Army begin to reap the benefits of "respectability." By the early twentieth century, it had passed from the scandalous to a quirky but acceptable practice of poverty relief and vocational assistance. Booth eventually got himself an audience with King Edward VII and an honorary degree from Oxford, not for his theology but for his humanitarian efforts.

Walker's book is a fine piece of historical scholarship in its own right. Religious history written with a "human face," richly researched with abundant anecdotal and eyewitness evidence, it also constitutes a terrific resource for bringing the complexities of religious experience into the classroom.

KEN HENDRICKSON
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THOMAS C. KENNEDY. *British Quakerism 1860–1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 477. $90.00.

Anyone wishing to understand the development of modern Britain has first to come to terms with the centrality of the evangelical Christianity that underpinned behavioral norms, both public and private, well into the middle of the twentieth century. Yet as David Bebbington observed in his magisterial study, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989), Evangelicals as a body have been largely overlooked by historians. Within the historiography of the British church, the Society of Friends has been similarly neglected, relegated to the peripheries by an understandable emphasis on more numerous and pervasive denominations. Even Bebbington's own work, for example, contains only a handful of references to Quakerism, as does Boyd Hilton's *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785–1865* (1988). Yet if Quakers were always numerically insignificant, they were largely responsible for sustaining the tradition of pacifism for which they are still widely and best known. Thomas C. Kennedy's new book is thus highly welcome because it not only contextualizes that pacifism but also illustrates clearly that the Society of Friends was subject to precisely the same sort of disintegrative forces and tensions affecting every other mainstream Protestant body in the course of the nineteenth century.

What Kennedy sets out to do—and achieves very successfully—is to outline how and why Quakerism

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changed between the 1860s and the 1920s. Arguably its most distinctive theological characteristic had always been its emphasis on the inspiration of the "Inner Light" as the determinant of individual conduct and shaper of the forms of corporate worship. Yet in the first half of the century, the movement's driving energy derived primarily from evangelical Christians who not only modernized Quaker approaches to matters such as dress and marriage but who also sought to align themselves more squarely with orthodox doctrine by emphasizing the sovereignty of scripture. From the 1860s, however, the questions raised by Darwinian theory and the higher biblical criticism became an increasing source of tension within Quakerism. An attempt by evangelical Friends to impose a composite creedal statement on Quakerism in the form of the Richmond Declaration was decisively rejected by the London Yearly Meeting in 1888, and seven years later the nonevangelical reformers completed their victory at a special conference held in Manchester. To some extent, the conflict of opinions was intergenerational, with evangelicalism espoused most passionately by older Friends and the new materialist theology championed most vigorously by the young, led by John Wilhelm Rowntree.

Barely was the victory complete when Quakerism faced a fresh challenge in the shape of the Boer War, which brought to the forefront another of its most distinctive defining traits: pacifism. To be sure, its precise meaning had never been entirely clear. John Bright had opposed the Crimean War but supported the North in the American Civil War on the grounds that it was fighting against the evil of slavery. Others were more purist, even opposing youth movements with militaristic overtones, most notably the Boys' Brigade, or refusing to buy model soldiers for their children. While such divisions certainly became more apparent during the Boer War, they were most starkly thrown into relief by the greater conflict erupting in 1914. Beyond giving no open support to the national war effort, there was little agreement as to what the Friends' official policy should be, and among the rank and file responses varied widely. Almost a third of male Quakers of eligible age joined up, a fact explained away subsequently—but too glibly—on the grounds that these were Quakers by birth rather than conviction. Those who could not bring themselves to take up arms but accepted that the use of force against evil was permissible and necessary supported the war effort by joining organizations such as the Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU). Interestingly, however, less than half the members of the FAU were Quakers, indicative of the fact that they had no monopoly on pacifism. Nevertheless, it was those joining the Friends Service Committee to oppose conscription or becoming conscientious objectors who made the most enduring impact, perhaps because theirs became the most powerful voices in Quakerism in later years as postwar disillusionment set in. Ultimately, therefore, a movement that for forty years or so had tried to accommodate itself to a changing social and intellectual environment reaffirmed its opposition to the sovereignty of the state over conscience, in the spirit of early Quaker practice.

Kennedy tells this story beautifully, and, although not himself a Quaker, his book reflects many of the characteristics associated with the faith. It is reasoned, persuasive without being strident, and refreshingly free of jargon. Above all, it gives due and proper place to the spiritual dimension of Quakerism, which so many writers of a secularist disposition find hard to accommodate.

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MAURICE COWLING. *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England*. Volume 3: *Accomodations*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiv, 766. $100.00.

This long, eccentric, and deliberately provocative volume consists of roughly one hundred and twenty short essays on nineteenth and twentieth-century thinkers loosely connected by a thesis about the transformation of religious discourse in England. Maurice Cowling divides his thinkers into three groups: writers who sought to accommodate Christianity to modernity; more orthodox thinkers who objected to such latitudinarianism; and intellectuals who considered Christianity to be irrelevant. He covers an extraordinary range of thinkers, not all of them English. Among many others, Thomas Carlyle, Benjamin Disraeli, Benjamin Jowett, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Karl Pearson, Rudyard Kipling, Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung, Sidney Webb, Ludwig Wittgenstein, Lewis Namier, Karl Popper, Isaiah Berlin, Raymond Williams, Roger Scruton, and Quentin Skinner merit comment. Cowling groups these thinkers into chapters with often vague and repetitive titles such as: "Christianity in an Unfriendly World I"; "Christianity in an Unfriendly World II"; and "Christianity in an Unfriendly World III." The essays consist of summaries of selected major works, laced generously with quotations. Unfortunately, conventional footnotes have been replaced by a listing of titles and page numbers at the end of the volume, bunched together in an unhelpful manner. Cowling largely ignores a century of professional scholarship on his subject, but his own partisan and often shrewd readings of primary sources testify to a remarkable erudition.

In this the last of his three volumes on the subject, Cowling responds to his critics. First there is the matter of chronology, which he frequently ignores. A chapter on English socialism that includes discussion of William Morris, Harold Laski, George Orwell, and Richard Crossman is followed by a chapter that begins with William Wordsworth. An essay on Alasdair MacIntyre precedes an analysis of Charles Darwin. Cowling's defense of this organization proves to be oddly postmodern: he argues for a "*conservative* de-

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construction which understands that all historical writing is subjective, that it is all the invention of a past out of material which is present" (p. xxiii). This notion also helps explain his acknowledged refusal to place his subjects within a historical context. The decline of Christian influence on English intellectuals occurs without reference to the social, economic, and political transformation of Britain in the past two hundred years. Detached from any meaningful context, intellectual history becomes an argument among an expanding circle of contemporaries, some of whom just happen to be dead. When an event does appear, Cowling can get it wrong, as when he refers to the "General Election of 1905" (p. 478).

Cowling also addresses the issue of his "venom and polemic" (p. xxiii), which he defends, not surprisingly, as honest and revelatory. As with earlier volumes, each reader can compile his or her own list. "Kingsley's mind was clogged with rubbish. But not more than the minds he was attacking" (p. 17). Arnold had a "bland, accommodating, acquiescent Anglican grandeur which . . . was perfectly willing to accommodate away its own grandmother" (p. 86). C. S. Lewis's "fiction is an acquired taste which the present writer has not acquired" (p. 309). John Milbank has "the energetic unintelligibility one associates with Eagleton and the literature on which Eagletonianism has been nourished" (p. 372). Occasionally, however, such entertainments descend into something more disturbing. Cowling's chapter on "Judaism and the Post-Christian Consensus" includes a vicious assault on George Steiner, whom he attacks for "his hysteria about the Holocaust and the heavy, insinuating quality of his self-righteousness which does more to provoke anti-Semitism than any of the provocations that he takes account of" (p. 673).

Underlying the malice and professed cynicism lurks a curious naïveté. Cowling believes that Anglicanism remains the default position of intellectual life in England. Christianity, it seems, buttresses even the most secularized discourses. Socialists enunciate a vision of the future that remains profoundly religious. Revisionist Liberals such as John Maynard Keynes may be brilliant economic technicians, but in their allegiance to the power of ideas they express a "compelling and pervasive" religiosity (p. 492). Cowling claims to accept the intellectual hegemony of the "post-Christian consensus," but the tone and prodigious scope of his three-volume project suggest otherwise. By showing how things went wrong, he implicitly seeks to make them right and to arouse what he calls "the Christianity which is latent in English life" (p. xi). In this nostalgia Cowling is not really a Conservative in the mould of Edmund Burke but a reactionary. Like a beached eighteenth-century Tory washed ashore at the millennium, he judges the past two hundred years of English intellectual history from a fixed standard that refuses to be relativized. An immense spiritual labor, this book is an act of faith from an angry man born out of his time.

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E. H. H. Green. *Ideologies of Conservatism: Conservative Political Ideas in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 309. $39.95.

This book can be read on several different levels. On the one hand, it represents another installment of E. H. H. Green's continuing effort to debunk the persistent claim by British Conservatives that their creed owes nothing to ideology and abstract thought and everything to instinct and experience. As such, Green's new book is a welcome extension of his earlier masterly *The Crisis of Conservatism: The Politics, Economics and Ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880–1914 (1995)*. On the other hand, it can be read as an overdue attempt to supplement consideration of familiar party elites with serious attention to the role of intermediary or "middlebrow" figures in defining and articulating distinctively conservative positions. Finally, it seeks to provide a historical perspective on Thatcherism, to trace the rank-and-file discontent within the party that she so successfully tapped, and to query whether her agenda fit within the party's developing tradition.

It is a measure of Green's achievement that his book succeeds on all three levels. He does not seek to provide a comprehensive intellectual history of twentieth-century British Conservatism; rather, he prefers to focus on a series of particularly representative or illuminating episodes that amount to a "core-sampling" of the varieties of Conservative thought. In practice, and in lesser hands, this technique could degenerate into a scattershot approach, a prospect also raised by the fact (which passes without admission by the author) that most of the book's chapters have previously appeared as individual articles. But although Green sacrifices something of a smooth sense of narrative development, his account gains in analytical power, especially given his ability to distill the essence of each episode and relate it to his broader themes.

A good example is Green's initial chapter, a study of Arthur Balfour, the languid patrician who, it was widely alleged, disdained to read the newspapers, failed to grasp the controversy over tariff protection threatening his party's unity, and believed with certainty in very little, save perhaps the therapeutic effect of golf. In fact, as Green demonstrates through a patient dissection of Balfour's views on political economy, the Conservative leader was a thoughtful and committed exponent of retaliation, whose principal failing was neither indecision nor indifference but rather a principled commitment to a sophisticated intermediary position that precluded his ability to earn the trust of his free-trading or protectionist critics within the party. Green's essay amounts to the most

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persuasive partial rehabilitation to date of Balfour's battered reputation.

Subsequent chapters do much the same for Arthur Steel-Maitland and Harold Macmillan, not because the author shares their political orientation but because he is willing to take their professed ideas seriously. Green ranges high and low to document the fact that the Conservative Party took ideas seriously as well, whether in the debates over empire, the relative merits of coalition membership or independent partisan identity in the 1920s, or the advisability of countering the various left book clubs in the 1930s. From Stanley Baldwin to Arthur Bryant, prominent Conservatives (and more obscure writers like Arthur Boutwood) are revealed to be as ideological as their counterparts within the Labour Party.

Green seeks to tie together his disparate essays by insisting on the resonance for Conservatives of what Anthony Quinton has called the notion of "intellectual imperfection." On this reading, Conservatives doubted the adequacy of human reason and abstract schemes as reliable guides to the complexity of social and political development, extolled the superiority of tradition and established institutions, and contrasted their organic view of society with the atomistic, individualist leanings they ascribed to their opponents (again, in line with Green's central point, an ideological stance). A leitmotif of twentieth-century British Conservatism, the author goes on to suggest, has been a suspicion of state intervention and a pronounced preference for the remedial role of voluntary agencies of civil society. Seen from this perspective, the Thatcherite project of rolling back "the frontiers of the state" played to an important theme in the party's experience, but its privileging of market relations and corrosive assault on "the organicist emphasis on social association" (p. 290) put it outside the usual boundaries of Conservatism.

One might quibble over some of Green's emphases, or about the virtual invisibility of women, families, or minorities given his unremitting focus on issues of political economy, but, by any standard, his book remains a fine achievement. It joins Green's previous study as among the select handful of books essential to a fuller understanding of the party that dominated twentieth-century British politics.

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MATTHEW HILTON. *Smoking in British Popular Culture 1800–2000: Perfect Pleasures*. (Studies in Popular Culture.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 284. $74.95.

In 1948, four-fifths of men in Britain and two-fifths of women smoked, figures that averaged out at seven pounds of tobacco consumption per year for each adult member of the population. These dramatic statistics, released just before medical researchers advanced a link between smoking and lung cancer, confirm that for a long period in the twentieth century, smoking was an essential social habit. Matthew Hilton provides a history of smoking and its relationship to popular culture over two centuries of industrial society in Britain. Rather than providing a comprehensive survey, his book judiciously selects a number of key moments from that history in order to identify major changes in the production and consumption of tobacco products. The book's impressive primary research and its elegant handling of a wide range of cultural and economic sources illuminate a major and hitherto neglected area of popular consumption. Hilton's work is informed by the recent cultural turn within consumption studies, but it retains the best elements of economic and business history. He poses important questions about the connections between economic and cultural processes, and some of the best sections of his analysis confront these issues in relation to the formation of the mass market for smoking and its related technologies of mass production in the early years of the twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century, an elite, bourgeois-liberal culture of smoking directed tobacco manufacture, but in the era of the mass market this relationship was inverted. Mass demand needed to be created for the cigarettes of the Imperial Tobacco Company, which was founded in 1901–1902 in response to the aggressive invasion of the British market by Duke's American Tobacco Company. Hilton's account of mass provision highlights themes familiar from studies of other commodity forms: the compilation of detailed marketing knowledge about smokers as consumers, the introduction of branding, and the emergence, via advertising, of new forms of mass individualism that were at once detached and unspecific in their address to consumers and, simultaneously, appeared "intimate, personal and subjective" (p. 106). Hilton reveals how commercial efforts to democratize the cigarette need to be read as part of the wider process of what J. B. Priestley defined as "cultural Blackpooling," that egalitarian, levelling spirit at work within many areas of mass society. Hilton goes on to expand these arguments in his exploration of the ways in which cigarette smoking during the interwar years contributed to some of the new democratized social scripts of masculinity and femininity (which in the case of women also resulted in a rapid rise in female rates of smoking).

Hilton's study is most effective when it poses medium-range historical questions about the functional fit between changes in the economics and technologies of tobacco production and the cultures on which he claims such transformations were dependent. Yet there are well-recognized dangers with this approach, especially in implying too close an alignment between economic forms and commercial cultures. Part of the problem is that the desire to read always for economic and cultural convergences leads to a disregard of those features of the tobacco industry that do not fit the model. This difficulty is particularly apparent in Hilton's rather descriptive account of tobacco advertising from the late nineteenth century onward. Along

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with many areas of commodity culture, advertisements for smoking ranged across the major themes and subjects of modernity, from images of the healthy body to new ideas about the secular sublime. The problem with reducing advertising texts to the demands of mass production and the mass market is that consumer culture tends to be cast as a passive reflection of economic processes. Hilton might have concentrated more productively on a smaller sample of advertising images, drawing on well-established forms of textual analysis in order to tease out the diversity of cultural meanings that shaped ideas about smokers and smoking in the modern period.

Throughout his study, Hilton is at pains to stress that while twentieth-century tobacco producers acted as economic modernizers, their strenuous efforts to control the culture of their consumers were never entirely successful. This was in part the result of the patterns of buying and consuming among smokers themselves, who rarely behaved in textbook marketing fashion. What would have aided Hilton's argument enormously is some examination of the lived cultures and experiences of smokers themselves. Although the book draws on a range of popular literary treatments of smoking, from Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes narratives to Ian Fleming's James Bond novels, there is no attempt to investigate consumers' actual behavior beyond these rather stylized literary representations. Attention to a more experiential level of popular culture would have provided fuller and more complex answers to the question of why smoking was indeed the pastime of the age in the era of mass society.

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ERIC STORM. *La perspectiva del progreso: Pensamiento político en la España del cambio de siglo (1890–1914)*. Foreword by JOSÉ ÁLVAREZ JUNCO. (Colección Historia Biblioteca Nueva.) Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva. 2001. Pp. 414.

The history of modern Europe (post-1789) has been told most often from the perspective of the national histories of Britain, France, and Germany. The histories of other European states, known as the periphery, have been marginalized by comparison to that center or simply left out of the story. Spain is one of the nations whose history has been so treated, prompting scholars of Spanish history to write Spain back into the general history of Europe. That effort has produced engaging works by David R. Ringrose, Adrian Shubert, and Richard L. Kagan that respond to important historical questions about similarities and differences between Spain and Europe in the modern era. Eric Storm's book examines these questions as they apply to Spain's intellectual history.

Storm situates Spanish intellectuals in the Europe-wide debate about liberalism that eventually led to the continental rupture with classical liberalism between 1890 and 1914. He notes that Spain modernized at a slower pace than other parts of Europe (p. 21) and wants to determine how the diffusion of ideas regarding the disaffection with classical liberalism played out in the Spanish context among the country's leading intellectuals and literate populace. Storm's analysis is limited because Spain's intellectual community was small, too close generationally, and relatively closed due to the country's high rate of illiteracy—a point the author freely acknowledges. Storm also admits that his selection of representative Spanish intellectuals is limited. This book reveals the mainstream intellectual thought of turn-of-the-century Spain, leaving out extremists of the political and intellectual far left (anarchists, communists) and far right (Carlists, fascists). Storm nevertheless presents an interesting and accurate portrait of the struggle to make classical liberalism function in a country not entirely prepared for it to take root. Moreover, he provides an intimate history of Spain's leading intellectuals as they came to grips with the implications of a liberal stillbirth. What would become of Spain, of its people, if modernization (always liberalism's goal) was unsuccessful?

Storm tells this story in four parts. Part one provides the historical background and examines the origins of Spanish liberalism. Storm ably discusses the twin influences of Krausism and federalism on nineteenth-century Spanish politics while examining the central questions of turn-of-the-century Spain: the social question and the debate about who was responsible for the 1898 defeat in the Spanish-American War. Part two introduces leading conservative intellectuals (Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Antonio Maura y Montaner), their opposition (Joaquín Costa Martínez), and their responses to the Europe-wide crisis of liberalism. Storm employs a structural framework as he introduces leading intellectuals, examines their lives, and deconstructs their major speeches and publications. Part three relates the intellectual community's crisis and break with liberalism through the study of Ángel Ganivet, Miguel de Unamuno, and Azorín, three men who struggled with classical liberal ideas, broke with those ideas, and advocated new ideologies that, ironically, were still rooted in liberal ideals. Their very pessimistic view of Spanish modernization stood at odds with those of their intellectual predecessors. Part four examines the brilliant work of José Ortega y Gasset as he attempted to reconcile liberalism with the political, social, and cultural context of Spain, something Ganivet, Unamuno, and Azorín were unable to do. The book's conclusion explains the reorientation of Spanish thought, in step with the rest of Europe but plagued by problems of demography, parochialism, elitism, and a lack of historical distance between intellectual generations.

This is an ambitious intellectual history of a very difficult period in Spain's past. It is lucidly written and uses a wide array of archival sources and secondary printed works. Storm's intellectual history is well balanced and frequently ties Spanish thought to the

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historical context of the period, something often missing from standard intellectual histories. Although the book draws parallels between Spanish intellectuals and their counterparts elsewhere in Europe, it carefully underscores areas of Spanish intellectual originality. As such, it is a welcome contribution to the growing body of historical literature that should produce more complete, accurate, and inclusive general histories of modern Europe. The book's major drawback is that it is currently only available in Dutch or Spanish versions, limiting its audience in the United States. This is unfortunate, because Storm's book is a very readable account of the pre-World War I Spanish and European intellectual scene that would likely appeal to readers beyond the circle of professional historians.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS BERDAH. *La démocratie assassinée: La République espagnole et les grandes puissances 1931–1939*. (Écritures de l'Histoire.) Paris: Berg International. 2000. Pp. 451. 159 FR.

Jean-François Berdah has provided a contemporary "Europeanist" diplomatic history of the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1939). He believes that the Spanish Civil War can only be understood "through the intervention of the great powers" (p. 8) and blames them for failure of the new "Spanish democracy" of the 1930s. In fact, the author considers the term "civil war" to be a misnomer; instead, the conflict was "European, if not international" (p. 9).

The Spanish Republic may have been the last manifestation of the democratic and revolutionary wave that followed World War I. The British establishment did not welcome its birth and considered it a Francophile formation that had (lamentably) exiled the king. However, France and Weimar Germany, whose constitution served as a model for a good number of Spanish intellectuals, were more accommodating to the new regime. The foreign policy of the first years of the Second Republic was energetically "Europeanist." Spain tried to promote peace and disarmament through the League of Nations, and when the Japanese flagrantly violated international order by invading China in 1931, Spain's most dynamic representative at the League, Salvador de Madariaga, quickly became known as "Don Quixote of the Manchuria" because of his tireless—and ineffectual—campaign against Japanese aggression.

The right-wing control of the government from 1933 to 1935 contributed to the end of the idealistic era centered on the League of Nations. Spanish conservatives favored realpolitik and a more pro-German diplomacy. When they were defeated by the electoral victory of the Popular Front in early 1936, many of the great powers became fearful. The British, who had significant economic interests in the Iberian peninsula, worried that the new government would be unable to keep order, and the outbreak of civil war in 1936 confirmed their suspicions. The democracies—Great Britain and France—desired to pacify the situation and circumscribe the violence, whereas the revisionist powers—Germany and Italy—used the Spanish conflict to further the destruction of the Versailles settlement. Berdah argues that British and French unwillingness to intervene in the civil war demonstrated a "blind weakness" (p. 205) that would lead to a cowardly appeasement of the fascist powers. Nazi Germany rapidly took advantage of the conflict to counter the Popular Fronts of Spain and France. The Italians set similar goals, and, in addition, the Duce dreamed of making the Mediterranean into an Italian sea. Thus, the Axis began to form during the Spanish Civil War. In the absence of aid from the democracies, which had been the Republic's primary diplomatic aspiration, it was forced to depend upon assistance from the USSR, which had the counterproductive result of further alienating the democracies. The earlier failures of the League of Nations to stop Japanese and Italian aggressions anticipated its continuing impotence during the Spanish Civil War.

The book's title clearly indicates the author's contention that the civil war offered a choice between "democracy or fascist dictatorship" (p. 219). However, a number of observers—most on the right or in the center but some (such as George Orwell) on the extreme left—doubted that the Spanish Republic was democratic. In fact, a deeper political and social history would reveal that during the war the Republic allowed democratic freedoms to the official parties and unions of the left—Communists, Socialists, leftist Republicans, and some Anarchists—but persistently persecuted Catholics and the right while relentlessly pursuing the extreme left, especially putative Trotskyists. Berdah may be correct that the failure of Great Britain and France to aid the Republic constituted a grave error that encouraged fascist expansionism, but the Republic was, at best, a very partial democracy. Indeed, the assertion or assumption that the Republic was democratic makes it difficult to understand why conservative anti-appeasement forces—including Winston Churchill—refused to help the "Reds." In this context, the Spanish "Red terror," which a hostile, rightist press sometimes exaggerated, was certainly not, as the author implies, merely a media invention.

Berdah unfortunately omits any searching examination of the role of the Soviet Union. Indeed, the expression "totalitarian powers" (p. 381) is limited to Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Perhaps a greater focus on the role of the USSR in the conflict would have led him to qualify his judgment that the Spanish Civil War offered a simple choice between democracy and (fascist) dictatorship and thus constituted a prefiguration of World War II. Even though the author's formidable research into Spanish, English, French, and German sources contributes significantly to the diplomatic history of the 1930s, his tendency to assume that

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the Republic was a precursor of a democratic and humane Europe is debatable.

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LOUISE E. ROBBINS. *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris.* (Animals, History, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 349. $48.00.

This book adds a new dimension to our understanding of eighteenth-century France by investigating the provenance, treatment, and fate of the exotic animals living in Paris in the 1700s. Attentive to the minutiae of everyday life as well as to long-term changes in the Parisian *mentalité*, Louise E. Robbins studies such creatures in order to show that human history is inseparable from that of the animals living in our midst.

This book's strength lies in its power of description. The author has unearthed a number of rare illustrations and huge amounts of information on the monkeys, parrots, canaries, rhinoceroses, elephants, and wolves who inhabited eighteenth-century Paris. The reader gains a privileged entry into the gritty reality of the city, which is here revealed to be a vast cacophony of creatures living and dying in close quarters and in rapt competition for material resources.

The book presents myriad perspectives on the subject. An account of the trade in exotic cargo, for instance, appears alongside discussions of two other major commodities—sugar and slaves—that also raised moral objections among critics. The public's declining interest in the Royal Menagerie makes sense when seen in the political context of the three Bourbon kings who reigned during the period. The passages on the comte de Buffon's life and work are particularly well wrought. By exploring the correspondence between Buffon and his readers, and showing the important influence such dialogue had on *L'Histoire naturelle* (1749–1804), Robbins brings a significant dimension to the reception history of eighteenth-century science. This discovery should temper scholars' tendency to fetishize Jean-Jacques Rousseau, by showing that the much-touted case of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) was not a unique occurrence in eighteenth-century letters.

Robbins's analysis of historical process is less successful, however. There are at least three narratives of historical process in this book: the changing meaning of "nature," the evolution in attitudes toward captivity, and the growing autonomy of natural history as a science with a vocabulary, methods, and professional status of its own. The changing meaning of "nature" comes out in case studies, such as the rhinoceros brought to Paris in 1749 and the elephant displayed in 1771. Such cases, when analyzed together, support Robbins's contention that audiences were gradually learning to observe animals as subjects of scientific study, instead of gaping with wonder at "curiosities of nature." More intriguing is Robbins's claim on attitudes toward captivity. Visitors to menageries at the end of the century were less sanguine than earlier generations about seeing animals in cages; such discomfort was due to the "tensions of a culture that was based on chains of authority, but in which freedom was becoming a popular refrain" (p. 134). But the indiscriminate use of animal imagery in revolutionary texts—where wild animals served as metaphors for new freedoms and as metaphors for aristocratic plots—blocks any long-term conclusions on the French *mentalité*. Instead Robbins notes: "Just as in the period before the Revolution, this language of enslaved and liberated animals balanced on the boundary between the literal and the metaphorical . . . What is surprising is not so much that the animals remained in their cages as that they aroused such impassioned discussion" (p. 207). This insight could have been enriched by reference to other revolutionary moments in French history. Did the conjunction of animal rights and human rights mark the revolution of 1830 or 1848? What was special about the 1790s? On the emergence of modern natural history, Robbins is similarly noncommittal. She remarks that there was much "slippage" between the natural and the social, and she charts the rise and fall of philosophical scientists such as Buffon. But there is little approaching the technical mastery of a J. L. Heilbron here, and the disciplinary rigor of natural history remains overshadowed by anecdotal evidence.

More problematic is Robbins's reluctance to engage with contemporary historiography. She notes debates in the field at times (i.e. pp. 88, 203, 233) but avoids taking a stand on substantial issues dividing eighteenth-century specialists today. Her interventions are invariably modest, and her conclusions are rather flat as a result—as in the admonition against using "historical documents, even scientific ones . . . to draw straightforward conclusions about the authors' attitude toward animals or nature" (p. 233).

Nevertheless, Robbins's book makes a signal contribution. Free of the jargon that plagues much historiography, this study is accessible to the specialist and the general reader alike. Robbins has opened up the history of science by showing how period naturalists maintained a dialogue with people of all kinds and how their work engaged with major issues in eighteenth-century thought. Her book provides an intriguing account of a little-known subculture in eighteenth-century Paris and invites the reader to think more about "what animals mean," then and now.

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MARISA LINTON. *The Politics of Virtue in Enlightenment France.* (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xi, 258. $60.00.

According to the Genevan pastor Jean Edmé Romilly, "it is a more reliable way to understand virtue through feeling than to lose one's way in reasoning about its

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nature." After opening the article on virtue in the seventeenth volume of the *Encyclopédie* with that reassuring sentence, he regaled readers with a dozen columns of reasoning about this slippery topic. Like "nature," "reason," and so many other keywords in the vocabulary of the Enlightenment, "virtue" could stand scrutiny in the middle of the eighteenth century because it had a complicated history, multiple meanings, and polemical value. It can stand additional scrutiny at the beginning of the twenty-first century because we are trying to reconstruct the political culture of prerevolutionary France with concerns about language and questions about publics in mind. Many scholars have discussed various aspects of the subject of virtue during the culture wars of the Enlightenment by analyzing philosophic appeals to the classical tradition and critiques of the Christian tradition; exploring the cult of sensibility in novels, plays, paintings, operas, and festivals; and investigating the theme of private and public morality and immorality in attacks on monarchs, mistresses, ministers, clergy, nobles, and disorderly husbands and wives. Marisa Linton has made good use of the secondary literature in mapping the conceptual and semantic fields for her splendid study of "how people at the time began to use the notion of virtue to arrive at a new way of conceptualizing politics" (p. 2). She acknowledges the work of Michel Foucault, François Furet, Jürgen Habermas, and others, but she writes in the spirit of Daniel Mornet, whose classic account of the intellectual origins of the French Revolution has inspired so many *dix-huitiemistes* to review and revise his conclusions. Like Mornet, she has read widely, in canonical texts that address her topic directly and in many other types of sources that address it less directly, in order to document changes over time in the signification and deployment of pervasive ideas that seemed to be in everyone's thoughts, or at least on everyone's lips, in the decades preceding 1789.

During the course of the intellectual and political debates that spanned the eighteenth century, Catholics and philosophes, defenders and opponents of absolutism invoked virtue for their own ideological purposes. They all regarded virtue as a sort of moral glue that bound potentially troublesome selves together in allegedly harmonious society, but, as Linton explains in chapter one, they had several brands of this glue available to them. The clergy routinely exhorted Christians (especially female Christians) to struggle against human sinfulness and periodically warned them not to admire deceptive and disruptive worldly virtues like courage and honor. The nobility, meanwhile, celebrated those distinctive qualities, which supposedly associated them with the king and distinguished them from the commoners. Thanks to the humanist curriculum, educated people from many walks of life studied classical texts that equated virtue not only with morality rooted in conscience but also with love of country, through which collective interest curbed self-interest.

In chapters two through four, Linton outlines the ways in which several generations of men of letters writing in several genres naturalized, sentimentalized, and in some cases even democratized the concept without altogether resolving the fundamental tensions evident in the works of the big names and lesser figures as well. Does virtue involve expression or denial of reason or emotion? Denis Diderot, Montesquieu, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau resolved the problem of sociability in different ways, but, as the volumes of the *Encyclopédie* materialized one after another, more and more of their contemporaries embraced and elaborated the adhesive rhetoric of virtue as sociability.

This rhetoric flourished in part, as Linton shows in chapters five through seven, because it served the needs of all parties during the contentious 1750s through 1780s, both the patriots who denounced Louis XV as the embodiment of unfatherly depotism (for restraining and eventually suppressing the parlements) and debauchery (for allowing his mistresses to rule his body and his country) and the loyalists who glorified Louis XVI as the embodiment of paternalistic justice (for restoring the parlements) and morality (for practicing and promoting conjugal fidelity). By the 1780s, "the idiom of virtue occupied a primary position" within political discourse (p. 172). It valorized political consciousness in and legitimized political claims by subjects, or rather citizens, traditionally excluded from political participation under the Old Regime. Linton has not only provided an instructive analysis of the evolution of one flexible and influential concept but also illustrated larger themes: the connections between ideological struggles over Enlightenment and absolutism, the development of cultural and specifically linguistic community within structures theoretically based on hierarchy and hostile to innovation, and the combination of change and continuity at work before, during, and after 1789.

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DAVID W. BATES. *Enlightenment Aberrations: Error and Revolution in France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 262. $39.95.

Defenders of the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment have long praised its contributions to valuable modern ideas about human rights, religious tolerance, and the rational pursuit of truth. Critics, by contrast, have condemned the Enlightenment as the birthplace of dangerous, universalizing abstractions and a rigid, instrumental reason that suppresses differences and leads to systematic violence. David W. Bates now enters this long-running debate with a provocative book that challenges the traditional liberal defense of the Enlightenment as well as conservative and postmodern critiques. Revising familiar accounts of the eighteenth-century belief in reason and universal truths, Bates describes an Enlightenment preoccupation with the essential, creative role of error and

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aberration in philosophy, politics, and scientific knowledge. Both the defenders and critics of the Enlightenment have, in his view, overlooked this key theme of eighteenth-century thought, which produced "a modern idea of truth defined by error, a modern idea of knowledge defined by failure, conflict, and risk, but also hope" (p. 18).

This book draws on specific works of French writers such as Etienne Bonnet de Condillac, the marquis de Condorcet, Denis Diderot, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emmanuel Sieyès, Maximilien Robespierre, and Joseph de Maistre to show how eighteenth-century theorists understood the complexities and epistemological value of human error. These writers assumed that the meaning of truth depends on conceptions of error, that all knowledge begins with the study of errors, and that knowledge itself is often an "error on the way to truth" (p. 70). Bates thus portrays Enlightenment thinkers as surprisingly humble people (although he never discusses Voltaire, perhaps because there was not much appreciation for error in his campaigns against *l'infâme*). "The recognition of error, the awareness of the essential risk of human inquiry," Bates writes, "made dogmatic claims of total and absolute truth impossible" (p. 15). The philosophes, in short, saw themselves as purposeful "wanderers" on a path of truths and errors that never reached a final destination.

Although Bates challenges traditional views of Enlightenment thought and demonstrates an up-to-date understanding of postmodern and revisionist historical theories, he has written a traditional "history of ideas." He expresses little interest in how writers' lives may have affected their ideas or how social and political contexts may have influenced intellectual life, preferring to focus almost exclusively on the linguistic and philosophical contexts in which Enlightenment thought developed. Indeed, Bates applies his analysis of ideas to only one major event: the French Revolution. More specifically, he analyzes debates that shaped the writing of a new French constitution in 1789–1791 and the policies of the Terror in 1793–1794, both of which he rightly sees as crucial tests for his account of eighteenth-century views on the meaning of error. Bates argues that revolutionary leaders wanted to construct political institutions where the general will of the French nation could be expressed and the "errors" of individual interests or special privileges could be debated, reduced, and controlled. Sieyès, Condorcet, and other political activists assumed in 1789 that error would always reappear in political life; but they also believed that error was less likely to harm the nation when political power was transferred from the monarchy to a freely elected National Assembly.

The revolution thus becomes for Bates the best example of how eighteenth-century conceptions of error moved from philosophy and science into politics. There remains the problem of political violence, however, which historians such as François Furet have described as the inevitable, repressive outcome of a revolutionary political culture that claimed to represent the indivisible unity of the nation. Arguing against this view of inevitable violence, Bates attributes the Terror to a fateful change in the way that Robespierre and other Jacobins defined the meaning of error. Where the philosophes and other revolutionaries acknowledged their own limited understanding of truth, the radical Jacobins claimed that they alone possessed the moral certitude to identify aberrant, erroneous members of the nation and National Assembly. Most historians who question the "inevitability" of the Terror stress the political impact of specific events that included civil war, invading armies, and food shortages, but Bates describes the Terror as an intellectual distortion of eighteenth-century conceptions of error and aberration. His account of the Terror is the least persuasive aspect of his book, and yet it gives Bates a theoretical explanation for how Enlightenment ideals could descend into systematic violence. Unlike most critics of the Enlightenment, however, he believes that the Terror emerged from Jacobin distortions of ideas about truth and error rather than from the rigid abstractions of Enlightenment reason or political theory.

Despite this overemphasis on the role of ideas in the policies of the Terror, Bates makes an insightful argument for the nuances of Enlightenment thought, and he persuasively concludes that the alleged eighteenth-century penchant for universal truths was actually more prevalent among theorists in the nineteenth century. Enlightenment thinkers generally recognized the subtle interplay between error and truth, which is why Bates suggests that the eighteenth century still provides a model for the contemporary pursuit of knowledge. Such assumptions place this book within a wider historiographical tendency to vindicate and reclaim the Enlightenment. This "new" Enlightenment differs from the confident, liberal Enlightenment of earlier historical generations, and it fits more comfortably into current epistemologies and political assumptions, but it also reminds skeptical postmodernists that reliable knowledge can be found on intellectual trails that never reach final truths. Bates develops these themes in a carefully written narrative that addresses present concerns at the same time that it engages the texts and ideas of the past. This kind of exchange with past writers is a distinctive contribution of good intellectual history; it provokes us to rethink errors in our own knowledge, even as we challenge and rethink the errors of others.

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JOAN B. LANDES. *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 254. $35.00.

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In 1988, a relatively unknown Joan B. Landes published *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, among the most important books of that decade in French revolutionary studies. Landes addressed the fundamental problem that the rights of women were largely ignored by those same politicians who were supposedly advocating universal human rights. She argued that the new public sphere of the decades preceding 1789 (and described most poignantly by Jürgen Habermas) self-consciously excluded women, and thus, in some fundamental ways, the political ideology of the first republic was more harmful to female civic aspirations than even the political culture of the Old Regime. While modified and criticized, no scholar working today thinks clearly about gender in the French Revolution without considering Landes's book.

Such, then, is the anticipation awaiting this second major effort. And in many ways, it is a sequel to the first, hoping "to complicate this argument" (p. 6) by focusing on visual imagery of women. The heart of this relatively slim volume is the analysis of perhaps 100 popular prints sold at bookstalls or printed as illustrations in journals and newspapers. If her 1988 book demonstrated that the revolutionaries gendered their republican politics male, in this new study Landes shows how they used the female image to construct a particular kind of national identity. Sometimes Landes discusses well-known prints that have been reproduced in several recent studies, such as Clément/Boizot's *Republican France Opening Her Breast to All the French* (1792), but more often she brings to light rare prints that allow her to extend her interpretation along original lines.

Landes argues that visual images contain their own powerful discourse that is simply absent in regularly printed words. Borrowing from art history and feminist criticism alike, Landes believes that an image in the frontispiece of a journal is not simply meant to illustrate the words in that periodical but contains its own powerful argument and meaning that is independent of the word-based articles. Political arguments were made by the graphic arts independently from the written or spoken word. "Printed images, like words, facilitated the fashioning of voluntarily constituted publics in early modern society, much like the new communities of interest that have erupted on the Internet today" (p. 27).

There is no doubt that Landes has greatly enriched the scholarship on gender in the French Revolution by examining these prints with such care and sophistication. And yet, it is perhaps not so clear that such "images can be said to have played a central role in the formation of revolutionary publics and in the articulation of political arguments" (p. 54). For one thing, Landes herself is constantly comparing the visual images with arguments made in print by revolutionary politicians and thinkers. And ironically, in a book that is intended to highlight the independent political discourses of images, Landes discovers wonderful gems of political arguments about gender in regular print media. For example, her brilliant discussion of Mirabeau's *Discours sur l'éducation nationale* (1791) infuses this relatively well-known source with new meaning for gender politics (pp. 136–39). Likewise, Landes uncovers a rich discussion of gender from a 1790 journal article, "Why Are Women More Aristocratic than Men?" (p. 120). Indeed, it is telling that while so many revolutionaries wrote and edited their own newspapers and journals, very few of them were directly involved in the production of visual images. In the end, it would seem that prints reinforced and reflected arguments made in text.

Perhaps more problematic is the issue of the independence of visual imagery itself. Popular prints were made, distributed, and sold by the same presses and by the same booksellers as those producing books, pamphlets, and journals. There does not seem to be a compelling reason for the historian to "look at the image on its own terms" (p. 169), since the production and reception of that image is usually located in a context mixed with other kinds of printed media.

Landes's most substantive argument involves the use of eroticism in the construction of republican political identity. Drawing critically on the scholarship of Carol Pateman, Lynn Hunt, and George L. Mosse, she claims that "images of female vulnerability, beauty, and motherhood" could arouse male politicians in such a way that "private passion" was bound to "public duty" (p. 173). Viewing a beautiful young woman as the image of France, Landes asserts, was a way for men to project sexual desire onto the face of the nation. The result was a masculinist political culture in which men expressed their national fervor by courting and seducing a female France. "Citizenship offered men a role as guardians of the allegorical body of the nation—a body that simultaneously incites and conceals the seduction of patriotic love" (p. 165).

This argument works best for Jacobins of the Year II, but Landes's attempts to extend it to the entire spectrum of revolutionaries is open to criticism. For example, at one point Landes acknowledges a "moderate (Girondin) feminism" that was strikingly different from "masculine (Jacobin) radicalism" (p. 123). Considering that such Girondins and their heirs were more influential than radical Jacobins before and after the Terror, and that Landes admits that "Girondins were generally friendly to women and their cause" (p. 128), it is surprising that they are not treated more centrally in this book. Indeed, the two references I have cited are the only times they are mentioned, and the term Girondin is not even included in the index. Consequently, this study uncritically treats radical Jacobins as emblematic of French revolutionary culture.

Despite its drawbacks, this fascinating examination of political prints raises central questions for the study of gender and politics during the French Revolution.

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CLARE HARU CROWSTON. *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 508. Cloth $64.95, paper $21.95.

The needle trades were the biggest providers of paid work for French women before 1789. This book by Clare Haru Crowston focuses on the tiny elite associated with guilds, particularly those in Paris. Apprenticeship contracts and other guild documents proved marvellously informative, as were seamstresses' *mutations par décès*. The first part of the book deals with material culture, tools, methods, and work; part two deals with the guilds; and part three describes the seamstresses' lifestyle.

Making clothes and underwear for women and children was regarded as a natural female occupation, appropriate to the modesty of artisan and customer. Set-up costs were low; one needed only scissors, needles, pins, and thread. The work day might last for fourteen hours, but the work was not unpleasant, and contemporaries did not know of the dangers posed by the asbestos powder used to stop needles from rusting.

Before 1673, guilds were almost exclusively male. In 1675, Jean-Baptiste Colbert set up a seamstresses' guild in Paris that licensed women to make clothes and underwear for women and children. Tailors' guilds elsewhere, including Marseilles and Le Havre, were also encouraged to admit women. In practice, much sewing for women was already done by women. However, the replacement of the elaborately boned and tailored two-piece court dress by the mantua or sack dress (not as simple as it sounded) extended opportunities for women workers. Women also fought tailors' guilds for the right to make fashionable hooped dresses. Cheaper materials gradually allowed a broader cross-section of women to buy fashionable outfits and thus provided more jobs for women.

Crowston claims that the creation of new guilds benefited trades, and particularly the seamstresses, who gained legal status and government backing in their demarcation disputes with tailors. By 1721, with 1,700 mistresses, theirs was the fourth largest of the Parisian guilds. They elected officials (seniority not democracy prevailed, and a tiny elite of eighty mistresses took part), held assemblies, vetted applicants for apprenticeship and membership, and, in principle, inspected workshops. Despite Crowston's claims that the guild asserted women's independence long before Enlightenment writers spoke up for women, the government's chief motive was financial. On their foundation the government secured 90,000 livres from the 3,000 Paris seamstresses alone. In 1771, they handed over 20,000 livres, equivalent to their annual income, to celebrate the marriage of the heir to the throne. The seamstresses' guild survived until 1791, despite Jacques Turgot's attempt to abolish guilds, almost unique in its independence and size. By the revolution there were over 10,000 seamstresses within the guild. Many others worked for tailors or the new stylish fashion merchants, some of whom were women, such as Rose Bertin, dubbed Marie-Antoinette's minister of fashion. Untold numbers of provincial migrants eked an uncertain living with their needle.

A maximum of 400 apprenticeships at an average of 94 livres for three-years' training were filled annually, all by Parisians. The minimum age at entry was ten, the average fourteen. A further two years and a completed "masterpiece" allowed the girl to become a mistress. Many never finished but sewed for their dowries—far more successfully than most girls. About 140 a year saved the 150 livres to become a guild mistress, taking an average of ten years. That thirty-seven percent of guild mistresses never married, compared to a national average of seven percent, encourages the view that sewing offered a woman an independent life.

How independent? A seamstress might earn eight livres for making a dress, but this was a tiny part of its cost and clients, especially the richer ones, paid reluctantly and in instalments; hence the seamstress had to be skilled with numbers. Paris rents were high, up to 150 livres a year for two rooms, and seamstresses tried to dress in style and buy elegant furniture. Work was seasonal, with few summer orders. A trained girl might earn seventy-two livres a year, a guild member twice that, although the inflation of the eighteenth century meant real wages fell, except for the lucky ones who were lodged and fed by their employers. Seamstresses learned provocative femininity and some paid their bills by diversifying; a rich boyfriend might provide an additional 1,000 livres a year.

Crowston provides fascinating insights into the lifestyle of the most prosperous dressmakers, and her book will delight students of material culture. Her brief conclusion, contrasting guild autonomy with the fate of later seamstresses, is less convincing. In 1848 women, led by Jeanne Deroin who began life as a needle worker, tried to organize associations to protect workers against economic downturn. It was government attitudes that had changed; their associations were banned in the name of freedom of trade and Deroin, Pauline Roland, and others were thrown into jail, facing death and permanent exile.

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MARY LYNN STEWART. *For Health and Beauty: Physical Culture for Frenchwomen, 1880s-1930s.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 274. $42.50.

Mary Lynn Stewart's new book on women's physical lives in late nineteenth-century France is a thoughtful and highly readable study of the changes in women's health, education, and sexual behavior, and of the French debates about women's civil and political rights and social roles. Stewart argues that at the heart of this debate about women is "bioreasoning": that is, theories that emphasized male-female biological differ-

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ences. Pointing to the near century between the declaration of universal manhood suffrage in 1848 and the proclamation of women's suffrage in 1944, Stewart notes that French feminists, as well as those opposed to women's suffrage, were caught in the conundrum of evoking female difference both to protest women's exclusion from the status of male citizens and to promote women's rights. Throughout this period, those engaged in fending off the feminists argued for protection and special treatment for women in order to support women's essential reproductive and child-rearing functions. This discourse on women's physical weakness and vulnerability remained strong through the 1930s. While there were significant changes in the medical undertanding of women's bodies, most critical among them the emergence of endocrinology (which linked newly discovered hormones with sexuality), the notion of sexual polarity remained strong.

The first third of Stewart's study is thus a useful summary of the scientific "evidence" evoked to prove a biologically based gender dichotomy. Biological and biomedical pronouncements on the female body were disseminated through school hygiene courses, health and beauty magazines, and sexual advice, all of which serve as material for Stewart's analysis. The second part of the book is laid out to follow the cycle of women's physical lives, with successive chapters on puberty and purity, sexual initiation and sexual education, pleasure and procreation, and menopause and loss.

Contemporary women will find all too familiar Stewart's reflection that "middle-aged Frenchwomen faced aging and the loss of their reproductive role just as they felt new pressures to prevent wrinkles, trim their bodies and remain desirable" (p. 145). Nor should we be surprised at the privileging of a particular female shape: from the sinuous female forms in fin-de-siècle Art Nouveau to the tall, slender model of interwar fashion advertisements.

Among Stewart's important conclusions is her evidence that World War I did not represent a watershed in attitudes, although the war accelerated changes already in motion. The transformations emphasized by other historians were part of long-term patterns as described by Stewart. Taking a longer chronological frame than some other historians who have treated the roles of women in the Third Republic, as well as drawing from an impressive range of sources, Stewart provides significant new insights into the connectedness of many of these issues.

In the third part of the book, Stewart skillfully interweaves the greater bodily awareness of women at the beginning of the twentieth century with the development of competitive sports, including cycling, swimming, tennis, and track, as well as the spread of schoolgirl gymnastics. Despite the new athleticism of the interwar era, Frenchwomen in the 1930s, as contemporary experts complained, continued to neglect physical culture. Stewart's analysis here, which has much to recommend it, nevertheless allows some ambiguities of chronology to creep in, so that her conclusion that, in the 1930s, the "perimeters of feminine physical activity had expanded but still existed" is linked to a pre-World War I source (p. 172).

No other historian has so successfully integrated the discourse on women's bodies, framed by an idealized concept of the bourgeois woman, with the physical reality of the working-class woman's experience. In spite of the rising proportion of women working outside the home, these "working bodies" were subjected to an almost universal barrage of prescriptions that emphasized women's physical vulnerability, the need for special treatment and for the exclusion or regulation of women's labor. Stewart concludes that, despite changes by the 1930s, scientific investigations remained fixated on women's reproductive system, and French society continued to embrace a surprisingly uniform depiction of "woman's body" as the basis for an essentialist, universal feminine.

THERESA M. MCBRIDE
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STEPHEN L. HARP. *Marketing Michelin: Advertising and Cultural Identity in Twentieth-Century France*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 356. $39.95.

Just over a generation ago, Third Republic France, particularly in its later years, was generally seen as a dormant and declining society, living on past glories and unable to meet present challenges, a portrait most memorably captured by Stanley Hoffmann with the phrase "stalemate society." In the forty years since Hoffmann's classic essay appeared, France experienced the economic miracle of the Gaullist years and emerged as a technological power, particularly in aerospace, nuclear power, and high-speed rail. Historians such as Richard Kuisel, Herrick Chapman, and Gabrielle Hecht have written excellent studies of the new, technocratic French state and its leading industries. These studies do not in themselves, however, challenge Hoffmann's picture of Third Republic immobility but rather can be read sequentially, with the postwar mixed economy and interventionist state rescuing France's backward private sector from its self-imposed "Malthusianism."

It may well be time to rethink the conventional wisdom of the lack of entrepreneurial spirit among the French *patronat*, and Stephen L. Harp's study of Michelin from the Belle Epoque to the Depression years is a convincing step in that direction. Harp's book is innovative in that it traces the roots of the postwar French economic boom back to the start of the century, focusing not on the state but rather on a highly opportunistic and visionary family firm in the traditionally isolated Massif Central. Harp's study of Michelin's diverse marketing strategies convincingly proves his point, stated in the introduction, that corporations and consumer society played as great, if not

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a greater, role in defining national identity in the twentieth century as did the state and its agents.

Harp begins by tracing the roots of the Michelin empire in nineteenth century Clermont-Ferrand and its prospering during the Belle Epoque under the leadership of brothers Edouard, who managed production in the Auvergne, and André, who ran the company's advertising from Paris. The book's chapters examine such topics as the appearance and evolution of the famous Michelin Man (known to the French as Bibendum), Michelin's promotion of battlefield tourism following World War I, the company's sponsorship of aviation competitions, the Michelin brothers' support of the pronatalist movement, and the emergence of the Michelin travel guidebooks. Each chapter is fascinating in its own right; together, they present a remarkable picture of the broad scope of interests of the Michelin brothers and their ability to identify and associate their company with what Harp describes as "a certain idea of France": modern, dynamic, able to learn from and compete with foreign (mainly German and American) rivals while still retaining the elusive, quintessential quality of Frenchness.

Harp encourages us to rethink many of our assumptions regarding the oppositions between tradition and modernity and between national and regional identity. While scholars traditionally have seen the process of nation building as the subsuming of long-standing local identities by the homogenizing, expansive modern state, Harp argues that regional identity is just as "constructed" as national identity and is itself a product of the process of modernization—in this case, the emergence of the automobile, the construction of modern transportation networks, and the rise of internal tourism, which brought wealthy, jaded Parisians to seek the roots of authentic Frenchness in the provinces. Harp demonstrates that many of the "regional specialties" that the Michelin travel guides promoted were actually of recent origin and discusses how the emergence of automobile tourism transformed the countryside, precluding the rural authenticity that its enthusiasts hoped to find.

At numerous points, Harp alludes to Michelin's politics, noting in particular the company's financing of Jacques Bertillon's populationist movement, the racism and classism inherent in much of its advertising, and the generally rightist tone of its guidebooks, which sidestepped discussion of the French Revolution and republic while celebrating Joan of Arc and France's Gallo-Roman heritage. Harp notes that much of this may be considered part of the company's attempt to appeal to wealthy, conservative buyers in what was still a luxury market. In the absence of the correspondence between André and Edouard Michelin, which Harp notes has not yet been made public, it remains difficult to draw the line between marketing and political engagement.

I found myself wishing that Harp had carried the story a bit further, into the Occupation and immediate postwar years. He remarks briefly in the conclusion that, although around eighty percent of Michelin's wartime production went to Germany, the Resistance activities of many individual Michelin family members allowed the company to retain its patriotic aura and avoid nationalization by the Liberation government. If the mark of success in scholarship, as in showmanship, is to leave the audience wanting more, then Stephen Harp has succeeded admirably. This book is a fascinating contribution to the literature on modernization, regionalism, and consumer culture in twentieth-century France, and it will be of interest to specialists and general readers alike.

DAVID ALLEN HARVEY
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PETER JACKSON. *France and the Nazi Menace: Intelligence and Policy Making, 1933–1939*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 446. $80.00.

This book examines the French response to the challenge presented by Nazi Germany from the rise of Adolf Hitler in 1933 to the outbreak of World War II in 1939. It focuses on the relationship between French intelligence on German intentions and capabilities and the development of French national policy. Generally speaking, two schools of thought about French strategy and diplomacy have emerged over the last two decades. The first views French policy through the optic of decadence and is consistent with the traditional Gaullist perception that, by 1939, the Third Republic was in an advanced stage of decline. Scholars such as Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, Anthony Adamthwaite, and François Bédarida argue that France's political and military leaders surrendered to drift and indecision during the interwar period. An opposing school, represented by historians like Robert Young, Elisabeth du Réau, and Martin Alexander, rejects the notion of decadence and argues instead that France's leaders pursued foreign and defense policies that were quite reasonable and explicable given the enormous domestic political, social, and economic challenges they faced. Their failures in the realm of military security were not due to corruption or moral decay.

The role of intelligence in the evolution of France's foreign and defense policies has not been integrated into this debate, and that is the gap that Peter Jackson seeks to fill. His largely successful effort brings him squarely into the camp of those scholars who reject the concept of decadence and moral fecklessness. Moreover, his thorough academic study of French intelligence during the 1930s will surely pave the way for broader chronological analyses such as those dealing with American, British, and Soviet intelligence that have appeared in the last fifteen years or so.

Jackson focuses his attention on the intelligence departments (Deuxième Bureaux) of the French army, navy, and air force general staffs. These were the only official agencies authorized to collect secret intelligence on foreign nations. The author has carefully mined the available archives in France, cross-checked

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his findings against archival materials in Great Britain and North America, and reviewed the relevant memoir and secondary literature. The chapters in the book are organized around the familiar landmarks in the diplomatic history of the 1930s—German rearmament, the Rhineland Crisis, Munich, the final decision for war—and each has its own introduction and concluding summary, making the author's interpretive framework remarkably accessible. Scholars of international relations and international history will also appreciate the meticulous annotations to the largely unexplored intelligence holdings of the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, the Service Historique de l'Armée de l'Air, and the Service Historique de la Marine.

Jackson rates the performance of French military intelligence very highly with regard to analyzing German intentions. The intelligence services provided fundamentally accurate assessments of Hitler's long-range objectives, concluding that Nazi social and economic policies were directed at preparing the nation for war. They even produced, and updated regularly, detailed analyses of the German order of battle. French intelligence proved much less reliable, however, when it came to assessing realistic German capabilities. From 1933 to September 1938, the intelligence services consistently overestimated Germany's economic and military power. Why? The author cites several reasons, ranging from political instability to the persistence of the Great Depression to overreliance on stereotypes of German efficiency and discipline. Politicians and military leaders were prone to use these overblown estimates of German strength as buffers against potential budget cuts. From September 1938 to the outbreak of war, French intelligence produced more balanced and accurate views of potential German economic and military strength.

These phases of French intelligence activity parallel major stages in the development of French strategic policy vis-à-vis Nazi Germany. Up to the Munich agreement, France retreated steadily in the face of German rearmament and expansion. French intelligence reinforced the conviction of political and military leaders that Germany could not be challenged, especially in light of the failure to win expressions of support from either Great Britain or Benito Mussolini's Italy. Munich, however, coupled with the realization that appeasement had nearly led to war in any case, resulted in the emergence of a policy of firmness in Paris, a policy buttressed by more balanced intelligence appreciations of Germany's long-range economic and military vulnerabilities.

Jackson's excellent monograph provides specialists and general readers alike with a fuller understanding of the evolution of French policy from reluctant appeasement of Nazi Germany to reluctant determination that war could not be avoided.

WILLIAM I. SHORROCK
Cleveland State University

SIGRUN HAUDE. *In the Shadow of "Savage Wolves": Anabaptist Münster and the German Reformation During the 1530s*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Humanities Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 192.

A couple of years ago, a well-known German historian exclaimed in a casual conversation that the sixteenth-century Anabaptists of Münster were the communists of their day. Far from original (this comparison was made after the Great War of 1914–1918), his glib comment nonetheless revealed the long memory and myth of the millenarian kingdom of the Anabaptists, whose practice of communal property and polygeny has excited and disgusted public opinion from the 1530s to our day. The events of 1533–1535 in the Westphalian metropole are well known; the extant documentation has been carefully and repeatedly scrutinized, especially by Karl-Heinz Kirchhoff in the 1970s and 1980s, although historians still disagree on the social significance of the spectacular event.

Sigrun Haude stays clear of the well-trodden path and therein lies the contribution of her solid monograph. Taking the Anabaptist kingdom only as a starting point, Haude focuses instead on the impact and meaning Münster exerted for the German Reformation during the 1530s. In her tightly argued, short book, she assembles neglected and unknown archival sources to put Münster in the larger political and religious context of the Holy Roman Empire.

Divided into seven chapters, the book (whose title is a metaphor for the Anabaptists taken from their opponents) gives a succinct summary of the history, historiography, and contemporary polemics of Münster. The heart of her study consists of chapters three to six, in which she analyzes in turn reactions to Münster in the archbishopric of Cologne, the duchies of Jülich-Cleves, the imperial city of Strasbourg, and the larger empire. In spite of the vehement polemics against Münster that depicted the Anabaptists as a hellish force that threatened all order, Haude finds a differentiated response. In Cologne, both the archbishop and the city were tolerant of evangelical sympathies until 1532. In that year, Münster took a decisive turn in repudiating Catholicism and embracing Protestantism, an event that alarmed Emperor Charles V, who put pressure on Cologne to crack down on the incipient domestic evangelical movement. In Jülich-Cleves, it was not so much the Protestant turn that alarmed the duke and his councillors, who had been primarily concerned with correcting clerical abuses, but the assumption of power by the Anabaptists in 1534. Yet a third response characterized Strasbourg, the great imperial city of the Upper Rhine that first welcomed religious dissenters of many stripes, including Melchior Hoffmann, the artisan prophet and spiritual father of Dutch and Westphalian Anabaptism, and Caspar Schwenckfeld, the spiritualist nobleman, unjustly reputed to have fathered the ideas of religious rebellion. While a clerical evangelical party under the leadership of Martin Bucer repeatedly lob-

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bied the city government in Strasbourg to impose religious unity as the best defense against sedition, the city fathers resisted, at least until 1538, concerned more for the preservation of civic peace than for the imposition of theological unity, a position supported by a minority of the evangelical preachers. The First Synod in Strasbourg (1532–1534), therefore, failed to persuade the magistrates to repress religious dissent, even though an evangelical church ordinance was drafted for the city. Only in 1538, when the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster had been crushed, did the Strasbourg magistrates toughen laws against Anabaptists. The reason was the fear of a renewed Anabaptist uprising occasioned by the visit to Strasbourg of Jan Batenburg, leader of the Münster remnant still clamoring for a violent overthrow of traditional order.

In chapter six Haude draws a larger picture of the different political responses to the siege of Münster. She demolishes the thesis of early confessionalization by demonstrating the primacy of political issues. While concerned with the overthrow of traditional civic authority by the Anabaptists, who represented the political interests of the guilds and the common man, the imperial cities hesitated giving even more unconditional support to the princes in crushing the Anabaptist kingdom. Fearing for the suppression of civic liberties and the expansion of princely power in general, the imperial cities refused or hesitated to contribute toward the siege. From the perspective of the Hansa, Münster represented less of a threat than the alliance of princes, as Lübeck's actions under Jürgen Wullenwever revealed. As for the princes, suspicion over Philip of Hesse's Protestant agenda on the part of the Catholic princes (Cologne and Jülich-Cleves) was overcome by a greater common fear of Habsburg intentions. Determined to stop further expansion of the Habsburg Netherlands into Northwest Germany, Protestant Hesse and Catholic Cologne and Jülich-Cleves joined to suppress the rebellion.

Based on a good command of the historiography and new sources from the archives, Haude's study makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this most famous episode and affirms the centrality of Anabaptism to the understanding of the German Reformation.

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Pennsylvania State University

Lora Wildenthal. *German Women for Empire, 1884–1945*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 336. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

Lora Wildenthal's book on German colonialist women fits well into the new literature on European colonial empires. It places the German case at the heart of the debate and has much to say to an audience interested in the interactions and multiple exchanges between metropole and colony. Wildenthal offers a gender analysis, paying attention to the intersections of men's and women's colonial projects. Importantly, she situates these debates within the context of women's political mobilization in the German metropole, thus shedding new light on the wider project of feminism. Wildenthal shows the flow of ideas and leadership among colonialist women, those in patriotic associations and their dynastic sponsors and the moderate and radical feminists, ties that largely have escaped the attention of German women's historians. Her book takes on important questions of continuity in modern German history.

Wildenthal focuses on the colonial contexts within which white racialized and gendered politics emerged and evolved. She deals with the period of formal colonial empire, 1884–1914, and the loss of empire after the German defeat in World War I. She continues her analysis to the defeat of Nazi Germany. Her arguments are based on organizational histories, as well as individual life stories and the narrative alternates between the two, at times in ways that obviate the need to confront causality. Individual life histories are made to stand for the forces shaping the wider colonialist culture. Also, reflecting the new scholarship, Wildenthal offers a dynamic analysis of the interactions between political players in the German nation-state and those in the colonies; she pays careful attention to the diverse contexts of settler administrators and colonists in German Southwest Africa, East Africa, and Samoa. In racial policies, for example, each colony was able to respond differently to directives from Berlin in late imperial Germany. Chapter three, one of the strongest, is on men's debates about and responses to so-called social crises of "race mixing" as they tried to shape a "new colonial masculinity." Chapter four examines parallel debates and activities surrounding the need to fashion a colonial femininity. While incorporating gender, Wildenthal is less successful in transforming gender analysis into a dynamic category to probe questions of women's sociopolitical power.

Wildenthal situates her book squarely in women's history, defending the category "woman" and demonstrating its complexity through historically specific empirical research (p. 202). But she is disappointing on the issue of women's agency. If women make history, although not always under conditions they control, then questions of agency are central to the debate. The book is contradictory. In the main, the author ascribes only limited agency to colonialist women in the realm of high politics. Here, the text is clear, through the use of the passive tense (women "were allowed" and "were permitted") as well as through explicit statements that, for example, "men controlled the colonialist movement, including German women's place in it" (p. 78). Her own evidence is more complex, however, as in the discussion of the daily activities of nurses in the colonies and the arguments around "feminine expertise" (p. 169). How does one assess power behind social need? Why is it that male discourses alone opened up room for women? Race mixing debates were long current in women's patriotic circles. Is

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feminism the only vehicle to women's agency? And, yet, when it comes to Nazi Germany, Wilderthal duplicates a model of agency that is not tested for the earlier political regimes she covers. Wildenthal writes, "[i]n a profoundly woman-hating state, these racially selected and specially trained women found a space of freedom in which to enact . . . their own domination of colonial space and colonial others" (p. 200).

The study also suffers from a simplistic use of social science categories. To label colonialist women's politics as "secular" seems hard to reconcile with the evidence and is driven more, perhaps, by assumptions of modernity as necessarily "secular." The imperial German Red Cross and its nursing offshoots in no way were "secular" organizations, even if they had no official ties to church hierarchies; a profound Christian identity infused their sense of German-ness and permeated their highly visible performative culture.

I liked Wildenthal's forthright effort to negotiate two distinct projects in German history. One confronts the place of Nazi history in German history; the other seeks to locate German history in comparative history. Wildenthal does not do enough comparative work, but she is clear about what it takes to break the hold of 1933 on the writing of modern German history. For scholars confronting the problematics of agency and analytical categories in themes of race, gender, and empire, this book is of considerable value.

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C. EDMUND CLINGAN. *Finance from Kaiser to Führer: Budget Politics in Germany, 1912–1934*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2001. Pp. x, 255. $67.50.

Budgetary politics are especially problematical in multiparty systems characterized by coalition government. This was particularly so in the Weimar Republic, where most political parties represented a relatively narrow range of sectional interests and where disagreement over financial details led to the collapse of rule by parliamentary majority in 1930. C. Edmund Clingan's account of budget politics in Germany from 1912 to 1934, based on a wide range of primary sources, is therefore of considerable significance not only for students of economic history but also for those who wish to understand the problems of democratic stability in interwar Germany. Moreover, the book's ambitions stretch to demonstrating how Weimar democracy could have been saved, had its leaders adopted the "correct" budgetary policies.

This book has several related themes. The first is the nationalization of fiscal policy from 1912 onward, as the federal state assumed powers previously devolved to the individual states (regions). The second constitutes a reperiodization of German history, arguing that the period from 1912 to 1934 was characterized not by one continuous crisis but by two separate and distinct crises. The first crisis began with international tensions, budget deficits, and Social Democratic Party (SPD) election success in 1912, was compounded by World War I, and lasted until the financial stabilization of 1924. The middle years of Weimar, in a way somewhat out of joint with most recent historiography, are then portrayed in an incredibly positive light, as "Spring" and "High Summer," to quote the chapter headings. During this period, according to Clingan, Reich governments learned how to handle deficit funding and successfully brought Germany out of a potential recession in 1926, an accomplishment above all the work of Finance Minister Peter Reinhold, the author's hero and object of his earlier research. These golden years were also characterized by a form of corporatist collaboration between capital, labor, and even the Nationalist Party (DNVP). Sadly these lessons were forgotten in government responses to the onset of Depression in 1929. Heinrich Brüning, chancellor from 1930 to the middle of 1932, is marked out for especial denigration by Clingan. He argues that the severity of the Depression in Germany "was not the result of excessive spending, taxes, debt or wages" (p. 155) and, counter to the work of Harold James, Theo Balderston, and Knut Borchardt, claims that the constraints upon Brüning's policy choices were "self-imposed" (p. 198) and that his deflationary policies were "completely unnecessary" (p. 183). The crisis of the Depression came to an end for Germany when chancellors after Brüning and subsequently the Third Reich returned to deficit spending.

I regard my own predilictions as Keynesian and have some sympathy with arguments that the Weimar Republic was not necessarily doomed to failure from the start. I also agree with Clingan that the crisis of the Depression was quite different to that of the early inflationary years and that problems of wages and business profitability prior to 1929 have been exaggerated in some accounts of Weimar. However, the author goes far too far in his certainty that specific budgetary policies would have saved democracy, even to the extent of tabulating such policies and littering his later chapters with "should haves." Moreover, his emphasis on the freedom of financial policy choices is written with almost total disrergard for the political constraints (especially as regards their electoral constituencies) that operated on political parties. For example, when the DNVP did play a grudging and internally contested part in consensual politics in the mid-1920s, it started losing its rural constituency, as Clingan recognizes elsewhere in his work. His portrayal of the DNVP as coming to accept the republic in the mid-1920s is highly problematical, as is the more general claim that German politics in the mid-1920s were genuinely corporatist. The industrialist Paul Silverberg's plea in 1926 for cooperation with unions and Social Democrats was rejected by most industrial organizations. Heavy industry with its "veto power" (Bernd Weisbrod) most definitely opposed such a trajectory. On the left, German Social Democracy's dominance of working-class electorates in the indus-

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trial cities was already contested by a strong Communist presence, even before the onset of the Depression. As a result, the freedom of maneuver of the SPD was also limited. The choice of economic policy was not an open menu for political leaders, who had constituents to please.

Viewing the stability of German democracy solely through the rose-tinted spectacles of abstract budgetary possibilities thus renders Clingan remarkably blinkered in his understanding of what constitutes consensus and political stability. Moreover, the certainties of hindsight in this account reach quite preposterous levels. It is claimed that the successful budget resolution of 1926 "had seen the classes coming together" (p. 116). But there is no analysis of social class in this narrative, only a study of the decisions of a relatively small number of political actors. Even more outrageous is the statement, relating to the behavior of the Social Democratic Chancellor Hermann Müller in 1930, that "for want of a handshake, 50 million people died" (p. 175)! This work has much that is interesting to say about German budgets and budgetary politics. It is much less secure when it speculates about alternative but fictitious political outcomes.

DICK GEARY
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DIRK SCHUMANN. *Politische Gewalt in der Weimarer Republik 1918–1933: Kampf um die Straße und Furcht vor dem Bürgerkrieg.* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Soziale Bewegungen, Schriftenreihe A: Darstellungen, number 17.) Essen: Klartext. 2001. Pp. 400. DM 88.00.

The Weimar Republic was scarred by an unusually high degree of social, economic, and political turbulence and instability, especially in the early 1920s and the Depression-hit 1930s, which quickly brought about its demise. A central, influential feature of that unhappy period was the politically motivated violence that found its clearest expression in street fighting and other forms of public disorder between extremists of the Right and Left. A genuine fear of civil war prevailed in many sectors, notably among the middle classes, and particularly as the militant, totalitarian movements of National Socialism and Communism with their tough, paramilitary ancillary organizations attracted increasing popular support. Both movements emphasized the importance of dominating the streets as an integral part of their broader campaigns to secure power.

Dirk Schumann provides a well-documented, solid narrative and challenging analysis of Weimar's political violence, from the perspective of the state of Saxony. In addition to a wide range of printed and other secondary sources, he has made extensive use of primary material from the Bundesarchiv, the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, and local Saxon archives, notably the Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt in Magdeburg. The result is a detailed examination, focused on Saxony, of the principal episodes of political violence, for instance the Kapp Putsch (1920) and the *Märzaktion* (1921), and of the organizations most conspicuously involved, including, on the Left, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Rotfrontkämpferbund, and, on the Right, the Einwohnerwehren (Home Guard), Stahlhelm, Bund der Frontsoldaten, Freikorps, and Nazi SA (Stormtroopers). If the information provided is sometimes new and interesting, however, it does not substantively add to what is already known, and Schumann does not demur from the long-established consensus that political violence contributed significantly to the eventual collapse of the republic. Instead, the real value of this study lies in the way in which the documentation has been employed to construct a fresh interpretation and explanation of political violence.

While acknowledging that the genesis of the violence, which was an almost exclusively male phenomenon, lay in the Wilhelmine era, Schumann rejects the view that the radical brutalization occasioned by World War I was the primary reason for it. Rather, he argues that the key factor was the widespread apprehension among the middle classes of the Socialist working-class movement after 1918, and that control of the public space, especially the streets, by right-wing extremist groups was deemed essential to confront and contain that perceived threat. These groups organized, mobilized, and adopted appropriate symbols effectively. In contrast, the aggressive response of the radical Left is depicted as having been essentially a defensive, secondary cause of the violence. By the early 1930s, it is further contended, middle-class fears of a Communist-inspired civil war lent support and legitimacy to the anti-Left violence of the Nazis and paved the way for the wholesale persecution of the Socialist and Communist movements after Adolf Hitler's accession to power.

Not everyone will be able to subscribe to this overall hypothesis, and not simply because of the inevitable questioning of the applicability of the experience of heavily industrialized and predominantly Protestant Saxony to the rest of Germany. More important, the contribution of growing militancy in the Wilhelmine era, particularly on the Right, as revealed, for example, by the Pan German League and the *völkisch* milieu and greatly intensified by the impact of World War I, is surprisingly downplayed, given the book's main thesis. By 1918, there was already in Germany an ethos and even a cult of violence that became the foundation of the political violence that ensued. Moreover, the violence of the radical Left was surely not just reactive: it emanated from and was inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution and the revolutionary dynamics of class warfare, as the German bourgeoisie well understood, but to which this study perhaps pays insufficient attention.

Finally, despite its undeniably scholarly and worthwhile character, this monograph is compromised to some extent by a rather too intrusively tendentious

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tone. This is indicated, for instance, by a certain impatience with historians such as Jürgen Falter, Conan Fischer, and Detlev Mühlberger, who have had the temerity to underline, among other things, the attraction the Nazi Party eventually had for a substantial number of workers. As Schumann implies repeatedly, the workers were, relatively speaking, the "good guys."

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ROBERT GELLATELY. *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 359. $35.00.

This study builds on Robert Gellately's previous research on the Gestapo and German society. Based on his own investigations of the police in Würzburg and Düsseldorf and practices of denouncing individuals to the authorities in the Third Reich, he sketches a broader account of the extension and radicalization of the Gestapo and SS system of terror from 1933 to 1945. Gellately relies in the main on recent scholarship, and parts of the book read like a kind of compendium of relevant historical inquiry over the past fifteen years, principally by German scholars.

Initially, Gellately shows that Nazi terror was directed primarily against the Communists, wasting few words in this connection on the Social Democrats and trade unions. During the first year of Nazi rule, some 100,000 Germans were subjected to the tortures and indignities of the concentration camps; the author estimates that an approximately similar number of victims were tortured by the SA in other "wild" camps and cellars. Gellately argues that these numbers were relatively small in comparison to the massive abuses of the Bolshevik October Revolution or the Chinese Revolution; but for him to contend that the upheaval in Germany was thus "harmonious" is doubtless an exaggeration. Nonetheless, it is certainly accurate to note that the Nazis—who enjoyed the backing of some forty percent of the electorate before their seizure of power, and whose bitterest foes were within the ranks of the organized working class and among Roman Catholics—succeeded in expanding their base of support during the first four or five years of their rule. The main underlying factors were their evident successes in economic and employment policy and in the realm of foreign affairs, areas not explored in the present study.

Gellately shows how the system of the political police was successively consolidated in terms of both organization and ideology, in theory functioning to help establish a "harmonious society, free from conflict," in which the problems of modernity were eliminated by isolating and eradicating their causes (from crime to hereditary disease, once political opponents had been expunged). It is highly unlikely that Nazi theorizing on police law (Gellately cites in particular publications by Werner Best) had much resonance among the broader population. Nonetheless, such writings did probably serve to allay doubts in the middle classes and most particularly within legal and judicial circles regarding the progressive erosion and evisceration of constitutional law and civil liberties.

Gellately provides no new insights into Nazi Jewish policy. He notes that Jews were often denounced to the police by their "Aryan" neighbors or associates at work. The author devotes ample space to the practice of denouncing neighbors and associates, emphasizing that some fifty percent of such denunciations came from the ranks of the general population rather than from within the bureaucracies of terror. It is generally recognized that an essential feature of denunciations is precisely the fact that they do not stem from the apparatus of surveillance and repression but come from the broader populace. This phenomenon is common to all totalitarian dictatorships, which seek by this insidious means to establish a regimen of fear that could never be successfully maintained solely by the presence of large numbers of police. Unfortunately, the author does not tell us whether the number of such denunciations in Nazi Germany was relatively high by comparative standards.

Overall, these particular chapters remain the most instructive and interesting compared with other sections of the book. Those on foreign forced workers are basically a rehash of material from Gellately's first book, limited here solely to Polish civilian workers. The chapters on the extermination camps, the death marches, and the exploitation of Jewish prisoners as slave laborers fall short of the current state of historical knowledge.

The real problem with this book lies elsewhere, however. Its introduction and conclusion project a quite different contextual frame from that examined here, misleadingly expressed by its English (and even more by its German) title. For example, the reader is told that, in 1933, only a "mini-wave of terror" swept over Germany subsequent to the Nazi seizure of power; that the Germans were "certainly pleased" about the building of the concentration camps; and that the present study provides proof "that the majority more or less accepted the racist teachings, and at the very least showed few signs of being troubled by them" (p. 261). Yet that same reader will probably have had a quite different impression from what is stated earlier in the course of the study. Gellately contends that "people cooperated when it came to enforce antisemitism and the racial measures aimed at foreign workers." Yet only a bit earlier, the author quotes a Nazi report from Munich complaining that "the instances of unbefitting, defeatist, insurrectionary, and treasonous behaviour of German citizens, also of those in official positions, with regard to foreign workers and prisoners of war, gather daily" (p. 254). Yet the book's conclusion is silent on that, emphasizing instead that "the National Socialists and the German people got caught up in a murderous game of pillorying, excluding, and eventually eliminating unwanted social 'elements' and 'race enemies.'"

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Such generalizing and undifferentiated statements are not substantiated by this study. Indeed, it is methodologically unconvincing to draw conclusions about the supposed concurrence of "the" Germans in regard to mass crimes during the war based on propagandistic newspaper reports about the early concentration camps replete with embellishing descriptions about the purportedly positive dimensions of sports, labor and the love of order and discipline inside their fences. Likewise, the large number of denunciations cannot serve as support for the thesis that there was some sort of "pact between the Gestapo and the population." It is possible that the book's title, introduction, and conclusion may well have been shaped more by the guiding interests of the publisher than the intention of the author. Yet there can be no doubt: such overdrawn and catchy theses tend to do more harm than good to directions in historical inquiry that have long sought to establish the precise and differentiated extent of cooperation and consent among the broader German population with the policies of the Nazi regime.

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HAROLD JAMES. *The Deutsche Bank and the Nazi Economic War Against the Jews: The Expropriation of Jewish-Owned Property*. New York: Cambridge University. 2001. Pp. xi, 268. $24.95.

The "Aryanization" of Jewish assets under National Socialist rule was one of the most massive property transfers in German and European history of the twentieth century. It was not only a creeping political process guided by Nazi Party directives but also a social process in which numerous actors and beneficiaries partcipated. Although banks did not have a decisive hand in this process, their function was nonetheless important, as they acted as brokers and intermediaries between Jewish owners and "Aryan" parties. They pocketed commissions, sounded the political terrain, and brought their expertise and business connections to bear on a process that eventuated in the total displacement of Jewish entrepreneurs and their economic destruction.

Yet the actual concrete behavior of the banks in the framework of "Aryanization" has remained shrouded in relative darkness. For many decades, the large German banks were adamant in refusing to grant interested researchers access to their files. This changed in the 1990s, in significant measure due to sustained international pressure, but initially most banks opened their files only to a commission of select historians. This exclusiveness in procedure is regrettable in respect to freedom of research, yet it does not reflect negatively in the least on the historians comprising the special commissions or the validity of their scientific findings. The present volume on the Deutsche Bank grew out of Harold James's participation in one such historians' commission on the bank's role in the economic war against the Jews under the Nazis. Let me state at the outset: this study provides solid, important research on "Aryanization" and is far removed from any sort of "in-house historiography."

James stresses that, during the early years of Nazi rule, the Deutsche Bank did not engage in any discernable uniform strategy in connection with the "Aryanization" of Jewish property. He characterizes the bank as a complex organism whose branch directors enjoyed substantial scope for action. Some propelled developments forward "from the bottom up," compliant with the local Nazi rulers. Others were skeptical and decided to wait and see, viewing "Aryanization" as an unwelcome interference in business life. Not until January 1938 did the bank's central office ask branch directors to supply them with a list of their "non-Aryan" clients. From this juncture on, all inhibitions about cutting deals in the wake of the criminal policies of the Nazi regime receded rapidly, a phenomenon especially evident in the territories annexed by Germany after 1938. After the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1938–1939, the Deutsche Bank obtained a majority share in the Böhmische Union-Bank, whose "major business lay in the administration of property of the victims of National Socialism for the benefit of the German state" (p. 171) and which administered numerous accounts belonging to deported and murdered Jews.

Anti-Semitic motives played a negligible role in the Deutsche Bank's attitude toward "Aryanization." That is hardly surprising for a bank in which, down to 1933, the spokesperson for its board of directors was a Jew, Oscar Wassermann. By contrast, economic motives figured more centrally. The successful sale of a Jewish firm not only garnered the bank a commission of one to three percent of the sale price but also opened up prospects for longer-term lucrative business connections with the "Aryan" buyers. In this way, "Aryanization" provided the bank with a source for new customers.

Nonetheless, James tends to be skeptical about the profit motive as a factor guiding bank decisions. The profits accruing to the bank from "Aryanization" transactions were modest at best. Rather, it was political-strategic considerations that played a decisive role: in a politically overdetermined economy like that of Nazi Germany, banks vied with one another, competing for political influence. The aim was to secure the best possible conditions for competition and profit for one's own company by conforming to the will and wishes of the political rulers. James points up in detail the moral and ethical costs of such behavior. He discounts the argument of Hermann Josef Abs, chief executive officer of the Deutsche Bank for many years, who contended that all actions taken during the Third Reich were done to "rescue" the bank, calling it "not a very good justification" (p. 217). Rather, an "astonishingly punctilious legalism and insistence on the following of correct procedures" went hand in hand with an "igno-

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rance and neglect of the human and moral issues involved" (p. 173).

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S. JONATHAN WIESEN. *West German Industry and the Challenge of the Nazi Past 1945–1955*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 329. $39.95.

S. Jonathan Wiesen's book is at heart a study of historical memory. In the author's view, the central component to the rehabilitation of West German industry after World War II was its public association with the economic miracle of the 1950s and its dissociation with the disastrous policies of the Nazis. West German industrialists succeeded in doing this through the manipulation of historical memory.

Building on the work of sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, Wiesen posits that the historical memory of West Germans after the war was the product of volitional choices and actions rather than of a subconscious desire to suppress the memory of their willing embrace of Adolf Hitler's dictatorship. Memory, according to Wiesen, is "an active process dependent on collective agency and rational choice" in which "a group sustains itself by manipulating images of the past for present purposes, and individuals within a group express their own personal memory through the lens of broader group narratives" (p. 6). To develop the idea of the collective identity necessary to mold historical memory, Wiesen contends that there existed an "industrial milieu" that was welded together by common language, symbolism, and experiences and that cut across industrial sectors and bridged the gaps among small, medium, and large enterprises. Within this milieu, Allied treatment of Ruhr industrialists and the on-going conflict with German labor over managerial prerogative endowed heavy industry with a symbolism that transcended divisions among the ranks of industrialists. To regain political legitimacy in the 1950s, West German industrialists used public relations to manipulate the popular memory of the Nazi past.

According to Wiesen, heavy industry and its plight at the hands of the Allies came to symbolize the fate of all German industry. He first examines the attempts by the management of the German electrical giant Siemens to stave off allegations of the firm's exploitation of slave labor and complicity in the Final Solution through a carefully crafted series of publications. Siemens' management was especially concerned to maintain managerial prerogative against German labor unions as well as to parry thrusts from Allied cartel busters and war crimes tribunals. In the process, they consciously shifted their defense from acknowledging and explaining the firm's use of slave labor during the Nazi period to emphasizing the firm's humanitarian treatment of compulsory labor. The author then shows how the ordeal of mass arrests, the reemergence of industrial associations, and the spirited defense of Ruhr industrialists cemented the industrial milieu. Between 1945 and 1949, West German industrialists, rather than confront complicity with the Nazi state, instead shifted their message to emphasizing the apolitical stance of Ruhr industrialists during Hitler's rise to power before 1933—a standard charge in labor critiques of the industrial restoration in the West. In so doing, West German industrialists threw the issue of culpability for the emergence of Nazism back at labor, while simultaneously feeding contemporary fears of communism and class conflict.

Wiesen meticulously chronicles the use of public relations to restore the legitimacy of postwar West German industry through a careful manipulation of the public memory of the Nazi past. In the book's remaining five chapters, he skillfully examines the full panoply of public relations ploys against a backdrop of labor strife, Cold War divisions, and America's increased transatlantic influence. Chief among these attempts was the founding of the Deutsches Industrieinstitut, which was explicitly designed to mold public perceptions concerning industry's activities before and during the Nazi period. Also explored are industry's use of religion and industrial fairs to restore public legitimacy. The book ends with a chapter on the role of American conservatives, such as journalist Louis Lochner, in restoring the tarnished image of West German industrialists abroad at the very moment that American Cold War policies were channeling the flood of West German goods back into foreign markets.

This is a well-researched book. Wiesen has burrowed through numerous industrial and labor archives in West Germany, including those of Siemens, Krupp, Thyssen and the Hans-Böckler-Stiftung. He further mined public document collections in the U.S., Germany, and Britain, as well as several private collections in Munich and Berlin. Wiesen has supplemented his impressive use of primary sources with contemporaneous accounts and secondary literature. Some holes remain, however. For instance, Wiesen relies heavily on State Department and Military Government records. Missing are the files of the U.S. High Commissioner and the Foreign Operations Administration, both of which are vital to understanding American policies supporting industrial restoration and rearmament in West Germany after 1950.

Wiesen's interpretation also poses problems. First, this reviewer would have liked more evidence that industrialists from smaller firms, especially from the consumer goods industries, identified their fate with that of the large combines after 1945. More importantly, he posits the "success" of public relations efforts especially the portrayal of the West German businessman as "the 'new industrialist'" who was the "victim of the Nazis and defender of the culture and economy" (p. 237). This image, according to Wiesen, merged seamlessly with other exculpatory narratives of postwar West Germany. The author gives the impression that West Germans embraced the industrialists' version of history and retreated into a materialistic

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amnesia after the 1950s, only to be jolted out of their indifference concerning the past by American lawyers in the 1990s. This flies in the face of Jeffrey Herf's political study, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (1997), which demonstrates the persistence in West Germany of a critical public discourse concerning the Nazi past into the 1960s and 1970s.

This is an important book. By examining West German industry's postwar history as a function of an intellectual milieu, Wiesen has written a fitting companion volume to Volker Berghahn's intergenerational examination of West German industrial politics after 1945, *The Americanization of West German Industry, 1945–1973* (1986). This book should be read by anyone interested in German history after 1945.

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LAURO MARTINES. *Strong Words: Writing and Social Strain in the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 357. $42.50.

The purpose of this book is to show how one may "negotiate an entry into history through literature" (p. xiii). Lauro Martines is too good a historian to substitute literary theory for a deep knowledge of the sources, and he writes with exceptional elegance. Yet his enterprise is hardly novel. Literary texts, no less than diplomatic correspondence or tax records, are historical artifacts and have long been grist for the historian's mill. Hence, in order to break new ground, the scholar must reveal fresh methods of achieving this goal and/or use a specific body of literature to advance historical knowledge in significant fashion. Martines's book does not succeed in the former and does the latter only marginally.

In a sequence of chapters, Martines tries to show how Italian poetry can illuminate and, in turn, be illuminated by the culture of the neighborhood, the ethos of patronage, links between prayer to the Virgin Mary and secular love poetry, the relationship of love and marriage, the phenomenon of suicide and alienation among writers, the mentality of cruelty, issues of seduction and family space, the forms of political memory, and the crisis of the French invasion of Italy in 1494, worthy subjects all. One can also toss in as reoccuring themes anticlericalism, physicality, and the use of extraordinarily graphic language. Nonetheless, Martines's approach is so impressionistic that one finishes each section with some plausible and interesting *aperçus* but no sense of a new thesis proved or a theme convincingly illustrated. Some of the chapters work well in isolation as suggestive papers, but they fail to coalesce to tell us something coherent about the Italian Renaissance or give us a golden interpretative thread.

Two examples will suffice. In chapter six, Martines gives us the story of the Florentine poet, banker, and patrician Francesco Alberti. Exploiting Alberti's tax returns and other sources to piece together the vissitudes of Alberti's life, Martines illuminates the context of his poems and references in them. But I do not see where Martines's discussion tells us much new about Alberti's milieu, unless one is surprised to find flirtation, political rivalry, hypocrisy, and cynicism in Renaissance Florence. In chapter nine on seduction and family space, we are treated to typologies of persons and storylines in tales of love, marriage, and seduction to illustrate how upper-class women were confined and how young widows were threatening figures. One of the main points of the chapter is that the public spaces of Italian cities, including the marketplace, were male spheres. But this is a point far better documented and given nuance by other evidence: legal, religious, artistic, economic, and nonfictional literature. To be sure, *novelle* can be wonderfully telling indicators of social mores, but they cannot bear the main weight in explaining social mores. The relationship is the other way around. We need the other evidence to understand better these tales. Indeed, Martines proves this by opening the chapter with the story of Niccolò Machiavelli's brilliantly successful comedy, *La Mandragola*, and then expatiating on the social isolation of women before explaining why young Camillo became a trickster to gain access to the married Lucrezia. In other words, other historical evidence elucidates an aspect of *La Mandragola*, not vice versa. In passing, the theme of female isolation leads to what Martines calls "one of the least studied subjects in Italian history, the matter of intimate relations between women and clerics" (p. 226), since confessors had privileged access to women. Again, if one were to attempt a study of this phenomenon, tales from Giovanni Boccaccio onward would provide piquant illustrations but little of substance. The surest and fullest evidence would come from elsewhere: court records, registers of religious orders, episcopal edicts, contemporary reports, and so on.

In view of the purpose of the book, using literature to illuminate the culture and society of Renaissance Italy, one may wonder why Martines ignores the veritable ocean of Latin literature that the Italian Renaissance produced. Except for three very brief examples, one of which has a typo (read *vitium*, not *vitum*, on page 207), Martines sticks to Italian literature. True, Latin texts addressed the elite. But the mores and outlook of the elite are core elements of the book; and for certain themes that Martines discusses at length, such as insult, flattery, alienation, and the relationship of love literature and prayer, Renaissance Latin poetry, invectives, panegyrics, epistolary corpora, and dialogues provide inexhaustible and, it must be said, indispensable material.

Four of the eleven chapters in the book originally appeared as articles, and, taken in isolation, are interesting and stimulating. Perhaps the best way to view Martines's book is as the transcription of a series of talks in which the speaker gracefully elaborates on miscellaneous insights, gives suggestions for future research, and offers illustrations of how literary and

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historical studies can cross-pollinate each other. The parts do not add up to a methodological or substantive whole but could prove useful to others working on similar material.

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THOMAS KUEHN. *Illegitimacy in Renaissance Florence*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Civilization.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 305. $60.00.

Was the Renaissance a Golden Age for bastards? The fields of literature, art, and politics produced high achievers who were illegitimate: Leon Battista Alberti, Giovanni Boccaccio, Leonardo da Vinci, and Filippo Lippi to name a few. Some princely families positively paraded their misbegotten progeny, and at a slightly lower social level, patrician households in Florence accommodated without embarrassment the patriarch's by-blows. This, at least, is the received picture, handed down from Jakob Burckhardt to the late twentieth century. Thomas Kuehn's achievement in this book is to paint over these simple outlines and bold colors a much more nuanced and negative depiction.

He does this essentially by examining five types of evidence from Renaissance Florence: the law, family diaries and moral literature, wills, tax records, and legal opinions on difficult cases (*consilia*). Florentine law restricted the rights of illegitimate children to inherit property and to hold offices in government, administration, or guild. Prescriptive texts and moralizing fiction linked the illicit sex that generated bastards to dishonor, while private diaries turn coy where illegitimate children are concerned. To call someone a "bastard" or (animal equivalent) "mule" was a great insult. The presence of illegitimate children in households was underreported in tax declarations, suggesting embarrassment; and when they can be traced through the tax records, illegitimate sons remained unmarried, living in their fathers' houses, while their illegitimate sisters got small dowries, married down or, more likely, ended up in a convent. In their wills, fathers of bastard children rarely left them substantial property, preferring merely to provide continued sustenance for sons and dowries for daughters. Fifteenth-century *consilia* show a hardening attitude toward allowing even legitimated bastards to inherit in preference to legitimate cousins. So, Kuehn concludes, there *was* still stigma attached to illegitimacy, and it affected lives in tangible ways.

However (Kuehn in effect continues), this is only half the picture. The "sense of fear, prejudice and even hatred" was to some extent balanced by "the sense of attachment, obligation and even love" (p. 173). First of all, distinctions were made: "Not all illegitimates were born equal" (p. 36). The children of a concubine (a live-in mistress) were more easily assimilable to legitimate offspring (just as concubinage was a marriage-like relationship). Bastards were more readily allowed to participate in family vendettas than in succession to family property. A "good proportion" of bastards received recognition and care from their fathers: if conceived abroad, they were brought back to Florence; they might be given names that overtly linked them to their father's family; some received education or training and did well in later life, marrying and procreating (legitimately). A stock of bastards was useful to lineages fearful of extinction without legitimate male heirs: they could serve as a "reserve pool," a "form of insurance for family preservation" (p. 153).

Kuehn's successful achievement is to show us how these two attitudes—the bastard as disruptive outsider, a reminder of the sin of the father, and the bastard as a flesh-and-blood kinsman, with a rightful claim on family resources and affection—were present in Renaissance Florence, how they were negotiated in different contexts, and how the balance between them changed.

Much of this picture is drawn vigorously, well supported by documentary evidence. At some of the edges, however, impressionistic dots take over, as Kuehn uses material from elsewhere—other Italian societies, modern Mediterranean anthropology—to fill gaps. Was "bastard" a frequent insult? Kuehn's assertion that it was makes reference only to studies of thirteenth-century Todi (in central Italy) and sixteenth-century England. Were illegitimate kinsmen welcomed into revenge-taking groups? Kuehn repeatedly asserts that they were on the basis of one jurist's opinion. There is also a slight tendency to overgeneralize. For example, we read (on p. 88) that "the inheritance of family honor was a vital element of Florentine society," but later (p. 131) Kuehn says that the poor "having no honor and little hope of ever claiming much of it . . . did not have to fear for their honor"—an important corrective. There are occasional lapses in clarity (interrupted sequences), and the ideal reader of this book appears to be someone already acquainted with Florentine political institutions and with medieval legal terms such as "fideicommissary substitutions," "patria potestas," "tutrix," and "alimentary rights." These are small quibbles, but they are likely to reduce the readership for what is a fascinating and well-crafted study, full of connections to topics at the forefront of historians' current agendas, and fruitfully informed by Mediterranean anthropology.

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JOANNE M. FERRARO. *Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 221.

In *Family and Public Life in Early Modern Brescia, 1580–1650: The Foundations of Power in the Venetian State* (1993), Joanne M. Ferraro focused in on several

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themes that bridged the political and the social: to what extent the Brescian republic was able to maintain its own institutions under Venetian domination; how the elite maintained power; how families manipulated marriage and property arrangements to secure social and political power. Ferraro's new book has a narrower focus. It is not concerned with the state, or with families, or very much with men. It is a study of the attempts at self-determination before civil and patriarchal courts by Venetian women caught in failed marriages in the period 1563–1650. Its message is that these women exhibited energy and resourcefulness in seeking their rights and liberty and were often successful in predicaments that, despite the different issues of long ago (strict sexual regulation, intense religiosity), often appear surprisingly modern. She executes this mission with admirable lucidity and treats the reader along the way to some thirty narratives of private life that are precious in their detail and vigor.

Ferraro's examination of the 210 fully documented investigations by the patriarchal court during an eighty-seven-year period looks at women of all social groups from the nobility to the common prostitute. The women had three main objectives. The first was to gain an annulment of a failed marriage on the grounds that the marriage was coerced (through parental threats of violence or disinheritance), or that it was not consummated, or that the spouse was bigamous. The second was to gain a decree of separation, without a dissolution of the marriage, on the grounds of spousal violence or failure to provide support (food, clothing, appurtenances pertaining to rank). The third was to compel the spouse to respect his wife's dowry rights.

Identifying these issues in a series of six well-structured chapters, Ferraro elucidates themes that run throughout the volume, among them these. It was the church itself, in the 1563 *Tametsi* decree of the Council of Trent—the decree that forms the baseline for Ferraro's chronological range—that by reaffirming the importance of consent to marriage by both parties in fact paved the way for petitions to invalidate forced unions. Even as it leaned toward the preservation of marriage ties, the patriarchal court also showed itself surprisingly sympathetic to women's expectations of sexual satisfaction and assumed that sexual intimacy, including ordinary expressions of affection, was an essential dimension of married life. At the same time, the courts, both civil and ecclesiastical, were inclined to protect women's property rights. Ferraro notes how striking is the official world's "sympathy for the plight (moral, physical, and financial) of women in bad marriages" (p. 30).

Other themes pertain to society at large. The self-disciplining celibacy of noninheriting brothers in Venetian noble families had a great impact on women's lives, encouraging prostitution and concubinage and resulting in an array of enduring nonmarital relationships between nobles and commoners and the availability of support in high social strata for women of lower rank. The behavior of parents toward their daughters was various, ranging from violence to indifference to support. Playing important roles in the perception and disciplining of marriage was an array of collateral actors including servants, midwives, physicians—even apothecaries—and neighbors. The issues raised in the court documents, finally, are echoed in the high literature of the period, including dramatic comedy and feminist treatises.

Ferraro's voice throughout emphasizes women's agency, as is the fashion. Venetian institutions "gave women in failing marriages some latitude to make choices" (p. 13). The tales she tells suggest "that not all women were passive pawns in the marriage market" (p. 103). Women married to socially inferior, sexually inept, or simply repugnant men expressed a "sense of entitlement" to better circumstances and exhibited a "creative agency . . . by their going to court, gathering witnesses, and marshaling evidence in their favor" (p. 103). It is "surprising to learn how much latitude to make choices of serious consequence" two women possessed (p. 121), which freedom demonstrates that women were not "defenseless, nor were they without power of decision" (p. 131).

To these claims, which may be true, the reader might respond that the cases offered are few. The 210 investigations that took place in the course of nearly ninety years come to slightly over two per year in a city with a population of some 100,000. The thirty or so cases that Ferraro presents in detail are only a fraction of these. Perhaps these poignant and compelling cases represent a norm; or perhaps they are extreme cases of marital disruption and female complaint and judicial remedy that mask the reality that many women were coerced into marriages and in those marriages silently endured rape, battery, betrayal, and the seizure of property. At the end of the day, we simply do not know just how much agency a Venetian woman possessed in matters of marital failure in the late years of the Renaissance.

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THOMAS JAMES DANDELET. *Spanish Rome 1500–1700.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. 278. $35.00.

Often, there is value in standing back, or sideways, and looking in from out. Thomas James Dandelet has done just that; he has studied two centuries of the influence of Spain at Rome with his feet planted in Spanish archives, in Spain and in Rome. This book's strengths, and its weaknesses, reflect its unusual origins. For its thesis, note the title. It has two English readings. The first denotes a community and subculture, often abroad, as in "Chinese New York," "Russian Paris," or "Jewish Vienna." The second denotes hegemony, as in "British India" or "Roman Egypt." Dandelet asserts the latter. Does he prove his point? That is unclear. He makes an interesting case, and, while trying, he does

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worthy service, as he portrays that piece of Rome then inhabited or shaped by Spaniards.

The crux of Dandelet's argument is that, by dint of pomp, flattery, patronage, and fat subsidies, the kings of Spain, from Ferdinand but especially from Philip II down through Philip IV, shaped a Roman bloc of partisans who kept most popes tame and friendly. Dandelet goes further: Spanish influence calmed Roman politics and ballasted the papal state, and Spanish subsidies so mulched Roman soil that the sprouting baroque monuments—churches, palaces, and their internal finery—owe much to Iberian largess.

Perhaps! The argument from subsidies to Rome's global wealth has problems. Dandelet himself allows that it is hard to pin down figures. But, clearly from his text, cash flowed both ways. It was a trade in favors, like modern lobbying, probably detrimental to the general good. In came fine gifts and pensions, but out went vast concessions (to kings for fleets and armies) of annual monies owed the church. How much of the huge church revenue lost had been meant for Rome, and how much not, is a question never raised. Net flows favored whom? What the book does make clear is how extensive, deliberate, and assiduous was Habsburg giving. It also stresses the honorific military orders of Calatrava and Santiago, much coveted by Rome's elite, dealt out by royal hands.

When it comes to his more modest aim—to show what in Rome was Spanish—Dandelet does fine service. His portrayal of the busy Spanish confraternity at San Giacomo dei Spagnoli (his "Santiago") and his survey of the geography, work, and wealth of the city's Spaniards are both interesting and useful. He finds a wide range of careers and occupations, some endogamy, but much exogamy, causing easy assimilation via intermarriage. His work on wills is suggestive; he finds much female property and female control of its disposition. It would be interesting to know if Spanish law and custom for women's goods made for difference. He traces the church geography of wills' charities and notes an eclectic mix of many Spanish but some Roman beneficiaries.

Another useful service of the book is its survey of wishful texts by Spanish humanists who romanized their national history or hispanized Rome's tale to prettify the Italian ambitions of Borgia popes or Habsburg emperors.

The author's approach has risks. To come in from away, and do it well, requires good local knowledge. Here the book falters glaringly. We find a *pasticcio* of queer errors, most small but so irritatingly abundant as to subvert a worthy project. Many stem from taking Spanish texts on Italy at face value. Titles, offices, monies come out in odd Espaliano, as do, especially, places' and persons' names. Most we can decode, but not always. The usual documentary jumble blurs the identities of cardinals, known promiscuously by family, office, titular church, or homeland: they need consistent tags. Sometimes, too, Italian paleography trips the author up, inventing fictitious families (Capitocchi for Capizucchi, Comellino for Lomellino, Albertini for Albertoni). And there is a lovely mirage, the "Palatina" family—actually the palace staff. All these errors signal that, often, the author did not really understand quite what his documents pointed at. Responsibility for some of these failings lies squarely with Yale University Press. An august press owes its public and a young scholar better service.

One more criticism: I would like to see documents taken with a bigger pinch of salt. Dandelet's sources are often wrapped in courtesy, guile, or speculation; they need more siting, more decoding. For facts, the *avvisi* (weekly Roman newsletters) are often too far from central politics to take so literally, especially for sums of money or numbers of men. And dispatches, petitions, and fulsome thank-you notes to Madrid all need glossing; no such rhetoric should ever be taken at face value.

That said, this is a useful book, a worthy *empresa*, and an interesting new approach. It gives Romanists a new subject, new questions, and new facts to keep in mind.

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ALEXANDER DE GRAND. *The Hunchback's Tailor: Giovanni Giolitti and Liberal Italy from the Challenge of Mass Politics to the Rise of Fascism, 1882–1922*. Foreword by SPENCER M. DI SCALA. (Italian and Italian-American Studies.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2001. Pp. x, 294. $69.95.

The life of the Italian statesman, Giovanni Giolitti (1842–1928), links Italy's Risorgimento to the fascist period. His long career, which started with service in the state administration in 1862 and culminated in five terms as prime minister (1892–1893; 1903–1905; 1906–1909; 1911–1914; 1920–1921), makes him Italy's most important political figure between Camillo Cavour, the architect of Italian unification, and Benito Mussolini, the fascist leader. Equally, Giolitti was the most controversial figure of his generation. As Alexander De Grand tells us, Giolitti's attempt to hold the center ground in Italian politics aroused hostility on both the Left and Right, while what De Grand calls his "cold realism" made him the enemy of "a self-absorbed generation of intellectuals who sought poetry in politics" (p. 4). Moreover, Giolitti's unrivalled mastery of the political game earned him an enduring reputation for sharp practice. "At best," De Grand comments, Giolitti seemed "an efficient bureaucrat," at worst he was "an unprincipled schemer" (p. 4). For the socialist Gaetano Salvemini, Giolitti was the "*ministro della malavita*" (minister of the underworld), a parliamentarian who corrupted parliamentary institutions and a liberal who exploited the political backwardness of southern Italy for his own short-term ends. For fascists, Giolitti's rule had separated the "real" people from its government, thereby destroying the unity, greatness, and strength of the Italian nation.

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De Grand's study of Giolitti's political career belongs firmly to an American historiographical tradition that has long sought to rehabilitate the Italian statesman. Some forty years ago, A. William Salomone argued that Italy under Giolitti moved decisively toward democracy, a step tragically interrupted by World War I and its chaotic aftermath (*Italy in the Giolittian Era: Italian Democracy in the Making, 1900–1914* [1960]). According to De Grand, this moment of transition, and Giolitti's role in guiding it, provide the keys to understanding his beliefs and actions. Thus, it is "wrong and profoundly ahistorical to judge (Giolitti) by democratic standards" (p. 273). He was not a mass political leader and did not seek to build a mass movement; democratic politics were "distasteful" to him (p. 7). Instead, Giolitti must be judged by the standards of "the old liberal tradition" (p. 273) represented by Cavour and the historic Right. And here Giolitti's achievement was to have built a relatively stable coalition, based on a very Italian mixture of parliament, bureaucracy, and business, which worked to promote "gradual and unglamorous progress" (p. 5) and which continued the tradition of state-building and modernization started by Cavour.

Equally important, De Grand tells us, was Giolitti's pessimism about the possibility of real change in Italian politics. Giolitti saw much in Italian political life that was "ugly and displeasing" and compared his own role to that of a tailor who "does not succeed in dressing a hunchback if he does not take the hump into account" (p. 1). De Grand seems to share this bleak vision. The late liberal Italy dominated by Giolitti was divided by "deep regional, class and ideological differences" (p. 271), ruled by self-serving politicians, and beset by financial, political, and military scandals. Yet what is perhaps missing in this account is any explanation of why this should be. Oddly lacking, in such a carefully researched and well-argued study, is a deeper sense of either Giolitti the man or the Italy in which he lived and died. The reader learns very little about the connections between Giolitti's personal and public life (or if, indeed, there were any), while an analysis of the social and economic context of the politician's career, of the kind that made Rosario Romeo's biography of Cavour (*Cavour e il suo tempo*, 3 vols [1979–1984]) compulsive reading, is also absent. What exactly "the old liberal tradition" represented by Cavour and inherited by Giolitti consisted of is left unexplained. The impact of political developments in other European states, or of foreign policy on the domestic scene, is rarely discussed. It is, in short, frustrating that so few general conclusions are drawn from such a detailed and richly illustrated study. The opportunities for a reassessment of the legacy of Cavour, the nature of the "new nationalism," the transition to mass politics, and/or the rise of fascism are never really seized by the author.

The close focus of De Grand's study, and his meticulous account of the political machinations of Giolittian Italy, ensure that his book is and will remain a crucial work of reference. The book has much to say to the Italian specialist. But the non-specialist will struggle to find a way through the bewildering succession of governments and the collision of political personalities and problems. The political confusion so characteristic of late liberal Italy and described so aptly here can often overwhelm the reader as well.

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MacGregor Knox. *Hitler's Italian Allies: Royal Armed Forces, Fascist Regime, and the War of 1940–1943*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 207. $24.95.

With this book, MacGregor Knox emphasizes that cultural limitations affected technological and strategic matters and prevented the Italian armed forces from preparing for modern warfare. Benito Mussolini's regime was unable to reform and revolutionize the military traditions, to mobilize the resources, to modernize industry, or to stop the venality of the high command and its bureaucratic incompetence. In the end, all of these caused the defeat of fascist Italy.

Knox notes that the military disintegration of September 1943 requires a more comprehensive analysis. In the global clash of World War II, Italy was a dwarf among giants; Mussolini could not hope to escape if Adolf Hitler was defeated. Knox considers the military cultural background, the precarious relationship between Mussolini and the king, and the lack of a military ideology capable of linking the goals of the Duce to the ethos of the Italian ruling class. When the war began, Mussolini hoped to implement a more thorough fascist revolution through the militarization of his nation and thus to endow his people with the ability to create a permanent revolution. But Italian dependence on foreign raw materials, lack of preparedness of the armed forces, public opinion, and the king's veto forced Mussolini to declare Italy's nonbelligerence. Nevertheless, ideology, geopolitical considerations, and the victories of Nazi Germany in 1940 introduced Italy to the *parallel* war. Knox describes the technical problems and intelligently highlights the absence of any realistic plan for prosecuting an Italian campaign. When Nazi victory was secure, Mussolini opened new theaters just to underline the right of Italy to participate in future peace talks and try to dictate conditions. Within six months, the opportunity for a fascist victory dimmed. The military impasse changed Italy's strategic aims in the *subaltern* war: Hitler saved the Duce, but Mussolini now had to fight his war under German tutelage.

The catastrophe of 1942–1943 struck Italy very hard. In that summer, Anglo-American forces invaded the Italian peninsula and the fascist war was over. Knox attributes the total loss of dignity in defeat to the army. The tension between Mussolini and the king caused deep ruptures that were worsened by the conflicts

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among the military leaders of the army, navy, and air force—with tragic effect on weapons research, equipment procurement and production, and manpower mobilization. Generals and admirals took advantage of this situation and saved their positions by obeying and never taking full responsibility for their commands.

Knox compares the situation of the major powers and puts Italy last in terms of real capacity, industrial potential, and military expenditure. In his view, the military leadership tended to have all of the bad qualities of the stereotypical Italian (pp. 32–33). The author makes reference to the cleavages between the Catholic Church and the regime, the city and the countryside, southern Italy and the rest of the nation. He emphasizes amoral familism, limited popular identification with the state, and crippling parochialism.

But this brief attempt to synthesize social problems and political institutions is overly ambitious. Knox seems to accept certain clichés, as when, for example, he plays down the value of the "miraculous" (p. 172) Italian victory in 1918. His analysis of Italian society, politics, and regime is synthesized in seven pages, a short paragraph surprisingly without reference to the most recent work of Italian historians, such as Renzo De Felice's biography of Mussolini.

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Polymeris Voglis. *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2002. Pp. x, 250. Cloth $75.00, paper $27.50.

The subject of this work is accurately defined in the subtitle. The title, on the other hand, indicates that the reader will be subjected to a postmodernist theoretical framework and the attendant jargon. Succinctly stated, this is a study of modernity and the politics of pain as remembered by those who suffered it. These subjects are examined in the light of half a century of political and historiographic development in Greece.

As with the American Civil War, the events in Greece in the late 1940s left a bitter legacy among the defeated, and the aftermath is being played out to this day. A couple of words from then and now illustrate this point. At the time of the civil war in Greece, the leftists were labeled "bandits" (*symmorites*) by their opponents, who in turn called themselves "national-minded" (*ethnikofronoi*). The rightist governments at the time did not even acknowledge that the leftists who were imprisoned were political prisoners; instead, they called them criminals. Today people speak of the "national resistance" as including those on the Left who fought the Axis forces. Thus the "voices" of the Left, silenced for years, can now be "heard" in accounts by participants.

Those who study the civil war era in Greece either emphasize the revolutionary intentions and communist domination of the Left or stress the progressive nature of the Left and the potential for new directions in the country because of the war. Polymeris Voglis sides with the second group.

In structure, the book takes the form of a drama in three interrelated parts covering the political, psychological, and social experiences of the imprisoned leftists. In the first part, the author examines the politics of detention, beginning with a quick look at Western European countries in the nineteenth century. From "liberal" practices then—conditions in Eastern Europe are not discussed—he posits a negative turn after the Great War. Interwar governments in many European states, including Greece, became authoritarian. But the most significant development was the rise of mass-based, ideologically driven political movements. By the 1930s, politics turned on this point, and Greece was no exception. Political detention, including imprisonment and internal exile, was a reality.

From the practices and ideology of the Metaxas regime, Voglis proceeds to the civil war era in the mid-1940s, the political polarization that developed between the Left and the Right, the chaotic and bitter struggle that commenced in 1946 (one could easily move back the time to 1943), the efforts of the government to assert its authority in the countryside, and the setting up of internment camps and prisons for those accused of being antinational and summarily tried by various types of courts.

Part two examines the experience of being a political prisoner. The settings—internment camps, prisons, and exile—are all discussed. But the core idea is the breaking and the remaking of the individual. In this process, the leftists may be seen as a minority, similar to the ethnic minorities in Greece. The state's purpose was to fashion a national unity out of heterodoxy. In the case of an ethnic minority, this entailed linguistic and cultural assimilation. When it came to the political prisoners, the process, in the author's terminology, was to detach them from the body of the nation, to make individual objects of them, and then reshape their identities. Here the notorious but effective practice, at least in numbers, of getting the prisoners to sign declarations of repentance came into play. Voglis brings out well the multiple aspects of this process, which required prisoners to confess their political sins, ask for forgiveness, be absolved of their errors, and, finally, demonstrate their redemption by working on others. In this way, the author argues, the prisoners became "subjects": that is, individuals from their own perspective as well as that of the prison authorities and their coprisoners, who represented a collectivity from within.

With the creation of the "subject," the book moves to the third and higher level of the drama, treating the social domain of the prisons and camps and the individual within the group. It covers the efforts of the prisoners to assert their humanity in often inhuman circumstances, by participating in holidays, bringing culture and education into their domain, and establishing contact with the outside community. The resistance to the authorities, individual and collective, of those

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who saw themselves as the national resistance before being arrested is also examined. Finally, Voglis treats the politics of communist power within the prison camps, the benefits of coordinated life as well as the price paid by those who did not fit in to the "comradely" group.

In many ways, the experience of the leftist political prisoners in Greece in the late 1940s and early 1950s parallels that of prisoners in other countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain during the Cold War. This work is a welcome contribution to the comparative history of the subject. As for Greek history, this is a compelling story in need of examination. Indeed, this book is part of the ongoing dialogue over the significance and meaning of the civil war era in modern Greek history. That it is a live issue is indicated by the author in the epilogue. In mentioning the numerous remembrances that have appeared recently, Voglis raises key issues. How ought the history of that era be rewritten, by whom, and to what purpose? And what role does memory play versus contemporary evidence in understanding the experience of those who lived through that time?

Note must be made of two things that detract from this scholarly account. First, there are numerous grammatical, syntactical, and typographical errors. Second, the author moves back and forth between the present tense mode of social science argumentation and commentary and the past tense of the historical drama he portrays. The former mode, unfortunately, often intrudes upon and weighs down the text, making for less than lively reading on an important subject.

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SORIN MITU. *National Identity of Romanians in Transylvania*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2001. Pp. 314. $55.95.

The Romanian community of Transylvania lacked formal political representation during the early modern period. The 1438 union of three political "nations" of Transylvania—Hungarian nobles, German towns, and militarized Szeklers—excluded any Romanian or other popular representation from the diet until 1848. These constitutional arrangements remained in place despite increasing pressure from Romanians for inclusion within the political framework of Transylvania, marked above all by the *Supplex libellus Valachorum* (1791), which petitioned for Romanians to be recognized as a fourth political nation. While Romanians formed a considerable proportion of Transylvania's population, the failure of efforts to change their constitutional position provides the context for Sorin Mitu's account of the self-perception of Transylvania's Romanians during the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Mitu's work brings to the attention of Western readers the aspirations and writings of a range of Romanian writers and political activists, reveals the ways in which national identity could be articulated in Eastern European societies, and identifies the characteristics ascribed to Romanians as they pressed for a share of political power in Transylvania.

Mitu's book is not a study of the politics of that period but sets out the ideas expressed about the Romanian nation by clerics, intellectuals, and writers in Transylvania. Mitu's analysis also partly considers some of the opinions expressed by the other ethnic and linguistic communities of Transylvania about the Romanian nation. He argues that the self-image developed by Romanians in Transylvania during this period was often constructed in response to the hostile observations of outside observers. The translation of Mitu's work renders this outside perspective as the view of "foreigners," a particularly unfortunate choice as it leaves the impression that he accepts the view that the Hungarians and Germans of Transylvania are in some sense foreigners within their own homeland. Such outsiders were widely seen by Romanian writers as envious of the Roman ethnic origins and Latin language of the Romanian people, and as intending to form a generalized coalition to victimize and destroy the Romanian nation. There was, at the same time, a strongly held view that the descendants of the Romans had become the laughingstock of the barbarians they had once subjugated, which was also at the heart of Romanian self-definition.

Mitu describes such ambiguities in Romanians' perception of their national identity as an inextricable mixture of inferiority and superiority complexes. Romanians certainly seem to have had a passion for self-denigration, which formed "an essential component of the Romanian self-image." The Romanian intellectual elite, informed by Enlightenment values, found many ordinary people to be illiterate and with only a frail grasp of higher culture. They believed that Romanians had fallen behind all other European nations in an obsessively imagined hierarchy of nations, as considered by Timotei Cipariu and others. While Romanians saw themselves as a numerous, compact ethnic bloc in Transylvania whose members had continuously occupied the same geographical space, they also felt vulnerable to dilution of their ethnic purity through mixed marriages and "magyarization" among their elites.

Mitu charts a growing self-confidence among Romanian writers in the ability of their people to catch up and compete with other nations, which he traces in quotations from a wide variety of texts. Romanian histories were composed by Petru Maior and others as bulwarks against those who denied Romanians' rights in Transylvania. There was also a great deal of attention given to the Romanian language as a key, distinctive feature of national identity. In a sea of Slavonic speakers, Romanians, Germans, and Hungarians in Transylvania all found ideas about linguistic community to be as powerful as those of ethnic solidarity in forming a basis for appeals to national unity. Romanian writers such as Samuil Micu had confidence in

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their Latin language, but this was mixed with fears that it was uncultivated and in need of reform. The use of the Latin alphabet was promoted, although this pursuit of Romanian Latinity only served to highlight confessional divisions. The Orthodox clerical hierarchy defended the traditional use of the Cyrillic script as one element of Romanian distinctiveness from Western Christianity, while Greek Catholics strongly supported the adoption of the Latin alphabet. Such debates raised difficult questions for nationalists. Could one still be a Romanian and be a Greek Catholic, a Roman Catholic, or a Calvinist? This was an area of ambiguity that most intellectuals preferred to avoid, attempting to prevent a damaging confrontation over different confessional versions of Romanian identity and instead to highlight a shared national cause. Ethnicity and language remained the main points of definition for Romanian identity in Transylvania, pursued within such a strong sense of ancient Roman origins that some criticized a "Romano-mania" in Transylvanian Romanian society.

This text is the English translation of a work first published in Romanian in 1997. Its timely production in English adds to the growing list of recent works on Romanian history reaching a Western audience. This will prove a further valuable addition to that list, if one a little held back by a sometimes stilted translation. The subject is also of contemporary significance in the city of Cluj, whose mayor, Gheorghe Funar, promotes his extreme nationalist agenda by constantly adding to the Romanian flags festooned in almost every available site in the city. The national colors of Romania are now to be found painted on Cluj's lampposts, park benches, children's swings, and roundabouts, although the latest decision to paint rubbish bins blue, yellow, and red has been challenged by those who think it unseemly that the national colors should adorn garbage areas. In an atmosphere where political incompetence is covered by a sea of flags, statues, and signposts reminding citizens which country they live in, Mitu's reflections on the construction of Romanian national identity in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Transylvania are strangely current. Although now firmly entrenched in political power, Romanian nationalist politicians continue to reflect an ambiguous mixture of self-assertion and self-doubt. As Mitu points out, their insistence that Romanians remember who they are implicitly admits the possibility that they might otherwise forget.

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Hildrun Glass. *Minderheit zwischen zwei Diktaturen: Zur Geschichte der Juden in Rumänien 1944–1949.* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 112.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2002. Pp. 337. €19.80.

The fate of the Jews of Romania during the so-called transition period between Romania's surrender to the Allies in August 1944 and the Communist Party's consolidation of power by the end of that decade has received relatively little attention. This neglect is unfortunate, for, as Hildrun Glass makes plain, these years were decisive for the Romanian Jewish community. She provides a short history of the Jews of Romania during the 1940s, giving particular attention to their political and social organizations. She also describes the efforts, largely unsuccessful, of Jews to reintegrate themselves into Romanian society and their emigration from Romania—a consequence, she argues, of disillusionment and alienation. But her primary focus is on the relationship between the Romanian Communist Party and Romanian Jews.

Glass does a very good job of tracing the evolution of Communist policy toward the Jews. It is evident that the party's approach to the "Jewish sector," as some leaders phrased it, did not differ in essentials from its treatment of other parties and groups it was intent on dominating. Glass leaves no doubt that the party's main objective—to take control of Jewish organizations and integrate the Jewish population into the general fabric of Romanian political, economic, and social life—remained constant; only the tactics it used changed as the circumstances of the moment required.

At first, in 1945, the party sought to create a Communist mass organization that would encompass all Jews. Then it mobilized "democratic" Jews to fight "reactionary" Jews, at least until the spring of 1946, when it changed course again and promoted the unity of all Jewish organizations under its own aegis. Glass explains these twists and turns by pointing, first, to the Communist Party's determination to seize power at all costs. She also emphasizes its sensitivity to the persistent anti-Semitism in the Romanian population generally, raising a point that is sometimes overlooked: its leaders' anxiety to become and to be seen by the majority of Romanians as a Romanian party, not one dominated by Jews and other minorities. But Glass also shows how many Communist leaders adamantly opposed the creation of a Jewish party to represent Jewish interests, insisting, instead, in terms similar to those used by the interwar right, that Jews must abandon their "separateness" and accept assimilation into Romanian society. But in 1946, the party's most pressing concern was to secure Jewish support in the crucial November general elections. After the party's victory (by fraud) and especially after the signing of the peace treaty with the Allies in February 1947, it set about to destroy all independent Jewish organizations because it no longer needed them to serve as intermediaries with the Romanian Jewish population or to influence Western opinion.

Glass offers an instructive variation in party policy in her description of its dealings with Zionist organizations. For most of the period, its attitude toward them was benign, but, like the National Peasant and Liberal Parties before the war, it never recognized Jews as having a separate nationality. The emigration that the Zionists promoted was also a sore point, but the party allowed them to carry on their activities with little

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interference, probably, Glass thinks, because emigration was in line with the Soviet Union's support for the founding of Israel. In any case, the party's indulgence came to an end in late 1948, when the new Communist regime forced the Zionist organizations to disband on the grounds that they were tools of the "reactionary Jewish bourgeoisie." But Glass, denied access to the relevant archives, cannot account for the change of policy precisely.

Glass has investigated archive collections in Romania, Israel, England, and the United States and has covered the published sources and the secondary literature thoroughly to provide the fullest account available of the Jews of Romania in the immediate post-World War II years. Her judgments on controversial matters are thoughtful. For example, her perception of a pervasive anti-Semitism in Romanian society is, on the whole, accurate, but perhaps she could have given more attention to those who were striving to create a genuine democracy. An intriguing question that awaits the opening of archives has to do with Soviet influence and how much independence Romanian Communists had in formulating a Jewish policy of their own.

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ROBERT LEVY. *Ana Pauker: The Rise and Fall of a Jewish Communist*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 407. $35.00.

Ana Pauker (1893–1960) has persisted as the epitome of dogmatic Stalinism in post-World War II Romania. Robert Levy, using a remarkable number of personal interviews (seventy-six in all) and new material available only since 1989, aims to demonstrate that much of this conventional view is false: "Ana Pauker continues to be vilified in post-Communist Romania as the party leader most culpable for the postwar years' repression. But the truth is that this perpetually contradictory figure, though a Stalinist herself, and one who played a key role in imposing Communism on Romania, paradoxically presented an alternative to the rigid, harsh Stalinism that soon emblemized Romanian party life" (p. 238). Levy's well-written study makes significant contributions to our understanding of Romanian communism between 1944 and 1952 as well as of the career of one of its key leaders. In the end, however, his partial attempt to rehabilitate Pauker as a potential communist reformer is unconvincing.

Levy begins with an account of Pauker's Jewish background and childhood, arguing that despite her early adherence to atheism and socialist activism, she remained loyal to her family and, to some extent, her Jewish heritage. A discussion of her participation in the Romanian Marxist movement from 1915 to 1944, including several stints in Moscow, follows. The author continues with Pauker's return to Romania in September 1944 (as an agent of the USSR), her accession to power in the Romanian Communist Party, and subsequent factional battles within the party. The long-held idea that a dichotomy developed between the Pauker-led "Moscow" communists and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's "local" communists has been exploded by recent studies; this is confirmed by Levy, who shows that many other factors were operant here, including sexism, anti-Semitism, nationalism, and an old-fashioned struggle for power.

The author next examines several controverted aspects: the fate of the Romanian peasantry under the early Communist regime, the purge of Lucretiu Patrascanu, and Jewish emigration. Some of this became part of the case against Pauker when she was purged in 1952; Levy shows that at least some of these charges were bogus. However, one might ask which of the myriad Communist Party purges beginning in the 1930s did not involve basically bogus charges? The study concludes with an account of Pauker's purge in 1952 and an epilogue dealing with the remainder of her life.

There are several major limitations to Levy's work. As the author notes, it is "not a history of Romanian Communism, nor does it attempt to document Communist actions and policies during Pauker's tenure. Rather, it focuses on Pauker's personal role in the party leadership and her positions on a number of key issues" (p. 13). These are not unreasonable restrictions. However, it is difficult to see how Pauker's career can properly be assessed apart from a fuller history of Romanian Communism. In addition, though the book is billed as a "political biography of Ana Pauker," it is much narrower than that (her five-year career as Romanian foreign minister is mentioned only in passing).

Another limitation involves the author's use of interviews. These provide a useful and essential supplement to the still highly inadequate archival information available for the history of Romania between 1944 and 1989. However, Levy appears to be less critical than he should of "memories" concerning events of fifty or more years ago shared by persons who are not at all disinterested observers. The same is true for "testimony" given before Communist Party inquisitions. Let us not forget that the "old guard communists" who provided much of this information were some of the most despicable and morally challenged people in postwar Eastern Europe, people who had learned to advance their own fortunes over the bodies of their comrades and allies, and who remained as incapable of telling the truth after 1989 as before. As Levy notes elsewhere, "the degenerating dynamic of party existence assured that [Communist activists] . . . 'were mentally and morally changed into different human beings . . . transformed into machiavellian political tricksters and hardened conspirators' " (p. 61).

Finally, although Levy recognizes that Dej was an opportunist (p. 85), he seems to neglect the fact that Pauker and the rest of the Romanian Communist leadership were also opportunists. This is why their

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statements, then or subsequently, cannot be taken at face value. As a result, the author is only partly successful in making his case. The victorious Dej faction's contradictory claim that Pauker was both a right and a left deviationist is effectively rebutted. But Levy's assertions of Pauker's concern for the Romanian peasantry are dubious as is her alleged support for Patrascanu. In contrast to his discussion of Pauker as a Jew in the interwar era and postwar period, Levy's sketch of nineteenth-century Romanian development and the Jewish question is inadequate because it relies on dated secondary sources that have been considerably nuanced by recent archival scholarship. These sections are also marred by the frequent use of unsupported analogies to Jews and Jewish movements elsewhere in Europe.

Lastly, in connection with Pauker's Stalinism, Levy recognizes that she unflinchingly accepted the twin Stalinist tenets of "Party=Truth" and "Doubt=Treason." This is illuminated by reference to Arthur Koestler, Hersh Mendel, and others. He also notes that Pauker "was unquestionably culpable" for "extensive repression" after the war (p. 75). It is unfortunate that these and similar recognitions elsewhere are often obscured by Levy's narrow focus on the issues on which he thinks Pauker was unjustly accused.

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ROSA LEHMANN. *Symbiosis and Ambivalence: Poles and Jews in a Small Galician Town*. New York: Berghahn Books. 2001. Pp. xxii, 217. Cloth $69.95, paper $25.00.

This is a disappointing book in part because it looks so good and promises so much. A local monograph, an in-depth study of a specific issue in a small village, with several well drawn maps, a bibliography of general works and many archives, grounded in on-site interviews conducted by an anthropologist should give readers interested in the subject—in this case Polish-Jewish relations in the twentieth century—a lot to draw on and think about. Regrettably, we grow suspicious from very early on. "I decided to carry out my research in Jasliska, a small peasant community in southeastern Poland, which I selected for a number of reasons. First, the small size of the community allowed a degree of overview. Second, its inhabitants were native Poles. Third, before the outbreak of the Second World War one-quarter of the residents were Jews" (p. xx). There must be several thousand villages in interwar Poland that meet these criteria.

Initially Rosa Lehmann wanted to focus "on the impact of the Shoah on the Polish-Jewish relations," but research led her into more general issues of "Polish-Jewish interactions." Maybe that is just as well. In a brief chapter devoted to the war years, she gives us a sprinkling of insights, based on what "informants" have told her. ("Informant," by the way, is a category that looms large in this volume. And all such information was obtained with the use of translators, who are duly thanked in the introduction.) Thus, for instance, about Abraham B.'s family, the only one to be "widely known to have escaped and survived the war," Lehmann has been told that they "escaped because they were rich and therefore knew what happened in the world." This leads the author to make the following deduction: "since both money and information were crucial means for escape, most Jewish villagers perished because they were deprived of such elementary means" (p. 151). Or "few informants made a point of mentioning the deportation and the massacre of the local Jews or only made oblique reference to them. This reflects the enormous gap between the Polish and Jewish communities that existed at that particular time. Because the destiny of the Jews differed from that of the Poles, the story of the Jews is irrelevant to the lives of most Polish informants. It follows that few Polish informants older than seventy-five related the wartime events" (p. 153). After Freud, some of us are inclined to think that people may not talk about issues precisely because they *are* relevant to their lives. Or "After the deportation of the local Jews in the summer of 1942, Polish-Jewish interactions had ceased, or as one informant put it, 'later, after they had left, I never met with Jews again, never'" (p. 152). It figures.

So we may or may not be surprised in the end that, according to the author, "one word that aptly describes the attitudes and views of the informants regarding their former Jewish neighbours . . . is ambivalence" (p. 169). This reader has little ambivalence at the conclusion of the book, however: it is a rambling, undigested, and confused piece of writing.

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CATRIONA KELLY. *Refining Russia: Advice Literature, Polite Culture, and Gender from Catherine to Yeltsin*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xliv, 438. $85.00.

Catriona Kelly's book is a pleasure to read because of the author's profound erudition and sparkling wit. Kelly's ambitious survey of advice literature from Catherine the Great to Boris Yeltsin, which she terms "an exercise in 'the history of books'" (p. xix), demonstrates her extensive background in European cultural history. Kelly draws from and critiques the work of such authors as Robert Darnton, Roger Chartier, Michel de Certeau, Pierre Bourdieu, and especially Norbert Elias, thereby addressing a wide audience of European historians, literary scholars, and cultural critics. Within the Russian field, Kelly's focus on advice literature is path breaking, and she critically engages important works of Russian cultural history by Jeffrey Brooks and Vera S. Dunham, among others.

Kelly's approach to advice literature is sophisticated and nuanced. She traces how the Westernization of the Russian elite "turned every day conduct into a controversial and intricately ideologized question" (p. xvi),

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but she is careful to note that "the relationship of behaviour books to real-life behaviour is complex and oblique. They are treated here primarily as contributions to ideology, rather than contributions to practical life" (p. xxv). Kelly devotes a segment of every chapter to an analysis of reception, showing how early nineteenth-century romantic "anti-behavior" challenged the prevailing etiquette, for example, or how Soviet wall newspapers, rather than fostering good Soviet behavior, reinforced a collective identity that did not correspond to Soviet ideals. Although this attention to reader response cannot be systematic due to a paucity of sources, it adds to the subtlety and intricacy of Kelly's work. Kelly suggests that each chapter might be read as a "micro-history" as well as part of a broader chronological survey. The chapters discuss, in turn, the status of women as moral guides after 1760; how conservative members of the cultural elite distanced themselves from the West in the mid-nineteenth century; how the individualistic models of behavior found in Samuel Smiles affected late nineteenth-century Russian collectivism; what was particularly Soviet about the *kul'turnost'* campaign in the first half of the twentieth century; and the relationship of changes in Soviet ideas of *kul'turnost'* after 1957 to the fall of the Soviet Union.

It is not easy to pinpoint the central argument in Kelly's rather wide-ranging work. If this book has a core thesis, it is that "rather than a (single and unitary) 'civilizing process' . . . Russia witnessed a large number of different 'civilizing processes' " (p. xxx) that constructed notions of "refinement" based on consumption, family relationships, and sociability rather than simply control over the body. Because advice literature was imported, Kelly argues, the concepts of "civilization, modernization, and Westernization became entangled" (p. xxviii), and the chronology of Western ideas was disrupted. Throughout the work, Kelly, like Elias, maintains that from Catherine to the Soviet period "a homogenization of behavior patterns directed by the elite" (p. xxvi) was an essential part of the Russian history of refinement. Kelly would also like to argue, following Elias, that the civilizing process in Russia was tied to the rise of the bourgeoisie. While Kelly's argument that mid-nineteenth-century radicals espoused Western bourgeois ideals is intriguing, she does not develop this theme as fully as one would wish.

While Elias's work did not pay attention to gender, Kelly persuasively argues that the role of women as moral arbiters remained strong from Catherine's time until the end of the Soviet period. Even when the ideology of "separate spheres" came to Russia, eclipsing the previous emphasis on the mother as educator of her children, women's moral supremacy "had a securer place in Russian culture than ever before" (p. 84). In the mid-nineteenth century, the conservative Slavophile movement gave voice to women in salon culture and in public discussions of Russianness. In the Soviet period, the policing of morality was once more feminized, and this tendency might explain, in part, the gender backlash of the post-Soviet period.

Kelly's broad definition of advice literature, ranging from household manuals to the literary works of Alexander Pushkin, Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoevsky, and Alexander Solzhenitsyn, is simultaneously engaging and frustrating. Kelly's virtuoso analysis of this literature is always captivating, but a narrower definition of conduct literature might have provided the reader with a better sense of the scope and contours of this literature in Russia. And, while the "history of the book" is an extremely productive methodology, Kelly should perhaps have reflected more on its silence in times of war and upheaval and analyzed how the cataclysmic events of the twentieth century might have shaped later social attitudes. Still, the ambition and artistry of this very enjoyable work is to be commended and admired.

KAREN PETRONE
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CHAERAN Y. FREEZE. *Jewish Marriage and Divorce in Imperial Russia*. (Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series; Brandeis Series on Jewish Women.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Brandeis University Press, Waltham, Mass. 2002. Pp. xv, 399. Cloth $65.00, paper $29.95.

ChaeRan Y. Freeze has written a splendid book exploring the interrelationship between normative ideals with respect to marriage, spousal relations, and marital dissolution among the Jewish population of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and actual behavior. Drawing on an impressive array of sources, including previously restricted central and provincial archives in Kyiv, Khar'kiv, Odessa, Zhytomyr, L'viv, Vilnius, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, she insightfully traces the complex ways in which social and economic change, cultural developments, and imperial state policies and institutions affected both the expectations and the experience of married life. By placing trends among Russia's Jewish population in the larger contexts of the Christian population of the Russian Empire and of Europe more broadly, moreover, Freeze is able to identify and explain both more widely shared and distinctive patterns within the Jewish community in the decades leading up to World War I.

A brief summary of Freeze's main argument cannot adequately convey the richness of detail illuminating Jewish family life contained in her book. But, essentially, Freeze argues that, due chiefly to the spread of both poverty and education, after the 1840s the age at the time of first marriage for Jewish women and men rose sharply and came to resemble practices in Central and Western Europe. At the same time, running counter to trends in Western Europe and among the Christian population of the Russian Empire, the rate of formal marital dissolution dropped precipitously, declining from an unusually high rate in the 1830s to a

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comparatively low one by 1910. By disrupting the practice of parentally arranged marriage at a young age and enabling individuals a greater ability to choose their own partners, the rise in the age of first marriage may partly explain the decline in marital dissolution. But, according to Freeze, the main causes of the latter trend lay in both a greater difficulty in formally dissolving a marriage and an increased reluctance to pursue this solution to marital breakdown. Indeed, Freeze argues plausibly that the pressures generated by altered expectations of marriage and by changing economic circumstances and employment patterns may well have increased the incidence of marital breakdown among Jews after the 1850s. Hence, perhaps uniquely in Europe and North America, the gap between marital breakdown and formal marital dissolution among the Jewish population of the Russian Empire grew rather than narrowed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Freeze attributes this distinctive pattern to the intersection of state policies, a weakening of rabbinical and communal authority within Jewish communities, and cultural trends. By accelerating the decline of rabbinical authority while not providing an adequate substitute for it, for example, state policies and new state institutions (such as the system of provincial state rabbis formalized in 1835) created such legal and jurisdictional chaos that formal marital dissolution became more difficult and expensive to obtain. Whereas the ability of wives to use the new secular court system introduced in 1864 to increase the financial cost of marital dissolution for husbands discouraged the latter from seeking or agreeing to end a marriage that had broken down, the threat of losing privileges such as the right to live outside the Pale of Settlement provided by a husband's status similarly discouraged wives from doing so. This reluctance to resort to formal marital dissolution was increased by the emergence of new ideals of marriage that attached a greater social stigma to divorce than previously had been the case. As a result of these difficulties and disincentives, by the late nineteenth century, Jews caught in an unbearable marriage resorted increasingly to such informal means of escape as desertion and bigamy, thereby intensifying the belief among the secular Jewish intelligentsia, the Orthodox rabbinate, and state officials alike that the Jewish family—as, indeed, the family in general—was in crisis.

The ensuing conflict over reform of Jewish divorce law reflects both the complexity of ethnic and confessional politics and the difficulties of legal reform in late imperial Russia. While after 1905 proponents and conservative opponents of reform within the Jewish community united to resist state efforts to assert control over the Jewish family, conservative Orthodox rabbis appealed to conservative state officials for support in their efforts to revive and reinforce both a traditional family ideal and religious faith, just as earlier secular representatives of reform Judaism had hoped to use the state to promote reform. Hence lines of conflict and cooperation ran across as well as within both the Jewish community and the imperial state. If this complex pattern of politics prevented the reform of Jewish family law, much to the detriment of individual Jews experiencing marital difficulties, it facilitated state intrusion into the Jewish community. As Freeze demonstrates, however, this intrusion ultimately was limited both by the weakness of Jewish communal institutions and by the ambivalence and inadequate resources of the state.

Freeze's book, then, makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of a number of important issues in the history of late imperial Russia and of Eastern European Jewish life. By demonstrating and explaining the distinctive pattern of development of marital dissolution exhibited by the Jewish population of the Russian Empire between the 1830s and World War I, it also constitutes an important addition to the historiography of the family in modern Europe.

WILLIAM G. WAGNER
Williams College

BARBARA T. NORTON and JEHANNE M. GHEITH, editors. *An Improper Profession: Women, Gender, and Journalism in Late Imperial Russia*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 321. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

"In the field of journalism, American women feel completely equal with men," Varvara MacGahan (née Elagina), one of the female Russian journalists discussed here, wrote in an 1882 article (quoted on p. 142). MacGahan had observed women working as editors, as members of editorial staffs, as reporters, and as society chroniclers; her tone suggested that this was unheard-of in her homeland. Yet, as this new collection of eleven essays demonstrates, Russian women in fact held down all of these forms of employment in newspapers and magazines. They also edited literary magazines, worked as critics, and had a crucial, though often hidden, role in the editing of the so-called "thick journals," heavyweight political and literary reviews that were the backbone of Russian intellectual culture from the 1840s to the revolution—and they did all this as well as contributing to the more "ladylike" pursuits of producing magazines for children and fashion journalism.

The first achievement of this volume, then, is to retrieve the lives of the women whom MacGahan herself ignored when expressing wonder at the achievements of Americans, a good many of which women have been neglected by specialists in print culture and women's writing since. They include, alongside MacGahan herself, her contemporary Aleksandra Kairova, author of dozens of reports from Constantinople, Budapest, and Vienna (the two are discussed in Mary F. Zirin's essay, "Meeting the Challenge: Russian Women Reporters and the Balkan Crisis of the 1870s"), and Anna Volkova, editor of *The Women's Friend* (*Drug zhenshchin*, 1882–1884), who

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broke free of her origins in a repressive merchant family to become a professional writer and a genteelly impassioned campaigner for philanthropic issues (she is considered by Adele Lindenmeyr in "Anna Volkova: From Merchant Wife to Feminist Journalist"). Some better-known figures are the subject of welcome reappraisals, too: for instance, Ekaterina Kuskova, one of the most prominent women politicians of the early twentieth century, is reassessed by coeditor Barbara T. Norton in "Journalism as a Means of Empowerment: The Early Career of Ekaterina Kuskova." And the editorial activities of two women writers from opposite ends of the political spectrum who were better known as producers of fiction are considered in coeditor Jehanne M. Gheith's "Redefining the Perceptible: The Journalism(s) of Evgeniia Tur and Avdot'ia Panaeva."

These essays, alongside Linda Edmondson's essay on Mariia Pokrovskaia, physician, antiprostitution campaigner, and editor of the remarkably long-lived *Women's Herald* (*Zhenskii vestnik*, 1904–1917), and Rochelle Goldberg Ruthschild's group study of the turn-of-the-century Mariia Chekhova, Ariadna Tyrkova, and Lyubov' Gurevich (also containing comments on Pokrovskaia) allow some generalizations to be made about typical social profiles and preoccupations. Like women writers more generally, journalists usually came from the social elite and were well educated (it seems to have been only in the Soviet period that the print workers who figure in the photograph used on the front cover of this book started to cross over into writing for periodicals as well as setting type for them). Invariably, they were passionately committed to the betterment of society, and they often had a strong moralizing drive. Volkova and Pokrovskaia, for instance, continued a public tradition of "woman as civilizing force" that went back, in this context, to Catherine II's journal *Allsorts* (*Vsiakaia vsiachina*) in the late eighteenth century.

Most women journalists had to struggle to be taken seriously by their contemporaries. Kairova's reference to herself in the masculine did not impede an obituarist from remembering her as "possess[ing] unquestionable literary talents and remarkable energy *for a woman*" (cited here p. 155; emphasis added), while MacGahan was the target of a libelous accusation of plagiarism (a pioneering case for the Russian Writers' Union for Mutual Aid's newly founded Court of Honor in 1899). Volkova struggled to maintain *The Women's Friend* for even two years; Tur and Panaeva's editorial efforts were ignored by contemporaries and later by historians. But although the authors of these essays give due weight to the adversity experienced by Russian women journalists, the book is in no sense a martyrology. Writers are duly attentive to the achievements of women journalists, as well as to the obstacles they had to overcome. Zirin, for instance, emphasizes how vital the role of journalists, including Kairova and other women writers, was in shaping information about the Russo-Turkish conflict, "the first [war] in modern Russian history to be largely driven by popular opinion" (p. 145). And several of the essayists display a welcome eye for their subjects' idiosyncracy and foibles: of the worthy but repressive Pokrovskaia, Edmondson observes, "one feels that in her innermost soul, she wished that sex did not exist, but as it did, she wished it to be wholesome, honest, and productive of healthy issue" (p. 209).

The personality-centered items form the core of this collection, but they are complemented by several contributions of a more general kind. Miranda Beaven Remnek's "'A Larger Portion of the Public': Female Readers, Fiction, and the Periodical Press in the Reign of Nicholas I" uses information from subscription lists and memoirs to draw some conclusions about the social profile of female readers in the early nineteenth century and what and why they were reading. Christine Ruane contributes a fascinating article about the mid-nineteenth-century fashion press, and Carolyn R. Marks offers a broad-ranging piece on the 1880s women's magazine, from the high-minded *Women's Friend* to the more frivolous *Fashion Herald* (*Vestnik mody*). The collection is rounded off by June Pachuta Ferris's invaluable bibliographical essay and by a checklist of the major female journalists working between the late eighteenth century and 1917.

As with any relatively compressed overview of a subject, not every area has been covered in equal depth. My own interest in the history of childhood in Russia makes me regret the omission—except from the checklist of journalists—of anyone contributing to or organizing a children's magazine: for example Elizaveta Akhmatova, editor of *Work and Play* (*Delo i otdykh*, 1864–1866), or Poliksena Solov'eva, whose *The Path* (*Tropinka*, 1906–1913) was a highlight of the immediately prerevolutionary era. A criticism of wider import, perhaps, is that reader response is barely considered (observations on the evidence of subscription lists aside). Marks mentions that at least one 1880s fashion magazine had an advice column, which could presumably have provided information of a more dynamic kind about the ways in which journalism was read had it been scrutinized in detail. Equally, treatment of historical evolution is partial: apart from Remnek's and Gheith's, most contributions deal with the last two decades of the nineteenth century, obscuring the massive changes in literary participation and literary production that took place between 1830 and 1870. Finally, a reader who was not a specialist in Russian history might hope for a little more material about the history of Russian journalism (which has been the subject of some important studies in recent years, notably Louise McReynolds's *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press* [1991]). Most contributors content themselves with mentioning that previous work on journalism has more or less ignored women writers rather than showing how women's journalism responded to developments such as the spread of mass communication and shifts in understanding of what was meant by "news." Missing, too, even from Gheith's

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introduction (which concentrates on the problems of defining and analyzing women's journalism) is a context-setting discussion of cultural institutions and processes, although several contributions include valuable incidental information of general import. Marks's essay, for example, includes a description of the process for registering a magazine with the censorship; but an unwary reader might not realize before reaching this the extent to which censorship dominated Russian literary production throughout the nineteenth century. (Gheith's introduction mentions in passing that censorship was tighter at some periods than at others, but the essential basic point—that journals and newspapers were subject, at most eras, to close scrutiny before, as well as after, publication—is not made.) However, given how accessibly and invitingly written this book is, it seems unlikely that most readers will find the lack of historical signposting at the outset a real obstacle; in any case, the index will help to provide a route into more general issues, should one be needed.

CATRIONA KELLY
University of Oxford

PATRICIA HERLIHY. *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka and Politics in Late Imperial Russia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. vi, 244. $35.00.

Immortalized in literary and cinematic classics, the American experience of Prohibition is familiar to most. Few are probably aware, however, that Russia was the first nation to prohibit alcohol. When war broke out in 1914, Nicholas II decreed a ban on alcohol sales for the duration of the war, a measure that proved suicidal for him and Russia's war effort by depriving the state of more than a quarter of its revenue. What lay behind such an unprecedented and radical measure? In an autocratic state one might look no farther than the autocrat's personal convictions. As Patricia Herlihy's richly detailed monograph reveals, however, behind Nicholas stood an array of increasingly vocal and effective temperance movements that drew leaders and supporters from an exceptionally wide social spectrum.

While Herlihy is cautious in her assessment of the impact of social agitation on either alcohol consumption or Nicholas's decree on prohibition, she argues that alcohol galvanized Russian civil society like no other issue. "Nearly unique in the Russian experience," the temperance movement flourished without government sponsorship and gained strength from its opposition to state policies (p. 146). Activists pursued a cause—the health and productivity of the Russian people—that state authorities felt compelled to support despite their suspicions of public initiative. Although Herlihy draws no explicit comparisons to other reform movements such as organized charity or popular education, the book provides ample evidence of the social breadth and depth of a cause that impassioned peasants and workers along with educated society.

As the book's structure demonstrates, more than one temperance movement existed in Russia. Herlihy devotes each of the seven main chapters to a particular group's struggle against alcohol. The first chapter examines the state-sponsored temperance organization, the widely disparaged Guardianship of Public Sobriety. The source of its revenue (the state alcohol monopoly), its advocacy of moderate consumption instead of abstinence, and its promotion of tea rooms and entertainment to combat alcoholism all provided anti-alcohol activists with easy targets for criticism. Succeeding chapters reveal a fascinating variety of approaches to the alcohol problem: diagnoses and therapies developed by physicians and psychiatrists; military reformers' efforts to prohibit vodka in the armed forces; the Orthodox clergy's ministry to victims of alcoholism through support groups and parish temperance societies; and the powerful voice of Count Leo Tolstoy, for whom alcohol and intoxication were not the symptoms but the cause of social evils.

The relationship of women to the alcohol question in Russia was particularly complex. Women usually appeared as victims of their husbands' drunkenness in anti-alcohol campaigns, yet they also received a share of blame. Gendered male in Russian cultural tradition, alcohol consumption by women aroused fears of social and moral disorder. Temperance activists also blamed women for perpetuating a drinking culture that saturated holiday celebrations with vodka. Peasant women contributed significantly to the illegal alcohol trade as producers and purveyors of moonshine and bootleggers; at the same time, they played a surprisingly powerful role in the grass-roots movement to close village liquor stores and taverns. Elite women were relatively rare in temperance leadership, however; female activists, Herlihy argues, preferred to work for equal rights as the necessary precondition for moral reform.

Each chapter lends support to Herlihy's main argument: that the many-faceted temperance cause was only partly about vodka. Through its alcohol monopoly, the state became deeply implicated in what activists regarded as an epidemic of alcoholism that was leading Russia to ruin. Temperance thus became a "subversive" political activity; although millions felt "genuine concern" about alcoholism's devastating social effects, temperance was also a "Trojan horse within which stood peasants, workers, clerics, doctors, teachers, women, soldiers, and Duma members—all prepared to attack the state . . . and to advance their own political agendas" (p. 150). Herlihy's evidence, drawn from a rich body of periodicals and other published sources, brings activists like Duma legislator and temperance crusader Mikhail Chelyshev to life. The absence of archival sources, however, inhibits a deeper analysis of the Guardianship and the state's relationship to alcohol and temperance. Work by other scholars such as John F. Hutchinson, W. Arthur Mc-

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Kee, and Laura L. Phillips supports Herlihy's assertion of the close nexus between vodka and politics in late imperial and early Soviet history. Some comparison to temperance movements in other countries, however, would have provided useful perspective on what was common and what was unique about the alcohol question in Russia. By successfully reconstructing a complex, many-voiced social movement, Herlihy contributes to greater understanding of civil society in the Russian context and reveals not only the political but also the moral passions that animated Russians at the end of the tsarist era.

ADELE LINDENMEYR
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DAN HEALEY. *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 392. $40.00.

Through his perceptive examination of attitudes and policies toward "homosexual desire," Dan Healey helps us comprehend Russian and Soviet assumptions about gender, power, and sexuality. In line with Laura Engelstein's contention that disciplinary mechanisms in Russia diverged from those in Western societies, Healey argues that Russia was indeed different: its multinational character and its legacy of authoritarian rule created a situation in which homosexuality was less an object of medicalization than in the liberal, democratic West. According to Healey, twentieth-century Russian understandings of same-sex love drew both from native traditions and from imported Western notions, with male homosexuality seen as deviant among urban Russians but primitive among national minorities in the empire's periphery.

The first part of Healey's book examines both the construction of homosexual identities and manifestations of same-sex love in tsarist Russia. Healey maintains that proscriptions against homosexual relations were not particularly strong in Russia and, basing his narrative on diaries, court records, and police reports, chronicles same-sex relationships that preceded the invention of "homosexuality." The state's industrialization and urbanization drive at the end of the nineteenth century, however, contributed to the appearance of a "vigorous and resourceful" (p. 48) modern, male homosexual subculture in Russia's cities.

Regulation nevertheless antedated the emergence of this subculture. In part two, Healey analyzes the relationship among the tsarist state, medical and legal authorities, and male and female homosexuality. He traces the lackadaisical enforcement—particularly for men in the upper reaches of society—of an 1835 law prohibiting sodomy between males and then explores the roles of doctors and psychiatrists who strove, relatively unsuccessfully, to make homosexuality their medical territory at the century's end. Although homosexuality was a popular literary and social subject in the early 1900s, it was not high among Social Democrats' priorities. Still, despite discomfort with homosexuality and a tendency to valorize what they understood as masculine, the Bolsheviks chose to decriminalize sodomy in the Russian Republic in 1922, thereby heeding liberal and socialist critiques of antisodomy legislation. What Healey calls a "discursive vacuum" (p. 127) then opened up, with diverse views surfacing in the absence of a clear party line. In this regard, Healey examines the gender assumptions that underlay the medical profession's grasp of homosexuality. For example, the men who played what physicians and psychiatrists considered a male role, and women who played what was considered a female role, were deemed less deviant than the (perceived) passive men and active women.

Yet the revolution enabled some women to assume praiseworthy (male) roles, particularly in the military, and prevented a blanket condemnation of such "gender dissidents" (p. 57). Bolshevik activists, less concerned with etiology than politics, exploited signs of homosexuality among the clergy for the state's campaign against religion. They interpreted its presence among Transcaucasian and Central Asian cultures in another way: as evidence of a backwardness that socialism would eventually eradicate. Consequently, sodomy remained illegal in these republics' statutes.

When the state pursued policies of industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture at the end of the 1920s, newer exigencies held sway, and the relative openness of the New Economic Policy (NEP) era disappeared. Using archival sources to illuminate the 1934 recriminalization of sodomy in Russia, Healey finds the future secret police chief, Genrikh Iagoda, behind the ban that decisively rent the bedfellows of homosexuality and communism. Healey situates the new law among state efforts to root out all subcultures perceived as antithetical to Stalin-era goals.

The final section moves from the 1930s to the post-Soviet era, beginning with an analysis of prosecutions under the antisodomy statute. Healey also discusses the Gulag, where homosexual sex served as both comfort and currency, suggesting that prosecutions for sodomy increased in the post-Stalinist period because they reflected, however unconsciously, fears about the "perversions" (p. 239) that those released from the camps would bring home. This sense persisted in the post-Soviet era, now bolstered by fear of AIDS and a xenophobia positing homosexuality as a Western import. Boris Yeltsin struck sodomy from the criminal statutes in 1993, but this was less a move toward toleration than a grudging recognition by medical and legal authorities that it was futile to keep homosexuality illegal.

Healey integrates women into his discussion in a much more successful way than I have done in this review, considering the fate of what Russians tended to call "female homosexuals" throughout his monograph and drawing conclusions about the construction of gender in Russia and the Soviet Union. In contrast to

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men, women apparently did not constitute a visible urban subculture and thus, for most of twentieth-century Russian history, remained beneath legal and medical radar. In the 1930s, a ban on abortion, lack of access to birth control, obstacles put in the way of divorce, and a heavy propaganda drive to encourage motherhood essentially added up to "compulsory heterosexuality" (p. 203) for women. Ultimately, however, women's same-sex relations would garner attention, with women becoming vulnerable to "many of the strictures of repressive psychiatry used against political dissidents" (p. 244).

By no means marginal to mainstream historical studies, this book represents an outstanding achievement worthy of praise, emulation, and attention. It is an excellent example of how the thoughtful analysis of gender and queer issues can illuminate broad historical developments. Thankfully, the book is relatively jargon free, and it steers clear of imparting a heroic gloss to its historical actors. Its only flaws stem from the problems that continue to dog queer studies in general. As so many historians have discovered, the love that dared not speak its name often remained equally unutterable in historical records.

LAURIE BERNSTEIN
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IGAL HALFIN. *From Darkness to Light: Class, Conscience, and Salvation in Revolutionary Russia*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, with Studies of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University, New York. 2000. Pp. xii, 474. Cloth $50.00, paper $22.95.

Igal Halfin's topic, the relationship between workers and intelligentsia, is one that has tended to attract less attention in recent years than was the case in the 1980s. The core of the book consists of chapters on defining the intelligentsia, the attempt to proletarianize it in the 1920s, and resistance to that process. Described thus, the reader might think that much of the theme would be familiar from earlier works by Sheila Fitzpatrick and David McLellan. To some extent it is. Much of the source material has been gone through before; many of the points made are close to those of earlier writers. However, Halfin makes three claims to our attention that take his book beyond earlier ones. First, the discussion has a more postmodern, linguistic basis than its predecessors. Second, Halfin has expanded the source base through assiduous and wide-ranging research, mostly in printed materials but with a significant amount of new archive material. Third, he has returned our attention to what is a key topic.

On the first claim, there is little point in rehearsing the overall strengths and weaknesses of the linguistic turn since most readers will already have their own fixed ideas of its value. Much of Halfin's interpretive energy revolves around the notion of the Communist project as a form of eschatology. Indeed, in the first chapter we are treated to a wide-ranging discussion of eschatological thinking with particular emphasis on currently fashionable groups like the Gnostics. When attention turns to the main subject matter, the linguistic and cultural focus does not let up. Statements such as the following abound: "My claim . . . will be that the proletariat and the intelligentsia are abstract notions, not empirical entities and that their ideal unity should be assigned primacy over their historical separateness . . . To treat the proletariat and the intelligentsia as concrete social groups is to miss their eschatological surcharge, to mistake symbols of salvation for salvation proper" (p. 13). We are assured that "Marxists understood classes as messianic symbols and not as sociological populations . . . That . . . classes . . . were not meant by Marxists as social forces is a leitmotif of this book" (p. 12). Some readers will see such ideas as a brilliant breakthrough. Others will say there is nothing really new here, that we already know about the complexities of defining social groups and encountering mixed identities and this does not undermine the empirical reality of class. Yet others will simply find the longer philosophical disquisitions impenetrable and/or irrelevant. In any case, very few readers will find the central aim of the author—"to show how the transformation of Marxism into the discourse of power in Russia may account for much of the messianic character of Bolshevik politics" (p. 4)—to be anything other than obvious or even self-referential.

On the second claim, all readers will benefit from the impressive breadth of research. and many will be relieved that, as is often the case, the philosophical mask drops and an excellent empirical discussion ensues. Not that the empirical base is perfect. Halfin ignores most resistance to Bolshevik policies by universities in the crucial 1918–1919 period and spends perhaps too much time on the issue of *rabfaks*. The *Vekhi* debate is not mentioned. One might have expected Antonio Gramsci to be called on. Exemplars of Marxism tend to be selected minor figures, and there is hardly any engagement with major texts of Karl Marx or V. I. Lenin.

Finally, with respect to the third claim, a return to the issues Halfin deals with is very welcome. The discussion is wide ranging, the line of argument very lively. This is a challenging book that almost all readers will benefit from, even if, at times, they feel like throwing it across the room. It is idiosyncratic, sometimes brilliant, and sometimes frustrating. It is impossible in the space of a short review to do justice to the book's complexity. One point, however, is indisputable: it is well worth reading.

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PAUL ROBINSON. *The White Russian Army in Exile 1920–1941*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 257. $70.00.

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In 1942, the Nazis raided the Paris headquarters of the Russkii Obshche-Voinskii Soiuz/Russian General Military Union (ROVS), the central organization of the White Army in exile, and arrested the landlord of the building, S. N. Tret'iakov. Tret'iakov, a former minister of the anti-Bolshevik Kolchak government, was found to have installed hidden microphones in the building in order to pass information about his tenants to Moscow. He was subsequently shot as a Soviet spy. This sorry tale reveals much about the tortuous fates and fissiparous fealties of members of the White emigration in interwar Europe as they struggled, in isolation and in economic hardship, and with mounting paranoia, to come to terms with the growth of fascism: a phenomenon many of them found to be at once so attractive in its anticommunism and so repellant in its threat to Russian nationhood and patrimony. It is just one of the gems to be found in Paul Robinson's splendid book.

Utilizing the ROVS files from the Bakhmeteff Archive in New York, as well as materials from the Hoover Institution, Russian and French archives and a host of rare and contemporary printed sources, Robinson expertly traces the history of the tens of thousands of soldiers from the armies of Anton Denikin and Peter Wrangel as they dispersed into European exile. Specifically, he examines in detail the wide-ranging and often conflicting activities of the ROVS leadership as it attempted to instigate underground struggles against Soviet Russia while providing humanitarian aid and cultural and professional support to its members, and simultaneously endeavored to claim a leadership role among the emigrants, in the face of the competition and even hostility of other agencies (former ambassadors of a variety of Russian governments, local and regional authorities, Romanov pretenders, political parties, etc.). Robinson traces, too, the factional, personal, and ideological struggles within ROVS. In so doing, he considerably enhances our understanding of the first wave of emigrants from Soviet Russia. After all, as the author notes, studies of the interwar emigration have almost invariably focused on the intellectual and cultural elite, the Tsvetaevas, Bunins, Chaliapins, Chagalls, Rachmaninovs, and Berdiaevs of that unfeasibly talented world. But most interwar Russian exiles were soldiers: "More than anything else, Russia abroad was a society of military men, and the largest organizations within it were military ones" (p. v).

Not all readers with some expertise on the nature and conduct of the White forces during the civil war period may be entirely convinced by the author's claims that his study of the interwar years should lead to a modification of the accepted view of the prevalence of anti-Semitic, reactionary, and monarchist sentiments within the White movement. Nevertheless, as a former army officer himself, Robinson is very well placed to explain and to analyze the motivational forces behind the "White Idea" both during and after the civil war. In particular, he reveals the émigré officers' sense of betrayal (by the Russian people, by the Russian intelligentsia, and by the Allies) and the messianism engendered among them by having survived a series of shared ordeals (the Ice March, the evacuation, and the internment camps provided for them by the Allies at Gallipoli). In fact, one of the great strengths of this book is its argument that traditional concepts of honor, duty, sacrifice, and discipline meant more to the White officers than did those of politics and class struggle, which everything in their education, training, and experience had led them to regard as base and as having no part to play in the considerations or activities of the "knightly order of monks" that ROVS sought to be. The debilitating impact of this credo on the Whites' effectiveness as civil-war soldiers and post-civil-war diplomats, terrorists and counter-terrorists is also well adumbrated.

If Robinson's book has a weakness, it is that, apart from the listing of references to other works on the emigration in the notes to the introductory chapters, the author's efforts to accommodate his findings within the existing historiography of the subject are inconsistent and sometimes unconvincing. Why, to take but one example, in the section dealing with the fate of Boris Savinkov (p. 133) is the reader referred to Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky's *KGB: The Inside Story of its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Grobachev* (1990) but not to Richard Spence's excellent biography, *Boris Savinkov: Renegade on the Left* (1991)? In general, however, this is a very well written and thoroughly researched book that will be of great utility to anyone interested in the history of the Russian Civil War and the first wave of the Russian emigration.

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MARKKU KANGASPURO. *Neuvosto-Karjalan taistelu itsehallinnosta: Nationalismi ja suomalaiset punaiset Neuvostoliiton vallankäytössä vuosina 1920–1939* [The Soviet Karelian Struggle for Self-Government: Nationalism and the Finnish Reds in the Soviet Union's Exercise of Power, 1920–1939]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 60.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2000. Pp. 402.

Markku Kangaspuro's dissertation on Soviet Karelia's aspirations for autonomy in the 1920s and 1930s is a useful contribution to the growing number of studies on center-periphery relations in the interwar USSR. We are now obtaining a considerably fuller and more nuanced picture of the Soviet scene, and it is especially important that this work focuses on an administrative entity below the rank of union republics (i.e. an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic). The author makes effective use of newly available archival sources in Moscow, St. Peterburg, and Karelia, although some key materials remain inaccessible.

Kangaspuro argues that nationalism—interpreted

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and manipulated in varying ways, to be sure—dominated relations between Moscow and Karelia as both engaged in the task of state building. In assessing the Karelian case, he highlights its distinctive features as well as the ways in which it conformed to a common Soviet pattern. Karelia's strategic geopolitical location, bordering on Finland and commanding the recently built St. Petersburg-Murmansk railroad, along with its significant timber resources made it a region of special concern for the Soviet authorities. Above all, Finland's territorial claims on Karelia during a time when the Bolsheviks were fighting for their very survival on a wide range of fronts forced Soviet Russia to act with circumspection. Peace with Finland was seen as essential, and granting autonomy to Soviet Karelia would placate the League of Nations and help ward off any new threat of Finnish intervention. By happy coincidence, the Bolsheviks also had a ready-made vanguard available to administer the Karelian Working People's Commune (the forerunner of the Karelian ASSR): exiled Finnish Communists, who had just lost a civil war in Finland. It is striking that both Red and White Finns had a similar vision of Karelia as part and parcel of the Finnish cultural and historical space and saw its future inevitably linked to the West. Indeed Edward Gylling, the leading Red Finn ideologist in Soviet Karelia, viewed his new place of residence as a kind of Piedmont for the Finnish working class and a natural base for transporting the Bolshevik Revolution to Finland and Scandinavia.

During the 1920s, buoyed by Moscow's support, Finnish-led Soviet Karelia maintained a unique level of economic autonomy based on local control of its massive timber resources. Nevertheless, the centralization inherent in the Five-Year Plans put an end to this situation by 1930. In cultural policy, Karelia followed the overall Soviet pattern more closely, as the 1920s and early 1930s were dominated by "indigenization" (*korenizatsiia*), or state support for non-Russian cultures and the training of native cadres. In this sphere, the Karelian case presented a serious dilemma. No established written language existed, and the three main Karelian dialects differed considerably from each other, although none was that distant from Finnish. Under the circumstances, the Red Finn leadership, not without a sense of cultural superiority, opted for Finnish as the means to unify the Karelian population and solidify ties with its kinfolk to the west. This policy had some success in the northern regions, but in the south and east, where cultural russification had already proceeded quite far, it provoked resentment and resistance. Indigenization had limited impact on the Karelians; they remained the most rural and least educated of the nationalities in the republic.

During the 1930s, Karelia fell more and more into step with centralized rule directed from Moscow and Leningrad. As elsewhere in the USSR, forced collectivization and purges dominated the decade. Regarding nationalities policy, Kangaspuro sees Ukraine as the main model for developments in Karelia. By 1933, the Soviet leadership viewed "local nationalism" as the main danger and increasingly emphasized the integrating role of the Russian language and culture. Thus, in Karelia the Finns were blamed for holding back the development of the Karelians and for artificially dividing them from the rest of Soviet culture. All things Finnish now became increasingly suspect, leading to the disappearance of the Finnish-language press and of Finnish as a means of instruction in the schools. In this xenophobic atmosphere, the Soviet view of Karelia had changed from a base for revolution in Finland to a dangerous potential bridgehead for counterrevolution from abroad.

This very solid work concentrates on high politics and the role of the party elite in both the center and the periphery, showing that a considerable measure of local control and initiative did function in the 1920s in the Karelian case. The book could have been strengthened by paying more attention to the social context in which the "struggle for autonomy" took place. For example, demographic issues and especially the extensive Russian immigration that greatly altered the ethnic composition of Soviet Karelia in this period are only mentioned in passing. The ethnic Karelian population, in the early stages of forming a national identity, also remains on the fringes of this study.

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Matthew J. Payne. *Stalin's Railroad: Turksib and the Building of Socialism*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2001. Pp. x, 384. $37.00.

The subject of Matthew J. Payne's book is the building of the Turkestano-Siberian Railroad (Turksib) in the Soviet Union. Turksib was one of the Soviet government's great construction projects during its industrialization drive of the late 1920s and 1930s. The railroad ran from Siberia through Kazakhstan to Turkestan and hence allowed cheap Siberian grain to be shipped to Central Asia, freeing up land there for cotton cultivation. Soviet leaders saw the railroad as an important economic link and also as a means to bring modernity and socialism to Kazakhstan. They hoped not only to build railroads and factories but to create new people: the New Soviet Person devoted to socialism. In the case of nomadic Kazakhs, such a transformation required the inculcation of industrial work habits, a settled lifestyle, and a collectivist consciousness, all of which their labor on railroad construction was to foster. Turksib was to be the "forge of the Kazakh proletariat."

With a number of good monographs on Soviet industrialization already in print, one might ask whether another is needed. But Payne does a good job of engaging existing scholarship and of bringing new evidence to bear. Moreover, his research on rural Kazakhstan helps to balance previous studies, which for the most part have focused on urban centers in

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predominantly Russian areas of the country. Payne's book on socialist construction in a national-minority region therefore provides a new perspective on the political conflicts and social consequences of Stalinist industrialization. As such, his study represents something of a bridge between scholarship on Soviet labor history written in the late 1980s and early 1990s and more recent work on ethnicity and nationality in Soviet history.

The construction of Turksib was wrought with social strife. Payne discusses conflicts among managerial personnel as old technical elites ("bourgeois specialists") had their authority challenged by newly trained Soviet technicians ("red engineers"). Payne also recounts in fascinating detail the divisions and conflicts within the workforce. Particularly fierce were ethnic antagonisms between Russian and Kazakh workers, as Russians on the construction site frequently harassed new Kazakh workers. While Communist Party officials generally favored the hiring of Kazakhs for railroad construction, Russian workers and managers treated Kazakh workers with disdain. In one anti-Kazakh riot, up to 400 Russian workers viciously beat Kazakh workers and then proceeded to ransack the local jail, secret police headquarters, and Communist Party offices as well.

Given the extreme antagonisms Payne describes, it is somewhat surprising that he subsequently stresses worker solidarity. Payne argues that the shock work movement acted as "a real integrative force on Turksib" (p. 222) and "a powerful force for working-class formation" (p. 225), although here he may be taking the official Soviet account of shock work too much at its word. Payne's emphasis on worker unity also stems from his reliance on a sociological model of class formation. In this regard, it would have been helpful for Payne to deconstruct the meaning of "working class" in the Soviet context. The fact that working-class identity was defined and co-opted by the Soviet government precluded its use as a collective self-representation in opposition to the regime, as had been the case in tsarist times. Such is not to say that Soviet workers were passive or atomized. Turksib workers, for example, engaged in numerous wildcat strikes, although Payne's evidence indicates that the strikers showed craft or ethnic solidarity rather than class unity.

Despite these shortcomings, there is a great deal to commend in Payne's book. He covers all aspects of the Turksib project, from the bureaucratic politics behind its planning, to the complex evolution of Soviet managerial personnel and principles, to the economic, social, and ethnic consequences of the railroad's construction. He has done excellent research in the archives of Russia and Kazakhstan, as well as extensive reading of relevant primary and secondary publications. In sum, Payne's book adds significantly to our knowledge of social and economic change in a non-Russian region of the country during a crucial period of Soviet history. For those interested in Stalinist industrialization, it is a very welcome addition to the existing literature.

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LARRY E. HOLMES. *Stalin's School: Moscow's Model School No. 25, 1931–1937.* (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1999. Pp. x, 228. $45.00.

In a well-researched and written book Larry E. Holmes tells the story of the rise and fall of Model School No. 25 during the 1930s. Based on archival sources and oral interviews with former students, this microhistory of one of the most elitist and privileged educational institutions in the Soviet Union—Joseph Stalin's son and daughter attended—provides a nuanced picture of how both students and teachers internalized Stalinist values. It provides a rare glimpse of how individuals navigated within the Stalinist system and demonstrates that they could indeed make a difference. Ultimately, Stalin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party made the decisions, but below the surface there was ample scope for bureaucratic infighting and personal ambitions.

Model schools came into being after a Central Committee resolution of 1931 ended an experimentalist phase in education that had met resistance from teachers and parents. Model schools were supposed to showcase a new curriculum stressing order, discipline, and cognitive learning. Among the model schools, No. 25 in Moscow was privileged, with experienced staff, generous funding, and a student body drawn from elite families, unlike other city schools where working-class children comprised a large percentage of students. It won competitions as the best model in the Russian Republic, and foreign dignitaries visited the school. Progressives, like Nadezhda Krupskaia, criticized the school as too traditional and elitist and preferred that the award go to a model school catering to working-class children. But in a politicized atmosphere in which Stalin condemned leveling and raised the idea of a hero school, School No. 25 prospered. It fell just as hard in 1937 when a new campaign, underscoring the importance of the common citizen, undermined No. 25 and the Politburo closed all the model schools.

What is perhaps most fascinating is Holmes's description of what the school—and Stalinism that the school reflected—meant to its students. Their idealism and sense of being part of a grand revolutionary experiment shielded them from the harsh excesses of the 1930s. "A combination of politicized instruction, flexible methods, professional dedication by administrators and teachers, and a rousing presentation of material brought students to welcome their role as warriors in the construction of socialism" (p. 97). But their experience in the school, especially classes in literature, also inspired them with critical thinking and humane values to reevaluate the Soviet system years later as adults. As Holmes writes, School No. 25 helps

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to comprehend the "formation and erosion of Stalinism and its value system in the life of a single generation" (p. 107).

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MAUREEN PERRIE. *The Cult of Ivan the Terrible in Stalin's Russia*. (Studies in Russian and East European History and Society.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xv, 255.

Imagine a world in which your life and work as a historian operate according to a set of unwavering principles. Key periods of your country's past must be presented primarily as analogies to the present. The determination of which historical events and personages must be so presented, and whether the analogies shall be positive or negative, is in the hands of men whose business it is to gauge how your country's leader wants to see himself and his current situation portrayed. Your right to work and publish, and even your own personal safety, depend on your willingness to conform to these principles.

The Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin was such a world, one in which the depiction of the past *mattered*. Why was this so? Maureen Perrie addresses this question partly in the context of Adolf Hitler's accession to power in Germany. In the mid-1930s, with the USSR beginning to face a real threat of war, the imperatives of defense became paramount, and like so much else in the Soviet Union, history was pressed into "the service of patriotism" (p. 25). Earlier Marxist historiography, with its class and internationalist bent and disinclination to value national loyalty, now was viewed as dangerous, since "it might undermine the willingness of the Soviet population to defend the socialist state" (p. 28).

Although Perrie does not attempt to analyze in depth the compelling question of *why* the Soviet elite thought that the nation's past had such power to mobilize the populace, she does present a great deal of carefully culled information detailing the changes in the historiographical approach to the rulers of old Russia. Three introductory case studies in "historical analogy" show how the images of Peter the Great, Alexander Nevskii, and Kuzma Minin and Dimitrii Pozharskii (heroes of a defensive war with Sweden at the beginning of the seventeenth century) were brought into line with the patriotic cause in the latter part of the 1930s.

The bulk of Perrie's book lays out a detailed reading of the fate that Ivan the Terrible met at the hands of Soviet historians, writers, and Sergei Eisenstein. The chapters are organized in the form of a two-part overview of the process of the "Stalinization" of Ivan from 1934 to 1953, followed by individual chapters on three particular treatments of Ivan: a novel by V. I. Kostylev; a play by Aleksei Tolstoi (a distant relative), and, finally, the grand film by Eisenstein that has surely shaped the image of Ivan the Terrible for generations of educated people all over the world. The chapters on Tolstoi and Eisenstein bring Stalin most vividly into the story and thus constitute the most successful part of what is otherwise an intelligent but awkwardly crafted book in which overlapping overviews and case studies make for some confusing reading, and too much detail crowds the exposition of major themes.

Both Tolstoi's play and Eisenstein's movie were commissioned from "on high" in the winter of 1940–1941. Tolstoi had to rework the first version of his play to render Ivan more heroic as a state builder and military commander. According to Perrie, the criticisms of the original draft were engendered by the play's "failure to reflect Stalin's own self image, historicized and projected onto the figure of Ivan Groznyi" (p. 136).

When Eisenstein wrote his first rendition of the screenplay for *Ivan the Terrible*, the Soviet Union had recently annexed the Baltic states, and so Ivan's claim to the Baltic ports of Livonia figured prominently. Throughout the long and complex process of creating and revising the two-part film (a third part was also planned), Eisentein was caught in a contradiction of Stalin's making. Despite Ivan's accomplishments as builder of the Muscovite state, Stalin saw him as "insufficiently terrible" (p. 86) because after punishing his enemies he repented and begged God to forgive him. Anastas Mikoyan recalled that "Stalin said that Ivan Groznyi killed too few boyars, that he should have killed them all, and then he would have created a truly united and strong Russian state" (p. 87). At the same time, Stalin criticized Eisenstein for depicting Ivan as not resolute enough. Stalin needed Ivan as an exemplar. "Ivan the Terrible was very ruthless," commented Stalin. "One can show that he was ruthless. But you must show why it was necessary to be ruthless" (p. 175). Why indeed. The objects of Ivan's paranoia had to be shown as real and not imagined. In Stalin's Russia, the past mattered, but those who brought the past to life mattered very little.

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REINA PENNINGTON. *Wings, Women, and War: Soviet Airwomen in World War II Combat*. Foreword by JOHN ERICKSON. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. PP. xvi, 304. $29.95.

In this book, Reina Pennington provides a valuable addition to the literature on women in war, and in particular Soviet women at war. Her insights and analysis constitute original contributions to Soviet military history as well as Soviet social history. Within the context of the Nazi-Soviet conflict in World War II and Soviet women participating in that conflict in aviation units, Pennington divides her analysis broadly between those women who served in the two predominantly female regiments (one a fighter regiment and the other a tactical bomber regiment) and the all-

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female night bomber regiment, and those women who served in predominantly male aviation units.

The first major issue Pennington tackles is the origin of the women's regiments. Choosing among an act of desperation, publicity stunt, or the initiative of an individual following a dream, she convincingly speaks for Marina Raskova as the inspirer and originator of the women's squadrons. Raskova was a pioneer in Soviet aviation, had earned the Hero of the Soviet Union award in 1937, and was on very good terms with Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin. It was her connections and credentials, combined with an indefatigable will and petitions of hundreds of women volunteering to serve, that enabled her to get the regiments created in 1941 in the face of male opposition. Pennington offers no explanation of Raskova's motives for such a historic endeavor, yet she does a fine job of exploring the motivations of the pilots, navigators, and ground crew personnel, all of whom were volunteers. The reaction of men to women pilots in combat units is nicely handled and fits well into the historiography of women in war. Male aviators who did not serve with women were the most critical, but men who observed the capable flying and combat skills of the women accepted them as equals. Pennington diplomatically declines to use the words sexist or stereotypical when describing Soviet male attitudes toward women even when those terms would be appropriate.

A second major issue that Pennington addresses is the performance of the women's air regiments and of individuals assigned to male units. Generally she finds their performance on par or superior to that of men. More than thirty women were awarded the highest honor, Hero of the Soviet Union, and the night bomber and tactical bomber regiments earned the coveted designation of Guards. The fighter regiment was apparently lined up to receive the Guards designation but seems to have had it sabotaged by a resentful former female regiment commander. Two female fighter pilots became aces. Pennington accepts her interviewees' explanation that their effectiveness was due to greater cohesion, attention to detail, and seriousness of purpose than were exhibited in male units.

After the war, the overwhelming majority of women were discharged from the air force and the military in general. The women's regiments were disbanded entirely. Pennington explains the virtual elimination of women from the military as a result of Stalinist pronatalist policies and the need for women to reenter the workforce rather than any particular attempt to discriminate against women and return the combat arms to bastions of male exclusivisity. Yet these two criteria seem to be contradictory, because pregnant women are about as able to work in industry as they are in the military, and time lost to childrearing would be little different between military and civil work duties. She notes that traditional Soviet gender roles that regarded women as mothers, wives, and builders of society played their part. The tradition of female subordination, the double burden, and the double standard all existed in the culture of the Russian Empire long before the creation of the USSR. Pennington does not argue for or against the idea of women in combat but lets the experience of her subjects speak for itself.

Of all the work done on Soviet women aviators in World War II, Pennington's is the most comprehensive, combining extensive research, interviews, and critical analysis. This work will be greatly valuable to and appreciated by the professional historian of World War II, women in war, and Soviet social history, and by the general reader interested in detailed explanation and human-interest stories of people at war. This is an enjoyable read and a noteworthy addition to Soviet and World War II history.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

LEILA TARAZI FAWAZ and C. A. BAYLY, editors. *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*. Assisted by ROBERT ILBERT. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 410. Cloth $49.50, paper $22.50.

This collection of essays on the Middle East and the Indian Ocean region is based on a complex editorial and research agenda intended to break out of the narrow regional confines of area studies and respond to current trends toward globalization. At the same time, editors Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly want to infuse area studies with new research issues by bringing together the study of economic and social history and the examination of "representations." The objective is to join the study of economic and political factors to the way in which these factors are perceived and manipulated in political and social discourses.

The book includes three essays on the history of commerce and ports in the Red Sea. Studies of Middle Eastern ocean and desert ports such as Haifa, Basra, Damascus, Aleppo, Izmir, and Alexandria variously examine trade, merchant elites and communities, and cultural self-images. The book also contains two essays on commerce, migrations and cultural ties in the Indian Ocean region. There are articles on the emergence of new religiocommunal and national identities among Muslims in the Indian subcontinent, Copts in Egypt, and cosmopolitans in Alexandria; a study of the emergence of political and literary journals in Istanbul and Alexandria; and a study of the spread of Muslim printing, especially of the Qur'an.

The collection raises a question about the assumptions on which the book has been constructed. Was there, in fact, a unified or overlapping Indian Ocean and Middle East economic and cultural region? Did the two areas form a historical unit? Some historical experiences seem to have been common to both areas. A number of essays illustrate the historical alternation of power between hinterlands and port cities. Until the

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eighteenth century, interior capitals were generally more powerful than ports in shaping the governments, economies, and cultures of the several regional societies. (Istanbul was, of course, both a capital and a port.) By the nineteenth century, European commercial and territorial conquests opened the way for the supremacy of port cities. Another common feature of the history of both areas was their absorption into the capitalist global economy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both experienced the breakdown of indigenous empires; the formation of new domestic intelligentsias with European or European-inspired educations, the spread of European political, scientific, economic, and cultural influences; the formation of new hybrid Euro-indigenous cultural identities; and the creation of national states. However, the only development that was shared in the two areas and shaped by movements of people and currents of thought between them was pan-Islamic reformism. Juan Cole shows how Islamic reformism was stimulated, and indeed virtually defined, by the spread of printing, which allowed for the diffusion of sacred scripture, the spread of rationalist philosophical ideas, and the standardization of Islamic themes.

While the two regions had many parallel historical experiences and similar local responses to conditions created by Western capitalism and imperialism, it is not easy to maintain that they were directly linked by commerce or migration or that they commonly shared and exchanged cultural experiences. Several essays even cast doubt on the concept of a unified history and show how the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean were cut off from each other. For example, until the mid-nineteenth century, Egyptian merchants did not penetrate the Red Sea further south than Jidda, while Indian merchants could not pass north of Jidda and were confined to the Indian Ocean basin. Only the advent of the steamship, the opening of the Suez Canal, and the British occupation of both India and Egypt broke down the historical barriers and opened the way for Indian merchants to reach Egypt.

In general, the scholarship in these fields may not be ready to sustain so ambitious a methodological agenda. There are actually only two essays dealing with both regions, and one of them is a study of colonialist views of the colonized world. Moreover, even though the concept of a shared history requires at the least that there be articles dealing with the same themes for each of the two areas, parallel studies are lacking. While Middle Eastern cities, trade, and merchant communities are extensively represented in the book, there are no comparable studies of individual Indian Ocean cities and communities. This is largely due to the differences in the historiography of the two regions. While the Middle East is richly endowed with urban studies, scholarship on the Indian subcontinent favors peasant and subaltern studies. We have no way to assess and compare merchant communities, their trading activities, and their adaptation to modern cultures in the two regions.

The guiding vision behind this collection is profound, and the overall quality of the articles is excellent, but as a whole, the book remains a preliminary essay in the exploration of both regional histories and area studies methodology.

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HAGGAI ERLICH. *The Cross and the River: Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Nile*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 2002. Pp. x, 249. $49.95.

Although Africa and the Middle East obviously overlap, both the constructed political identities of their respective peoples and the academic organizations that frame scholarship on them tend to keep the two regions artificially apart. Haggai Erlich is one of a handful of scholars who regularly cross the African/Middle Eastern and the Africanist/Middle Easternist divide. Primarily a specialist on Ethiopia, he has also done original research on Egypt and published extensively on Ethiopian/Egyptian (and Middle Eastern) relations.

This book examines relations between Ethiopia and Egypt from the rise of Islam to the present. Egypt is dependent on the Ethiopian Blue Nile for eighty-six percent of the Nile water reaching Egypt; the fear that this might be intentionally or unintentionally cut off has haunted Egyptians for centuries. Diverting the flow of the Blue Nile would have been beyond the capacities of Ethiopians until the twentieth century, but the Egyptians' fear was real enough.

The Ethiopians, too, were dependent since pre-Islamic times on an external force they valued but could not control: in this case, the Coptic Church of Egypt. The Coptic patriarch of Alexandria (long resident in Cairo) appointed from among Egyptian monks the 111 *abuns* who headed the Ethiopian church down to 1951, when the first Ethiopian was appointed. In 1959, the Coptic patriarch took the final step of yielding the right to consecrate the *abun*, and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church became autocephalous.

Making extensive use of Arabic, Amharic, and English sources, Erlich traces political relations between the two countries, their connections through their churches, and the role of a shared Nile in their perceptions of self and "the other." From the Egyptian side, the analysis of Ethiopia traces evolving Islamic-Egyptian, modern Egyptian nationalist, and Arab nationalist perspectives. In 615 A. D., a band of the Prophet Muhammad's persecuted followers in Mecca found refuge in Aksum with the Christian ruler (*negus*) of Ethiopia, an event that gave rise to a *hadith* of the Prophet Muhammad instructing his followers to "leave the Abyssinians alone as long as they leave you alone." This engendered a predominant Muslim view of Ethiopia as a friendly neutral—if remote—state to be left in peace, a model down to the present for amicable

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relations between Islamic and non-Islamic states. A narrower, more militant Muslim interpretation, however, developed an argument for denouncing Ethiopia as an epitome of evil, a Christian bastion impeding the spread of Islam in Africa. Variations of these positive and negative images of Ethiopia still compete in Egyptian discourse today.

Erlich traces the tensions and accommodations in Egyptian relations during the Mamluk era of Egypt and the early Solomonian dynasty in Ethiopia. The traumatic conquest of most of Christian Ethiopia in 1529–1543 by militant Islamic forces of Aḥmad Grāñ was reversed only with the aid of Portuguese soldiers. The "Aḥmad Grāñ trauma" is still the stuff of nightmares for Christian Ethiopians. Egypt's nineteenth-century expansion into the Sudan, the Red Sea coast, and the Horn of Africa ended with the crushing defeat of an Egyptian expedition at Gura in 1876. British conquest of Egypt and then the Sudan followed; the rising Ethiopian Empire went on to defeat the Italians at Adwa in 1896.

Over half the book is devoted to the twentieth-century ups and downs of Ethiopian-Egyptian relations and their implications for issues related to Nile waters and church affairs. Modern Egyptian nationalism had a strong strand of friendly attitudes toward Ethiopia, but Gamal Abdel Nasser's Arab nationalism and his building the High Dam at Aswan without consulting Ethiopia brought friction to the fore. Haile Selassie I's long career is of course central to the modern Ethiopian side of the story. Although Egypt's Coptic Church finally lost control over the Ethiopian church in the 1950s, Ehrlich shows how lay Coptic writers and officials such as Boutros Boutros-Ghali—the future secretary-general of the United Nations—worked to keep Presidents Nasser, Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak aware of the continuing importance to Egypt of the country where most of the Nile's flow originates. The book concludes with the author's heartfelt hope for more cooperation and a brighter future for the riparian states of the Nile basin.

The organization of the narrative and analysis is rather choppy and repetitive, partly because of overly detailed chapter and section introductions and conclusions. The virtues of the book, however, far outweigh this defect. It is meticulously researched, bridges countries and areas usually relegated to separate mental compartments, and elaborates in detail a theme of undeniable significance for both Egyptian and Ethiopian history.

DONALD MALCOLM REID
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DONALD MALCOLM REID. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 409. $35.00.

Whose history is it? When it comes to ancient Egypt, this has always been a complicated question. Europeans—travelers, tourists, pilgrims, colonial officials, philologists, and the archaeological plunderers who all too often accompanied them—never denied the Egyptians' right to their past. But Westerners proved particularly adept at appropriating that heritage, not to mention its artifacts, as precursor to their own. The history of the "rape of the Nile" has been told before; what Donald Malcolm Reid has done is pose questions that have too often been ignored. How did modern Egyptians understand their history, their antiquity, and the vestiges that remained? And how did they come not only to treasure that history but to resolve to preserve it in a manner consonant with the modernity espoused by their visitors, teachers, and colonial masters?

To answer such questions, one needs to delve beneath stereotypical tropes that were, as Edward W. Said's work still reminds us, the foundations of an emergent Orientalism. It remains easy to view the Egyptians as a sleeping people roused by Western interest in their history (as well as in their modern "manners and customs"), inexorably influenced by the outsiders' hierarchical categorization of the past. The picture, as Reid demonstrates, is far more complex—and far more interesing. A scholar of modern Egypt who has written important books on intellectual transformations and the foundation of a modern university system, Reid brings to this study the very perspective lacking in prior histories of Egyptology: the view from inside. He has much to add about important foreigners such as Auguste Mariette, Gaston Maspero, Heinrich Brugsch, and Richard Lepsius, as well as Thomas Cook, Karl Baedeker, and Edward William Lane. He fills in an important ideological component to the intellectual formation of foundational movers and shakers of Egyptian nationalism—ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī, Rifāʿa al-Ṭahtāwī, and ʿAlī Mubārak. But Reid's real contribution is to bring to the fore the intellectual and hands-on archaeological contributions of men like Yusuf (Joseph) Hekekyan, Ahmad Kamal, Ali Bahgat, and Marcus Simaika, the best and brightest of Egypt's first practicing archaeologists, Orientalists, and museologists, men who labored in the shadows of their European superiors and who have remained hidden from view.

Reid describes his work as a series of syntheses, in which he weaves modern Egyptian history—and Egyptians—into the more familiar tale of Western invasion, imperial intervention, and occupation. Grand politics are never out of mind, but his focus is on the nature of the "scientific" study of premodern Egypt. His discussion encompasses the representation of Egypt in international expositions, museums, and academic conferences; the rise of the tourist industry and adjunct features such as the guidebook and picture postcard; the relationship between historical preservation and the modernizing impulse to create a new urban landscape. Yet his foundation remains the establishment of

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four museums and "the institutions and disciplines associated with them" (p. 9): the Egyptian Museum (Egyptology) and Greco-Roman Museum (Classical Studies), the Museum of Arab Art (Islamic Art and Archaeology), and the Coptic Museum (Coptic Studies). In two primary sections, "Imperial and National Preludes" (1798–1882) and "Imperial High Noon, Nationalist Dawn" (1882–1914), he challenges the credo that "only Europeans made competent scholars and officials" (p. 246).

Reid is particularly careful to note different political and academic dynamics within the subfields of Egyptian history. For example, unlike Egyptology, in which Egyptians remained virtually invisible (despite the laborious efforts of Ahmad Kamal and others), scholarly participation in the field of Islamic (earlier "Arab") art was not a "one-way street" (p. 252). His account gels in a final chapter on the "struggle to kindle enthusiasm for the antiquities and history" of Egypt's Coptic past (p. 258). Because there was no definable era of Coptic "national" glory relative to the Pharaonic, Greco-Roman, or Arab-Islamic eras, defining the Copts as "modern sons of the pharaohs" proved as difficult as convincing religious leaders that old gospel covers and church vessels should be preserved as cultural artifacts rather than melted down for reworking.

Reid has written an important, engaging work that cuts to the heart of scholarly concerns with history, memory, material culture, imperialism, and national identity. Describing it as a synthesis should not obscure the prodigious research into European as well as Egyptian archives and texts. This book challenges (with all due respect) an entire corpus of literature on the study of Egypt's past, reminding us that "disciplinary histories should be more than Western monologues into"—in this case—"Egyptian silence" (p. 10).

Joel Gordon
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James Jankowski. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 2002. Pp. viii, 235. $49.95.

Meticulously mining new archival material and memoirs, James Jankowski focuses on Egypt's foreign policy from 1952 to 1961 to fill lacunae in the literature on Gamal Abdel Nasser's embrace of Arab nationalism and Arab unity and explain the construction and demise of the United Arab Republic (UAR).

Following a fine synopsis of the factors leading to the 1952 military coup, Jankowski addresses the evolution in Nasser's pan-Arab policies and provides insight to related intra-elite debate. He demonstrates that neither Nasser nor his colleagues showed much interest in playing a regional role in their first year in power, but in 1953–1954 they shifted to a national interest-based (nonideologically driven) policy of international "neutrality." By 1954, Nasser was calling for one Arab nation, aligned neither with the East nor West.

"Neutrality" acquired poignancy in 1955 as Egypt sought to block the formation of a Western regional defense pact and concomitantly promoted an alternative, Arab-centered defense pact. To Nasser's chagrin, both Iraq and Turkey joined the American-inspired Baghdad Pact in February 1955, and the "struggle for Syria" ensued. Egyptians feared the pact would isolate Egypt, weakening their position vis-à-vis Israel and other regional actors. Such fears were reinforced by Israel's attack on Egyptian forces in Gaza just four days after the pact's signing.

In April 1955, Nasser made his famous trip to Bandung, Indonesia, where he basked in the international limelight with the "Third World's" giants and began marching down the path of "positive neutrality." By September 1955, Egypt announced an arms deal with Czechoslovakia to obtain Soviet arms; and in October, defense pacts were finalized with Syria and Saudi Arabia, alleviating fears that Syria would be gobbled up by Iraq. Egypt then invested in anti-Baghdad Pact elements in Jordan in late 1955, and Jankowski shows how anti-pact demonstrations, enthusiastically joined by Palestinian refugees, tipped the balance against Jordan entering the pact, dooming the pact's viability in the Arab world.

Jankowski skillfully charts Egypt's continued reluctance to form a political union with Syria despite repeated requests by powerful Syrian actors. By the second half of 1958, Syria's domestic political crisis brought the creation of a Syrian Military Command Council, comprised primarily of Baʿthists and communists, and its members pushed hard for unity with Egypt. Nasser presented strict conditions for unity: Syrian military out of politics; banning Syrian political parties; holding a popular referendum in Egypt and Syria to assure a mandate for unity. Once accepted, Nasser endorsed unity. Jankowski argues that Nasser did so to prevent Syria from going communist and because, as the father of Arab nationalism, Nasser simply could not say no.

Jankowski nicely highlights Nasser's alienation of Syria's major political and economic actors from the UAR. Enforcement of Nasser's unity conditions distanced communists and Baʿthists. Large landowners were put off by agrarian reform in 1958, and most capitalists objected vehemently to socialist measures introduced in the early 1960s. Even the prosocialist Baʿthists criticized the socialist measures, which they saw as more statist than socialist. Finally, many Syrian officers were angered when Egyptians assumed command posts in Syria. Competition grew between Egypt's Field Marshal Abdel Hakim Amer and the Syrian strongman, Abd al-Hamid Sarraj. Centralization of authority in August 1961 resulted in Sarraj's relocation to Cairo as a vice president, and Amer moved into Syria to dismantle Sarraj's power structure.

Regional reactions, on balance, also boded ill for the UAR's longevity. The Jordanian and Saudi monarchs,

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in particular, feared the increase in Nasser's strength and plotted accordingly. By contrast, the July 1958 coup in Iraq presented an opportunity. The Iraqi Arab nationalist, Abdel Salam Arif, beseeched Nasser to come to Baghdad and win over the masses to Arab unity, but Nasser passed, disappointing unity advocates, and Arif lost out to his major rival, the Communist Party-backed Iraqi nationalist, Abdul Karim Kassem. Tense regional rivalry between Egypt and Iraq ensued.

The UAR entered its death throes on September 26, 1961, when Sarraj resigned. Two days later, Colonel Abdul Karim al-Nahlawi and two fellow officers led a successful coup that culminated in Syria's secession. Importantly, Nasser displayed no willingness to compromise with the coup leaders, as though he wanted the UAR to fail.

In perhaps the book's weakest point, Jankowski neither sheds new light on the coup nor discusses relevant, rival theories: foreign backing for the coup, the behavior of local capitalists, or officers acting on personal vendettas. But Jankowski's broad conclusions are correct: the UAR collapsed because it was never genuinely united along elite integrative, institutional, or policy lines. Economic policies angered powerful capitalists; political policies alienated key leftist actors.

The UAR's breakup had a big impact on Nasser, perhaps even greater than Jankowski suggests. Amer was seen as having "lost Syria," but Nasser failed to dislodge Amer from power; their once intimate relationship was irreparably damaged, and a silent but deep split appeared within the regime. Moreover, Nasser took Syria's secession as a blow to his personal prestige. As Jankowski notes, such factors led Nasser to harden his line against domestic "reactionaries" and Western imperialists, responses with significant repercussions for Egypt's political economy.

The book would have benefited from a closer look at Soviet influence in the region, but it is otherwise very well researched and cogently argued. It will now serve as an interesting prelude to Malcolm Kerr's classic, *The Arab Cold War, 1958–1964: A Study of Ideology in Politics* (1965).

KIRK J. BEATTIE
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BENJAMIN C. FORTNA. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 280. $74.00.

In this six-chapter book, Benjamin C. Fortna deals with a theme that has gained a growing following among the students of Ottoman history: namely, the role of Islam in the modernization of the state during its last decades. The mainstream school that regarded Islam and modernization as mutually exclusive now is being replaced by this new, and probably more accurate, approach that sees the implementation of a Western form in an Islamic context as producing a synthesis that retained elements of both. In particular, this process took place in the central lands of the Ottoman Empire, where the state was politically independent to supervise, control, and direct the interaction.

Fortna's basic premise is that Islam can produce alternative modernities. Consequently, when joined with European political interference, the missionary proselytizing, and the challenge of the foreign schools (the French Galatasaray) and similar intrusions, the "Ottoman polity was committed to creating its own solution" (p. 3) by deploying an enlightened notion of progress based on Western models but imbued it with Ottoman and Islamic elements. Here the Ottomans' driving motive was self-preservation as a state and culture.

Fortna uses the educational reforms undertaken chiefly during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909) to prove his thesis. After a rather sweeping dismissal of the Tanzimat reforms (1839–1876) as lacking substance and a systemic relationship to society, he discusses at length the reforms introduced mainly in the mid-level schools (*idadi* and *rüşdiye*) during the Hamidian period. Paradoxically, as he notes, these reforms were based on the educational regulations devised in 1869 by the Tanzimatists, who were the first to propose the three-layer, French-style school system. The Ottoman bureaucrats, according to Fortna, had an enthusiastic belief in the transforming power of education and used the state to oppose culturally and politically the European "enemy," adopting its institutions and approaches while rejecting its morals and culture.

Fortna uses a wealth of sources to compare the Ottoman statist educational policy to those of Russia, France, and other countries. At the same time, he is careful to mention that the students enrolled in Ottoman modern schools were not "cadres" or "cohorts" but individuals who responded differently to the material studied and to their teachers. Fortna's thesis would have gained additional strength if he had dealt with the writings of Muslim scholars from the period 1821 to 1836. For example, Şeyhulislam Yasincizade Abdul Wahhab argued that the *şeriat* (Muslim holy law) accepted a change in the *ahkam* (decrees, laws, orders) under an absolute caliph if society deteriorated and renewal was needed. Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (d. 1895), the eminent scholar and jurist whom Fortna mentions repeatedly in the context of educational reforms, actually was expanding Abdul Wahhab's Islamic arguments for change by arguing in favor of reasoned necessity rather than revealed law.

Fortna's view, to which I fully subscribe, is that the disastrous loss of territory and revenue in the war of 1877–1878 with Russia forced the Ottoman government to seek new ways to keep the remaining empire intact. It, therefore, tried to use the educational system to enhance both the quality of its subjects and their bonds of solidarity with the geographical country and with the culture and morals of the community. Fortna

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dedicates chapters four and five to the impact of Western-inspired school buildings and maps, which incorporated native Ottoman and Islamic elements. Specifically, the Ottomans' own architectural style and cartography were rediscovered and harmonized with Western styles.

The final chapter on morals—*ahlak*—studies the role of the modern schools and their textbooks in providing students a set of values, ethical norms, and behavior drawn from Islam. Many Ottoman parents still preferred to send their children to Europe or to foreign schools because of their "quality," which presumably meant practical orientation, effective teaching methods, regard for individuality, and relevance to society and everyday living. In order to compete, the Ottoman reformers sought to infuse "quality" into their own schools, even though some elements entering into the make up of "quality" might have conflicted with some parts of the teaching of "morals."

The main problem with Fortna's book is that the *idadi*s constitute the bulk of his sample in contrast to the rather limited place they occupied in the total Ottoman educational system. Yet, in another respect, they were important, for the *idadi*s and especially the higher professional schools were also forums of political indoctrination, where students secretly read prohibited literature, and it was the students trained in the Islamized modern schools, as Fortna notes briefly, who ended Abdülhamid's absolutist reign and brought the Young Turks to power in 1908. Although the training in these Ottomano-Islamic modern schools thus helped form the personality, culture, and social behavior of the students who later became leaders in their respective countries, Fortna could have mentioned the essential fact that a substantial part of the students trained in these schools became neither Islamists nor Westernists but nationalists.

Fortna is to be congratulated for having written this significant and basic book. It illuminates admirably and realistically the interaction and coexistence of the native culture and faith with those of the West. Based on rich primary and secondary sources, the book is enhanced by the author's use of a variety of theoretical works on education and by his comparative, multidimensional approach. It must be read by all scholars interested in cultural change and renewal.

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M. ŞÜKRÜ HANIOĞLU. *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902–1908.* (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 538. $72.00.

The Young Turk revolution of 1908 is considered a crucial benchmark in the history of the later Ottoman Empire and in the modern evolution of the Balkans and the Arab Middle East over which the empire ruled. The revolution was, in its essence, an "Ottoman Constitutionalist revolution" whose immediate aims were the destruction of the absolutist, autocratic rule of Abdülhamid II and the restoration of a constitutional, parliamentary government for the empire. One of its major legacies was the impetus it gave to the emergence and formation of Turkish nationalism and, in a more indirect way, to Arab nationalism and to nationalist movements in the Balkans. From many perspectives, the revolution strengthened ethnic elements within Turkish-speaking populations and triggered reactionary, non-Turkish counterforces that would come to demand either autonomy or separatism. Even its parliamentary constitutionalism was rapidly replaced by the authoritarian regime.

English, Turkish, and Arabic-language literature on the revolution underline its importance for the reconstitution of the empire in its final stages and for the emergence of the ideologies and political forces that would form the modern Middle East. But M. Şükrü Hanioğlu's book is undoubtedly the most comprehensive, original, and updated study of the subject. Through the use of documents, private papers and diaries produced by the Young Turks themselves, which the author diligently collected from dozens of archives and libraries in and outside of Turkey, Hanioğlu is able to shed new light on events, processes, and protagonists that fomented the revolution. His book is a sequel, both chronologically and thematically, to *The Young Turks in Opposition* (1995), which traced the Young Turk movement in its formative era, 1889–1902. Together, the books constitute the most thorough and important study to date of the Young Turk revolution, its origins, and its impact on the Ottoman Empire.

A significant innovation in Hanioğlu's work is its comprehensive story of "the preparation for the revolution": an extremely detailed and accurate portrait of the ideological, operational, organizational, and diplomatic origins of the Young Turk opposition forces between 1902 and 1908. Indeed, the major part of the book is comprised of description and analysis of the stages of formation of the revolutionary process, with a particular emphasis on the leading role played by the Committee of Progress and Union (CPU)/Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). Hanioğlu has composed a rich, multidimensional historical picture of the persons, bodies, organizations, associations, committees, divisions, coalitions, and processes—some underground and others more manifest—of the revolutionary forces. He traces the emergence of revolutionary motivations, identifies the agents and agencies that held them, and analyzes how and where they were translated into revolutionary action. He also discusses the initial rebellions that erupted in the empire between 1905 and 1907, particularly in eastern Anatolia.

The culmination of this formation process was the reorganization of the CPU/CUP, transformating it from a fragmented umbrella organization for various underground bodies and groups into a powerful homogeneous organization. Hanioğlu carefully examines the

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reorganization process—the reinvention, actually—of the CPU/CUP from 1906 onward and its merger with the Ottoman Freedom Society. His exploration of this process gives emphasis to the all-Ottoman, multinational, and multireligious character that the CPU developed, as well as to its determination to destroy the sultan's absolutist regime. Hanioğlu thoroughly describes the forms of organization, modes of communication, press, propaganda, and methods of mobilization and recruitment, along with other underground operations that were carried out within many parts of the empire, Europe, and other regions of the Arab Middle East.

Additionally, and importantly, Hanioğlu shows the impact of the Russian Revolution of 1905 on the Young Turks. He does this without neglecting to point out the underlying differences between the Russian and Young Turk movements, stressing the essentially "conservative activist" nature of the Young Turks, their rejection of all forms of social and political radicalism, and their desire to preserve the Ottoman state structure and the empire itself. He also reviews the Congress of "Ottoman opposition parties" in 1907 but concludes that it "played no role whatsoever in that [the 1908] revolution."

In Hanioğlu's final analysis, it was "the CPU at work" that, through "its own efforts," independently bore the burden of the "preparation of the revolution" and brought about the end of Abdülhamid II's regime. Indeed, Hanioğlu's narrative demonstrates that the revolution was well planned, well prepared, and well executed. This is what secured the Young Turks' decisive triumph, the consolidation of its power over the empire, and the constitution of a new, parliamentary form of government.

In addition to this detailed political and organizational history, Hanioğlu also discusses the Young Turks' political ideas, their patriotism, and their expressions of ethnic Turkism. They remained consistently committed to supranational Ottomanism, but their "Turkish proclivities" nevertheless grew stronger with time. Their anti-imperialism appears to have encouraged the reassertion of their Turkish nationalism. Similarly, they came to see Japan, after its triumph over Russia in 1905, as a model for emulation. Hanioğlu also shows, however, that the Young Turks were not great theoreticians but, rather, pragmatists, sometimes with opportunist leanings. They strove to transform high theories and ideas into concrete platforms, political pragmatic activism, and revolutionary praxis. Ahmed Rıza is exemplary of this strong tendency to politicize ideas and harness them for specific political goals.

Hanioğlu's book is very difficult to read and digest. The text is clumsy, unfriendly, and overburdened with details, events, personalities, and committees; frequent use of extended quotations makes the reading even more difficult. Hanioğlu has yet to master the crafts of selection and condensing, which are indispensible for the production of lucid historical narration that readers can navigate. The reader of this book will sometimes feel that he is drowning in a sea of facts.

These flaws aside, Hanioğlu has written an innovative, comprehensive study of tremendous importance for our full understanding of the Young Turk revolution. From now on, students and scholars dealing with this subject will need to make extensive use of this indispensible source.

ISRAEL GERSHONI
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JOSEPH A. MASSAD. *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp xiv, 396. Cloth $45.00, paper $18.50.

Jordan was created by Britain in 1921, when it helped the Emir Abdullah to impose his family's rule over territories lying to the east of the Jordan River in what had been part of the Ottoman Empire. Called Transjordan until the late 1940s, it was a separately administered part of the British Mandate for Palestine.

How then did Jordan become Jordanian? To answer this question, Joseph A. Massad has revisited existing Arabic and English-language memoirs, speeches, and histories, which he subjects to close reading. He is as much a cultural critic as he is a historian, and he excavates in the manner of the "new historicists."

Massad distinguishes Jordan from some other colonial and postcolonial states in two ways. First, there were no people calling themselves Jordanian (or Transjordanian), nor were there any "Jordanian" nationalist stirrings among the inhabitants of the country before 1921. Second, Jordan was created by outsiders, and its national identity was largely influenced by outsiders: the British, Abdullah and the Hashemite family, and Jordan's Palestinian inhabitants. Jordan's economic development has depended heavily on outside funding, first British and then American foreign aid. Other outsiders—Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Palestine Liberation Organization—tried at different times to turn the country into something that could advance their respective political agendas.

Massad argues that two institutions have had a disproportionate influence on the production of a Jordanian national identity: the law and the military. By examining these institutions, he hopes to provide a mode of inquiry that is applicable to other countries. Specifically, he argues, pace Michel Foucault, that institutions of power such as the law and the military not only have repressive and coercive functions but also productive capacities, especially with reference to the formation of national identities.

Massad devotes his first two chapters mainly to the influence of nationality law on the development of a Jordanian identity and the concept of Jordanian citizenship. These are crucial but somewhat unsatisfying chapters because they are insufficiently grounded in historical evidence and because Massad's prose style at times obfuscates more than it clarifies. One example

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will suffice: "Jordanian nationality, the law asserts, can be established by a combination of two processes: interpellation, which acts as a homological process in which the state interpellates its own subjects as juridical nationals; and choice, which acts as a dialogic process in which the state interpellates subjects as nationals or foreigners juridically and in which these subjects have to 'choose' between these two juridical identities—thus granting limited agency to juridical subjects, although both of their choices are imposed by the state that had already erased any outside to the binary" (p. 36).

Massad's later chapters on the military squarely address the book's main question and are written in a more engaging manner than those on the law. He provides a fascinating portrait of Glubb Pasha (Sir John Bagot Glubb), the British official who had the most to do with building the Jordanian military. Glubb was the master inventor of Jordanian tradition in addition to being the archetypal twentieth-century Orientalist official. Whereas his predecessor, Peake Pasha (Frederick G. Peake), favored townsmen and other settled Jordanians for military service, Glubb favored the nomadic tribes inside and outside Jordan. In the 1930s and 1940s, he aimed to sedentarize the tribes by integrating them into the military elites, and in so doing he invented an array of cultural traditions that came to define the national culture. The army's dress, food, and marching bands were new creations that Glubb imposed in order to render the invented culture of the military the dominant national culture in Jordan. Massad offers an original analysis of Glubb, and ultimately of the Arab Legion, as a cross-dresser. Cross-dressing not only blurred masculine and feminine identities but also Western and Arab identities for Glubb and for the new Jordanian army, much as cross-dressing had blurred T. E. Lawrence's identity more than a generation before.

Arab nationalist officers eventually took over crucial posts in the army in the 1950s and, with other nationalists, they pressured King Hussein—Abdullah's grandson—to dismiss Glubb from his command. These same officers also tried to eliminate the "Bedouin" traditions in the military because they were part of the British colonial legacy and because they found the Bedouin backward. As Massad points out, however, nationalists assumed that these traditions were authentically and eternally "Bedouin," when in fact they were recent fabrications.

After the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which had previously been under Jordanian rule, King Hussein and his closest allies began to rethink Jordan's relationship to these territories and to the Palestinians, who now constituted two-thirds of the population of Jordan proper. The king certainly wanted to counter the growing Israeli claim that "Jordan is Palestine." At the same time, he also wanted to strengthen Jordan's international legitimacy and its economy by promoting "a modern country with an old *living* 'traditional' culture," one that would attract tourists and foreign capital. Consequently, Massad argues, the king willingly permitted the reassertion of "Bedouin" culture as the basis for modern Jordanian identity.

Massad ultimately makes a persuasive case for examining the roles law and the military played in creating a Jordanian national identity, as complicated and politicized as that identity has proved to be. How could it be otherwise, when more than half of Jordan's population has never been fully integrated into or accepting of the invented national culture that has evolved during the past eighty years and also looks across to the other bank of the Jordan River for its core identity?

Historians interested in the emergence of national identities in other colonial and postcolonial countries and societies would do well to examine Massad's book. Reading it will require considerable concentration and patience, but the rewards should be substantial.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

GEORGE ODUOR NDEGE. *Health, State, and Society in Kenya*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 224. $65.00.

This carefully documented survey of a century of medical care and public health in Kenya begins with the epidemics of trypanosomiasis and bubonic plague in the early colonial period and ends with the current AIDS epidemic. George Oduor Ndege is particularly interested in telling this story from both Kenyan and British points of view. He does so by drawing upon African sources (interviews and the evidence that witnesses presented to government commissions) as well as colonial government records and reports. Ndege describes the conflicts that arose from the different ways in which Africans and Europeans conceptualized disease and treatment; his main emphasis, however, is on the accommodations and compromises that were made.

The heart of this book is to be found in chapters five and six: "Politics, Innovation, Reform, and Expansion" covers the interwar years, and "Grappling with Change in the Age of Transition and Anxiety: Decolonization, Independence, and AIDS" takes up the period after World War II and follows the story through the end of the century. By introducing the economic and political context of health care policy—the economic depression of the 1930s and the political struggles between colonial authorities and Kenyan subjects fighting for liberation—these chapters amplify the term "society" that appears in the book's title.

Still, readers will need to bring a good deal of knowledge of East African history and of the workings of colonial administration to this specialized treatise in order to provide the context for the early epidemics

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that devastated Kenya and to follow the account of Kenyan participation in the extension of biomedical care in the rural areas. Diseases may occur spontaneously, but there is nothing natural about epidemics. We do not learn in the second chapter, "The Unsettling Contact: Epidemics, Biomedicine, and the Ideology of Order," about the political, ecological, and economic changes brought by the British to East Africa that helped to create the epidemics of sleeping sickness and plague. Yet the social history of African health and disease has advanced so rapidly in the past twenty years that we have come to expect this sort of analysis.

Ndege holds a novel view of Kenyan participation in what he describes as the shift of health care from urban hospitals to rural clinics and dispensaries (the "expansion" in the title of chapter five). "By the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929, Africans were major actors in colonial health care programs" (p. 110). Ndege credits the Local Native Councils, first introduced in 1925, with bringing about this change, but he does not state that the district commissioners were the ex-officio presidents of these councils and controlled all communication between their members (chiefs, elders, and co-opted radical youth) and the government. The councils may have voted to build the rural facilities, but their staffing and supply continued to be the responsibility of central government, which mostly failed to allocate the necessary resources.

It is not clear why the Local Native Councils represented more than the colonists' cynical exploitation of the most vulnerable: sick, impecunious, Kenyan subjects. As Ndege correctly notes, the policy of requiring Africans to finance their own health care led to the uneven development of Kenya because the wealthier districts that collected more taxes were able to provide services, whereas poor districts were further impoverished by the lack of education and health care. Ndege also sees the irony in the parallel between colonial district financing and the Structural Adjustment Programs introduced by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the late 1980s, which accomplish the same inequity (if not iniquity).

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JENNIFER COLE. *Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar.* (Ethnographic Studies in Subjectivity, number 1.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 361. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.50.

Anthropology and history, closely related disciplines, have often experienced a meaningful cross-fertilization of ideas, not least in the field of African Studies. Recently, historians of Madagascar have benefited considerably from anthropological studies of the historical significance of ancestral ritual (e.g. Gillian Feeley-Harnik, *A Green Estate: Restoring Independence in Madagascar* [1991]; Karen Middleton, ed., *Ancestors, Power, and History in Madagascar* [1999]). In this work on the Betsimisaraka of eastern Madagascar, Jennifer Cole attempts to advance the debate not only by interpreting the historical symbolism of ritual, notably animal sacrifice, but also by seeking to uncover the "secret" history of French colonialism. The theoretical core for Cole's analysis, based on wide reading of authorities ranging from Sigmund Freud to Michel Foucault, is that Betsimisaraka historical memories have been driven into a "subterranean brook" because of the "trauma" of French colonial exploitation and violence, notably the uprising of 1947 when as many as 100,000 people died. Cole attempts to identify and elucidate "colonial memories" through analysis of ancestral rituals, oral interviews, and written sources.

Her discussion of the theory is thorough. However, her analysis of ancestral ritual, notably animal sacrifice, reveals little of historical import, while her methods of historical analysis are problematic. First, Cole does not explain why she chose the village of Ambodiharina, or the linguistic and social difficulties encountered in interviewing and the techniques employed to overcome them. More troubling, from a handful of informants who, even in the context of the village itself, are statistically insignificant, she draws generalizations for all Betsimisaraka—a people inhabiting a vast territory covering the north and central portions of the eastern littoral of Madagascar.

Cole consults written sources for background Betsimisaraka history. Those she selects to reconstruct precolonial history are woefully inadequate, however. This is possibly due to her assumption that precolonial Betsimisaraka life was "traditional" and unchanging. Here, as later, Cole fails to heed Middleton's warning that anthropologists need to construct an adequate framework of political economy in which to set their own community microstudies. In the nineteenth century, Betsimisaraka society was profoundly affected by Merina expansionism from the central plateau. Although Cole admits that "enslavement" by the Merina forms a constant refrain in Betsimisaraka "memory landscapes," she gives these memories short shrift. Instead, citing a "personal communication" (p. 293) as a source, she even states that the Betsimisaraka similarly oppressed the Merina. This displays scant regard for the literature, even that consulted (e.g. Manassé Esoavelomandroso, *La province maritime orientale du Royaume de Madagascar à la fin du XIX siècle* [1979]), which clearly demonstrates a brutal Merina conquest and economic exploitation of the Betsimisaraka in a regime of imperial oppression that lasted longer than French colonial rule.

Undaunted, Cole concentrates on the latter. The French, she states, seized land from the Betsimisaraka, upon whom they imposed corvées and the obligation to cultivate coffee as a cash crop. However, Cole overrates the ability of the colonial regime and settlers to intervene in local life, and the negative economic nature of colonialism. From the mid-1920s coffee production rose rapidly, in the 1930s replacing vanilla

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as Madagascar's main cash crop. By 1933 Madagascar was the main coffee producer in the French Empire. Far from being "vulnerable to the predations of the colons" (p. 53) and forced individually to produce cash crops, small Betsimisaraka farmers responded to the price incentive, voluntarily and massively adopting coffee as a supplement to rice cultivation. This enabled most to pay taxes and thus avoid forced labor. Moreover, with lower overheads and rice guaranteeing their self-sufficiency, they proved more efficient and able to survive economic vicissitudes than the generally impoverished monocrop Creole settler. By 1944, the indigenous share of coffee output had reached sixty-eight percent.

When the colonial administration ignored the 1946 French Union ban on forced labor and obliged all Malagasy adult males to perform 200 days of wage labor a year, an uprising erupted as Betsimisaraka farmers resisted the order to neglect their own rice and coffee plantations in order to work for their less successful French rivals. Although suppressed with brutality, the revolt—during which rebels targeted mainly settler coffee farmers—confirmed the demise of the latter: by 1952, Malagasy, chiefly Betsimisaraka, plantations accounted for eighty-four percent of the acreage under coffee and eighty-three percent of coffee exports, and by 1958, most of the remaining Creoles had ceded their coffee plantations to Betsimisaraka tenant farmers. The revolt, revolving around economic more than political issues, had been short and bitter, but in the battle over coffee, the Betsimisaraka triumphed.

This may go some way to explaining why Ambodiharina villagers "did not talk about the events of the colonial period, nor . . . commemorate it; nor . . . seem affected by the violence that occurred" (p. 75). Another contributory factor may be that, in an island with an average life expectancy of fifty-five years, recollections of 1947 are restricted to a tiny number of elderly people, most of whom were children at the time. The few memories of the era that surfaced during a visit by Cole to the village in 1992–1993 also indicate that most villagers were only indirectly involved in the uprising, which they survived relatively unscathed. Cole nevertheless ascribes what she terms a "manic surge of memory" (p. 301) to the presidential elections that occurred while she was there. In this, her most trenchant observation, she links interviewees' memories, and an accompanying sense of social dislocation and "panic," to what she interprets as a traumatic intrusion of state power similar to that experienced in 1947. She is forced to report, however, that, inexplicably, the elections themselves were "astoundingly calm" (p. 301), and villagers, who voted overwhelmingly for the losing candidate, accepted the results without murmur.

In her concern for politics, colonial and postcolonial, Cole scarcely notices an event of possibly far greater significance. In a one-sentence aside she writes: "All of this was exacerbated by a terrible drought that hit the region: the rains were late in coming, and everywhere people complained that if the drought continued there would be no spring harvest and they would all starve" (p. 272). Unlike the imagined "violence" of the elections, the drought was an overt, immediate, and potentially catastrophic menace to local people and their economy. Various studies of droughts and other major natural catastrophes in Malagasy history clearly demonstrated that they are popularly attributed to ancestral/divine anger (see Gwyn Campbell, "Crisis of Faith and Colonial Conquest: The Impact of Famine and Disease in Late Nineteenth-Century Madagascar," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* [1992]: pp. 409–53). Signs of social dislocation, such as debates over broken taboos and "vampire" (*mpaka ra*), that Cole links with a largely peaceable election are far more explicable within the context of ancestral anger. So are efforts to pacify the ancestors through rum libations and prayers of atonement. While Cole notes that immediately after such atonement was made by the village elders, the rains fell and social order was restored, she makes no further comment on the subject.

Although oral traditions and ritual are potentially rich sources of historical evidence, researchers should not let the quest to validate theories about "hidden" historical memories blind them to the complexities of actual village life and economic reality or deter them from applying with rigor basic techniques of historical analysis.

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Philip Frankel. *An Ordinary Atrocity: Sharpeville and Its Massacre*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 263. $30.00.

To students of South African history and politics, the significance of Sharpeville, March 21, 1960, still resonates. We knew that the apartheid system was cruel. But the massacre at Sharpeville, at the time a "model" township in the industrial Vaal triangle south of Johannesburg, stunned all South Africans and was used to galvanize the international community against the increasingly embattled regime in Pretoria. Philip Frankel calls it "the century's defining event . . . an occurrence after whose appearance on the historic landscape of South Africa nothing is quite what it had been" (p. 3). Yet surprisingly little comprehensive scholarly work has been done about that fateful day and its aftermath. Bishop R. Ambrose Reeves's little book, *Shooting at Sharpeville: The Agony of South Africa* (1960) has stood the test of time, but it is not an academic effort, and a good deal of information and data have come to light since its publication. Even the report of the Wessels Commission of Inquiry was never fully published, and the authorities destroyed a mass of documents, some fairly recently. Extraordinarily little is known about the massacre's forensics.

Frankel sets out to dissect and analyze the explosive moment that no one wanted. This has not been easy,

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for there is an almost impenetrable mythology about Sharpeville that challenges objectivity. Both the political Left and the Right have exploited their versions of the myth. The resistance version portrays the massacre as a premeditated attempt by the racist state to punish and intimidate its opponents. The apartheid version maintains that a bloodthirsty mob clearly intended to slaughter the vulnerable police and that the police merely exercised their right of self-defense. Between these two poles is the "massacre as a mistake" theory, a consequence of terror and error. Frankel finds none of these explanations satisfactory.

For Frankel, "None of the actors . . . emerges entirely pristine, notwithstanding one's natural tendency to sympathize with the victims" (p. 176). The crowd that gathered at the police station that morning was "a disparate group with many different motivations, agendas and not without . . . a number of unsavory elements." Crowds of this nature are difficult to control or steer, and this group was to all intents leaderless. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) used its energies to mobilize the crowd. They did little to marshal it.

The police contingent, itself a motley collection of units and individuals, was disorganized and frightened. Their intelligence gathering about the crowd was limited and barely integrated into policy decisions. Senior police officers did virtually nothing to explore the possibilities for peaceful resolution of the standoff. Although we still do not know exactly how many were killed or wounded that day, the volume of police fire was cataclysmic, a "largely gratuitous act of violence inextricably connected with the whole system of racial violence in South Africa" (p. 116). There never was an order to shoot on the crowd.

Afterward the government, the police, the PAC and the African National Congress (ANC) leaderships, and the white and black citizenry tended to be more calculating and instrumental. Each sought in its way to rationalize its behavior and to use the retelling of the events to its own political and psychological ends. Frankel lays out these various versions, although it would appear that Tom Lodge's forthcoming study, *Sharpeville 1960: The Massacre and Its Aftermath* (2002) will focus more completely on post-massacre foreign relations.

Frankel's microscopic narrative of the massacre is thorough and careful. He is excruciatingly fair in his determination not to appear hostile to any of the actors. As a result, he tries to bring out "infinite gradations of responsibility, personal weakness and more ambivalence" (p. 19). He refuses to "divide political reality into neat poles."

This study might be improved by supplying greater background on the competition within South African nationalism in the 1950s: the PAC/ANC division. A map of Sharpeville would also be helpful, indicating the various locales mentioned in the text. On that fateful day, similar protests against the pass laws took place at townships around the country. At Evaton nearby, 15,000 equally threatening Africans surrounded the police station. Yet for some reason the Evaton demonstration never turned into a slaughter. Why? A comparative study of the two circumstances might suggest more definitive answers.

Although it is clear that the "new" democratic South Africa owns the memory of Sharpeville, Frankel stresses that precisely what that memory consists of is not beyond dispute. It is unfortunate that this meticulous microhistory never arrives at more definitive conclusions. Perhaps it is the lesson of this study that complex episodes shrouded in enigma are invariably subject to political manipulation and may never produce unchallenged clarity.

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Film Reviews

THE FOUR FEATHERS. Produced by Paul Feldsher; directed by Shekhar Kapur; screenplay by Hossein Amini and Michael Schiffer. 2002; color; 125 minutes. Distributed by Miramax.

A. E. W. Mason's classic adventure novel *The Four Feathers*, published in 1902, became his most popular and enduring work. It was inspired by a trip the author made to Egypt, which included a stay in Khartoum and the ruined city of Omdurman, where Lord Kitchener had broken the Khalifa's power two years earlier. Nearby was the notorious prison called the House of Stone, where the Khalifa's captives had been imprisoned like sheep in a pen. There, Mason heard legends of a man, disguised as a dervish, who had assisted in the escape of a number of British prisoners. From this character evolved Mason's protagonist, Harry Feversham.

From boyhood, the novel tells us, Harry had been regaled by his father with blood-chilling stories of atrocities in the Crimean War. Now, as an adult he is horrified at the prospect of being called to military service in the Sudan. Disgraced when he resigns from his regiment, and subsequently presented by his friends and fiancée with the dreaded "white feather" of cowardice, Harry resolves to travel in disguise to the Sudan to return the feathers to his accusers. Ultimately, his action constitutes what Mason's biographer, Roger Lancelyn Green, describes as "that finest bravery of all which can endure danger and pain in spite of the vivid imagination which urges him to run away" (*A. E. W. Mason: The Adventure of a Story-Teller* [1952], p. 89).

Shekhar Kapur's recent screen adaptation of *The Four Feathers* proves once again that the novel's historical complexities and lengthy, fine-tuned philosophizings about duty, bravery, and cowardice are too complex to survive cinematic translation. Even such a simple detail as the spelling of Harry Feversham's name has varied from film to film. Moreover, Mason's determination to limit his overview of British military operations in the Sudan to a handful of skirmishes and his insistence on keeping his central character offstage for extended periods of time has left little room for the graphic spectacle and heroic exploits a commercial cinema audience demands. All the film versions—a rough count reveals at least seven, including a 1915 silent film, David O. Selznick's early talkie (1929), and director Alexander Korda's Technicolor production (1939) as well as Korda's remake of his own film in *Storm over the Nile* (1955)—reduce the historical context to a few passing references to Egypt's strategic importance to British imperial interests and to the rise of an Islamic jihad in the Sudan, replace the philosophical and moral debates with action scenes, and place Harry, so enigmatic and elusive in the book, in the forefront of the story, bent more on proving his public patriotism than on recovering his personal honor. Apparently, moviemakers have insisted, the less we know about British colonialism and the psychological vagaries of human nature, the better.

The newest version of *The Four Feathers* demonstrates once again that the complexities of historical contexts, the debates about ethical and psychological issues, and the layerings of Mason's multiple-viewpoint narrative strategy must be sacrificed to the demands of more conventional, streamlined entertainment. Egyptians, English, Africans, and Muslim fanatics all mix and blur in a confusing mass of indeterminate characterizations and ill-defined motivations. The backstory establishing Harry's longstanding fear of war has vanished. All we know at the film's opening is that, as a young officer, he prefers rugby to soldiering. Later, he resigns his commission more out of confusion and fear than out of deeply rooted psychological conflicts. And his decision to leave England for the Sudan is spurred by news of his comrade's entrapment by the Mahdi's fanatics, not, as in the book, by the private imperatives of his own redemption. In other words, he is more bent on rescuing his mates than finding himself.

Moreover, the avowed primary aims of filmmakers Kapur and Hossein Amini to present a revisionist view of British empire building are little in evidence. "It's a fascinating story," they declare in the pressbook: "Imperial England was confronting a world and a society about which it knew very little. Those young men went from fantastic country mansions into the middle of the desert, and in the end their overconfidence and belief in their superiority led to mistakes and ultimately disaster." Such admirable intentions notwithstanding—and astute as Amini has been in his other screen adaptations of literary works (witness the admirable

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job he did on Henry James's *The Wings of the Dove* [1997]), and successful as Kapur has been in the pageantry of his earlier film, *Elizabeth* (1998)—the two men fail to achieve their goal. The Mahdi is made to seem like an evil precursor to Osama bin Laden. And apart from one line of dialogue (when an Arab declares to Harry, "You English walk too proudly on the earth"), the film clings to a standard pro-British agenda. There are no references, for example, to the later inglorious British defeat of the Mahdi at Omdurman in 1898, when soldiers on horseback mowed down the dervishes with automatic weapons, yielding a final body count of 11,000 Mahdists to twenty-eight British soldiers.

For what it is worth, Kapur's film does sport impressive location photography in areas in Morocco such as the tall mountains of Fint and the 600-year-old town of Ait Ben Hobdou (which stands in for the fortress of Abou Clea), as well as in English sites like Blenheim Palace and Hyde Claiare Castle. To paraphrase Dorothy Parker, a viewer will emerge from the theater whistling the scenery, albeit in martial rhythm.

JOHN C. TIBBETTS
University of Kansas

THE GATHERING STORM. Directed by Richard Loncraine; produced by Frank Doelger and David M. Thompson for BBC and HBO; screenplay by Hugh Whitemore from the story by Larry Ramin and Hugh Whitemore. 2002; color; 95 minutes. Distributed in the U.S. by HBO Pictures.

The reputation of Winston Churchill has seldom been higher. In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, New York Mayor Rudi Giuliani pointedly brandished a copy of John Lukacs's *Five Days in London, May 1940* (1999) and sent that slim volume on Churchill's accession to power onto the bestseller list. A full-scale biography by Roy Jenkins (*Churchill* [2001]) sold well on both sides of the Atlantic, while in the United Kingdom a national television poll conducted in autumn 2002 named Churchill as the "greatest Briton of all time." Whatever the historical realities, Churchill's name has come to be a byword for political tenacity, for holding fast to one's ideals when others counsel compromise, and for standing up to aggressors. It is this image of Churchill that sits at the center of Richard Loncraine's television film *The Gathering Storm*.

British director Loncraine is best known for his magnificent film adaptation of William Shakespeare's *Richard III* (1995), but his television work has included the second (D-Day) episode of HBO's *Band of Brothers* (2001). Like *Band of Brothers*, *The Gathering Storm* is a transatlantic coproduction linking the BBC, HBO, and Hollywood producers on a mission to memorialize. In the case of *The Gathering Storm*, prime movers included the British-born brothers and star directors Ridley and Tony Scott (who served as executive producers for the film). Whereas *Band of Brothers* sought to tell the story of World War II from below, writing in the ordinary soldier, *The Gathering Storm* returns to the "great man" theory of history, redirecting attention to the central figure of Churchill.

The film follows Churchill through his political exile during the 1930s, when, demoted to the back benches of Parliament, he wrestled with personal depression and financial crises, wrote a biography of his great ancestor, the duke of Marlborough, and learned to paint and lay bricks. While colleagues in the Conservative government attempted to appease Adolf Hitler, Churchill became the chief spokesman for preparedness in the face of the totalitarian threat and returned to office on the outbreak of war in 1939 as First Lord of the Admiralty. Around these bones, veteran television dramatist Hugh Whitemore has fleshed out a fictionalized account of Churchill's domestic and political activity in the mid-1930s. Whitemore's credits go back to the BBC's pioneering "Wednesday Plays" of the 1960s and include the acclaimed adaptation of Anthony Powell's *A Dance to the Music of Time* (1997).

This latest work of Whitemore's obviously hangs on the shoulders of its central performer. Albert Finney's portrayal of Churchill is sensitive and nuanced, avoiding the clichés of sixty years of schoolboy mimicry of the wartime prime minister. The key scenes in which Churchill struggles to maintain his relationship with his long suffering wife Clemmie (Vanessa Redgrave) are particularly touching and suggest a childlike vulnerability within the old war horse. The supporting actors are persuasive and cast with a keen eye for likeness, while the authentic setting of Churchill's country seat of Chartwell in Kent lends added verisimilitude. Winning cameos include the celebrated British comedian Ronnie Barker playing Churchill's butler, Inches.

Despite its lavish eye for detail and Finney's almost supernatural recreation of Churchill, however, *The Gathering Storm* remains flawed. This is no revisionist account of Churchill but rather a step back from the complex treatments seen in historical writing in the 1970s and 1980s to the hagiography of the years following Churchill's death in 1965. The portrait of Churchill suffers from a certain flattening as a result. Criticism of Churchill's irascible nature, for example, actually serves to make him more human and appealing.

Churchill's role in the rearmament debate is simplified for dramatic reasons. His political opponents are caricatured while his more ambiguous political positions, such as support for a rapprochement with Benito Mussolini, are omitted. The anti-appeasement subplot focuses on a young Foreign Office diplomat, Ralph Wigram (Linus Roache), and his courage in passing classified documents to Churchill. The film posits political harassment of Wigram leading to premature a death or even suicide, claims that cannot be substantiated in the historical record. More significantly, *The Gathering Storm* glosses over the rest of the anti-appeasement lobby, including the key role of the

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Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, who resigned from office at the time of the Munich Crisis (also omitted) and attracted a considerable circle of opposition. The central architect of appeasement, Neville Chamberlain, is nowhere to be seen.

While this is a watchable and rousing piece, it cannot be said to advance Churchill historiography. The curious would do better to refer back to the splendid miniseries *Winston Churchill: The Wilderness Years*, written and directed by Ferdinand Fairfax (Southern Television, UK, 1981; seen on PBS's Masterpiece Theatre in 1983 and now rereleased on DVD by Media Blasters). *The Wilderness Years* covered much the same ground as *The Gathering Storm* but, in eight one-hour episodes, did so without oversimplification or extremes of compression. By contrast, rather than opening a discussion of Churchill, *The Gathering Storm* reduces him to a recruiting-poster icon, easily appropriated for causes not necessarily as worthy as opposition to Nazi Germany.

NICHOLAS J. CULL
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BLIND SPOT: HITLER'S SECRETARY. (*Im toten Winkel: Hitlers Sekretärin.*) Directed by André Heller and Othmar Schmiderer; produced by Danny Krausz and Kurt Stocker; written by Melissa Müller. 2002; color; 90 mins. Austria. German with English subtitles. Distributed by Sony Pictures Classics.

Traudl Junge was thirteen years old when Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany. Nine years later, by some fortuitous (or demonic) confluence of events, she, then a naïve and impressionable young woman, was invited to be one of Hitler's secretaries. After nearly six decades, the writer Melissa Müller persuaded the terminally ill Junge to acquiesce in filming a documentary about her experiences with Hitler at the Wolf's Lair and Berchtesgarden, on Hitler's special train, and, finally, in the Führer's bunker during the closing days of World War II.

André Heller and documentary filmmaker Othmar Schmiderer condensed ten hours of interviews, filmed in Junge's Munich apartment in three segments, into ninety minutes of riveting film. There is not much here that is new to historians of the period, but the firsthand account, together with the filmmaker's decision to do without the usual enhancing techniques of documentaries (music, still photos, or newsreel footage), creates a singular intensity that sometimes slips perilously close to being overbearing. The camera never moves from a thoughtful and introspective Junge; she is sometimes moved and often perplexed by what she describes as her own youthful foolishness. She readily admits that she was a conformist (but curiously, never a member of the National Socialist Party). A child of a divorced mother, Junge saw Hitler as a paternal and charming figure. But, as she acknowledges, when these figures disappoint or betray us, our grief is only compounded. The only moment when she loses her composure is in narrating what happened to Joseph Goebbels's children in the bunker.

Heller has chosen to edit out most of his questions and promptings (indeed, he is heard only twice asking a question), but this does not detract from our understanding of Junge's narrative. One question he does ask concerns love, and Junge realizes here, for the first time and a bit late, that love was alien to Hitler. The last forty minutes of the film are devoted to Junge's description of the conditions and events in Hitler's bunker, deep beneath Berlin, in the waning days of the war. It is an extraordinary segment: Junge needs no prompting from Heller, there are no cuts or edits, and the camera is unwavering.

At certain moments, the camera focuses on Junge as she watches herself speaking from earlier tapes and is embarrassed by the banal stories she recounts about Hitler and everyday life at Berchtesgarden with Hitler's Alsatian, Blondie. Of course, without historical documents or contrasting eyewitness accounts, there is no way to gauge how much of Junge's account is sincere or to what degree her protestations of ignorance are valid. She is willing to confess to the relatively minor sins of naïveté, banality, folly, and blindness. Junge admits that she "was in a blind spot" but does not explain whether that blindness was derived from ignorance or was a willed response designed to protect her from the immense evil so near. In a brief epilogue, she twice uses the expression "coming to terms with the past" to describe life in postwar Germany. In the immediate wake of the war, she was unable to see any connection between her past and what the Allies documented in the camps, claiming that it was only with the Nuremberg Trials that she first began to fully comprehend the enormity of what had transpired in Europe under Hitler.

The film has its own curious history of coincidences and ironic counterpoints. Heller's father was a Jew in Austria whose family was decimated in the Holocaust and whose addiction to opium amounted to "suicide in installments," according to his son. Fifty-five years after the end of World War II, the son was presented with an opportunity to interview Hitler's secretary. Junge eventually settled in Munich where, on Franz Josef Strasse, she passed a statue dedicated to Sophie Scholl, martyred member of the anti-Nazi White Rose underground movement. One day, Junge realized with a shock that when Scholl was killed along with her brother Hans, she was the same age as when Junge began working for Hitler. At that moment, Junge confesses, she understood that "being young was no excuse." Junge died from cancer in February 2002, just hours after the film had its world premier at the Berlin International Film Festival. Her memoir, *In the Final Hours*, had been published a few days earlier.

STANISLAO G. PUGLIESE
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WE WERE SOLDIERS. Written and directed by Randall Wallace; produced by Bruce Davey, Stephen

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McEveety, and Randall Wallace. 2002; color; 138 minutes. Distributed by Paramount Pictures.

This film is based on the book *We Were Soldiers Once—And Young* (1992), by Lieutenant General Harold Moore (retired) and photojournalist Joseph Galloway (both of whom, along with other veterans of the battle, worked closely with the film's production), about the first major battle of the Vietnam War between Americans and North Vietnamese, at Landing Zone X-Ray in the Ia Drang "Valley of Death," November 14–16, 1965. Moore believes the film shows four essential themes: the battle's intensity, how soldiers fight for each other, respect for the enemy, and grief at home. It also shows that Randall Wallace's cameras can recreate modern warfare as vividly as they did its medieval version in *Braveheart* (1995), moving alongside men and machines in the flow and shock of close and air-mobile combat. Overall, the film keeps faith with the battle's veterans and the book's memorial intent.

Wallace works with a solid group of actors in his recreation of the battle. Mel Gibson is a very human Moore, Madeleine Stowe a strengtheningly loving Julia Moore, and Sam Elliot an unforgettable Sergeant Major Plumley; Greg Kinnear plays the doggedly loyal pilot Bruce Crandall and Chris Klein the idealistic young Lieutenant Geoghegan. But it is Barry Pepper's earnest performance as Galloway and his reverent, Southern narration (to Nick Glennie-Smith's haunting tune) that really set the tone and context of this cinematic remembrance.

Something fundamental omitted from the film is the Kennedy generation's idealism: its determination to go anywhere, pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship to defend people from communist totalitarianism. Instead, we get Lyndon B. Johnson's terse TV announcement that the division is being shipped to Vietnam to meet manpower needs. Even if Hollywood is now willing to "rehabilitate" the U.S. military for another war, it apparently still cannot admit any rectitude to the Vietnam War after repudiating it all these years.

Although the film presents its own history vividly, it is not the whole truth. *We Were Soldiers* omits any mention of the near-massacre of another officer's battalion at LZ Albany following the battle of Ia Drang, an episode included in the book. Neither does the film show North Vietnamese soldiers methodically executing American wounded, as did happen in the actual battle. Although Moore did lead a bayonet charge, the film leaves out the massive preparatory Air Force bombardment—significantly more than two helicopters' fire—that shattered any effective resistance. And, despite the hope that the film would be well received in Vietnam, it has in fact been bitterly denounced there; actor Don Duong was actually accused of being a traitor for his role in it, even though Colonel An and his men are portrayed as being every bit as able, brave, and dutiful as U.S. soldiers and flyers were.

The West Point Class of 2002 had the highest number of infantry applications in many years after the film premiered there. If, however, Hollywood intended *We Were Soldiers* to promote a prospective war of which it approves, the horror subverts that. We see a medic digging flaming phosphorus out of a GI's face with a bayonet. An Asian-American soldier is charred into screaming agony by friendly fire napalm (the actual Jimmy Nakayama died two days later, never to see his newborn daughter). The quick, high mortality of young combat officers is shown, as is the terrible lifelong responsibility—even guilt—felt by many commanders and also by survivors generally.

Moreover, unlike *Black Hawk Down* (2001), this film portrays the social, family side of military life. Over coffee, the wives, many sporting "Jackie" hairdos, decry off-post discrimination at a time when the Army had begun ruthlessly exorcising racism from the service. Contrary to the spacious homes shown in the film, most families' on-post quarters were modest, and families were ordered out after their men had been shipped off to war. Comparatively low military pay forced them into substandard civilian housing, and even worse for black families. Although it is a moving dramatic device to have Mrs. Moore personally deliver the telegram notifications of death herself, she did not in fact do so. Instead, after discovering that the messages had been delivered by cab drivers, she visited every grieving family she could find.

Like *The Killing Fields* (1980), this film is emotionally wrenching and difficult to watch. Nevertheless, despite any flaws, it should be viewed by every adult American, let alone prospective soldiers. Responsibility for young lives, to see they are not wasted or forgotten, should be felt not just by their commanders but by all the rest of us who would send them into such hell. *We Were Soldiers* holds us all accountable to see that their faith, trust, and sacrifices, which it so passionately portrays, are not betrayed again.

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Long Night's Journey Into Day. Produced, directed, and written by Frances Reid and Deborah Hoffmann. 2000; color; 94 minutes. Distributed by California Newsreel.

In 1996, the Open University (London, England) convened a conference to discuss the role of the performing arts in a post-apartheid South Africa. Although papers at the conference focused more on the theater, its sister art form, film, was included in the discussion. Such films as *A Dry White Season* (1989), *Cry Freedom* (1987), *Sarafina!* (1992), *The Power of One* (1992), and *Mapantsula* (1988) were discussed alongside plays such as Athol Fugard, John Kani, Winston Ntshona's *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* (1972) and *The Island* (1973), Fugard's *Statements After an Arrest*

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Under the Immorality Act (1974), *My Children! My Africa!* (1989), Barney Simon, Mbongeni Ngema, and Percy Mtwa's *Woza Albert!* (1980), and Ngema's controversial *Sarafina 2* (1995). It was agreed that the performing arts must continue the interventionary role they had assumed during the apartheid years in their opposition to and exposure of the regime's systemic inhumanity and brutality. Frances Reid and Deborah Hoffmann's *Long Night's Journey Into Day* fulfills this aim by focusing on revelations about the apartheid era from sessions of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the instrument with which post-apartheid South Africa has sought to face the record of the nation's past. Reid and Hoffman's film joins a growing number of works that engage the operations of the TRC, including Bill Moyers's documentary, *Facing the Truth* (1999), and Jane Taylor's *Ubu and the Truth Commission* (1998), which uses theater to examine that experience.

The TRC was set up in 1995 to promote national unity and reconciliation in a country that had been torn apart by forty-five years of apartheid and armed struggle. It functioned through three committees: the Human Rights Violation Committee, the Amnesty Committee, and the Reparations and Rehabilitation Committee. The amnesty-granting power of the commission proved the most contentious part of its mandate. The basic doctrine on which the TRC was framed—that confession and forgiveness would heal both victim and perpetrator—was also challenged by some survivors and families of victims as perpetuating unresolved injustice.

Long Night's Journey Into Day documents four cases: the murder of a young white American woman, Amy Biehl, by four young black South African men, and the meeting between Biehl's parents and of the mother of Mongezi Manquina, one of her killers; the "Cradock 4" murders, in which Eric Taylor, a white police officer, reveals his role in the killing of four black young men and meets with the families of his victims; the car bomb detonated by Robert McBride, a black activist of the African National Congress (ANC), outside a bar, claiming a number of civilian casualties; and the "Guguletu 7," the case of seven black young men who were set up, killed, and had incriminating evidence planted on them by police officers of the apartheid government. All these cases bring the perpetrators and families of the victims face to face in the search for truth, forgiveness, and reconciliation.

Reid and Hoffmann's film is important on several levels. Its departure from what Friedrich Nietzsche (in his *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life* [1874]) labels "monumental" history invites a refreshing examination of our conceptualization of history, even of the documentary tradition of film history. In monumental history, we listen to or proclaim the achievement of the "great" ones, those above us, who are celebrated in national chronicles, festivals, and carnivals. It is history that ignores the "ordinary" people. *Long Night's Journey* refuses to focus on South African political leaders such as Nelson Mandela, F. W. de Klerk, and P. W. Botha. When the film brings in Desmond Tutu, it is simply in his role as the chair of the TRC. Instead we are reminded of the anonymous dead who are not present to testify, and of the many more who suffered and died or who have been physically and mentally maimed for their opposition of apartheid. It is to these people and their representatives that the film gives visibility and voice. Biehl, the American student who was killed while working with the ANC in Guguletu, enters this type of history.

At another level, *Long Night's Journey* allows an examination of the role of religion in politics, in this case the relationship between Christianity and apartheid. It is particularly significant that, at a time when the world is discussing the relationship between radical Islamic teaching and terrorism, the film opens a historical window to view the unholy alliance between Christianity and state-promoted terrorism against South African citizens. Apartheid police officers such as Taylor reveal that state-sponsored terrorism was used in order to "protect Christianity" and to "uphold the apartheid government." Although much of that terrorism was directed at blacks, one must recall that white anti-apartheid activists suffered the same fate. Albie Sachs, a white South African, was driven into exile for twenty-four years. In 1988, he lost his right hand and suffered severe physical mutilations in an explosion when South African government agents allegedly booby-trapped his car in Mozambique.

Although *Long Night's Journey into Day* is a powerful documentary that successfully reveals the horrors of apartheid, it is difficult for the informed viewer not to interrogate some aspects of the four cases documented. Since apartheid was a white South African government institution, mostly directed and executed by white authorities, it would have been more historically accurate to select a majority of cases to reflect this. The film seems to show the crimes of apartheid as mostly black-on-black or black-on-white violence and terrorism. The black South Africans who are mostly the victims of apartheid thus come across as its guilty perpetrators. Although this is not the filmmakers' intention, it is a conclusion difficult to avoid when one examines the four selected cases: three of the four cases depict black males killing a white American female, three white South African women, and seven black South African youths; only one very visible case concerns a white police officer who has killed four black youths. Why do we not hear the story told to the TRC of Kondile Gcinisizwe, who was killed in police detention in 1981? In order to destroy all evidence of his existence, Gcinisizwe's corpse was burned while police officers were drinking and having a "braai" (barbecue) by the fire. Why do we not hear how fourteen-year-old Patrick Mzathi had his penis and testicles pushed into a drawer that was then slammed shut? What happened to Ntombizanele Zingxondo's testimony to the TRC that her breasts were squeezed repeatedly in a drawer until "white sticky stuff" came

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out of the nipples? Narrating such incidents, even if there is no space to show the actual testimonies, would only increase the gripping impact of the film on audiences worldwide. These concerns do not diminish the importance of this film, however. It won the Grand Jury Prize at the 2000 Sundance Film Festival.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JAMES MARTEN, editor. *Children and War: A Historical Anthology*. Foreword by ROBERT COLES. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 313. Cloth $55.00, paper $20.00.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In the June 2002 issue of the *AHR*, John S. Conway's review of *The Red Cross and the Holocaust* by Jean-Claude Favez [p. 959] asserts that the failure of the Soviet Union to sign the Geneva Convention of 1929 on POWs "provided the excuse for the Nazis to maltreat the vast numbers of Soviet prisoners of war taken after 1941, who were allowed to die in terrible conditions" and left the International Committee of the Red Cross "powerless to intervene." This attempt to discredit the Soviet Union has been repeated a number of times and reflects a common lack of objectivity in the realm of Soviet studies. It has been well documented that, in gross defiance of decency and international law, an estimated 3 to 4 million Soviet POWs died in German hands, the victims of murder, maltreatment, exposure, and starvation. What but an eagerness to pounce on an opportunity to discredit Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union could lend credence to "an excuse" for such atrocities? Are we really to assume that if the Soviets had signed the Geneva Convention this would have stimulated some latent humanity of the Nazi regime or a new competence from the notoriously ineffective ICRC?

The world is well aware of the vicious Nazi treatment of Jews, gypsies, homosexuals, and civilians in occupied areas, but it neglects what has been termed "the forgotten holocaust" inflicted on the Soviet Union (Theo J. Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia*, 1989, 180). Prior to its invasion of the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany issued four notorious "criminal orders" (*ibid.*, 13) depicting that invasion as a racial mission against a purportedly subhuman and evil combination of Slavs, Jewish Bolsheviks, and Asian Hordes, none of whom were considered entitled to standard legal rights or the rules of military conduct. One such order called for the execution of any captured Red Army political commissar, and Adolf Hitler personally urged his troops on the Eastern front "to remember that the enemy was not composed of soldiers, but of animals" (*ibid.*, 191). As Soviet soldiers endured the barbarous consequences of such doctrines, the Soviet Union nevertheless pledged adherence to the protective provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907 and expressed general agreement with the principles of the Geneva Convention, except for Article 9, which provided for the segregation of POWs by race. While the still-segregationist United States accepted Article 9 (a State Department official considering it "designed to segregate prisoners for their own benefit and protection"; *Foreign Relations of the United States* ([1941], vol. 1: 1019), the Soviet Union rejected it as a racist violation of the Soviet constitution. Considering the racist essence of the Nazi onslaught, this was of more than peripheral concern. At that time, Germany was already bound by the Geneva Convention, and since this proved no deterrent to Germany's murderous treatment of Soviet POWs, the Soviet Union doubted the usefulness of the Geneva Convention or the ICRC and would neither trust nor dignify the Nazi regime by providing it with "the slightest pretext" (*ibid.* [1942], vol. 3: 567) for claiming adherence to civilized principles or international law.

EPHRAIM SCHULMAN
Valdosta, Georgia
OTTO H. OLSEN
Gainesville, Florida

JOHN S. CONWAY REPLIES:

In response to the letter from Ephraim Schulman and Otto Olsen, neither I in my review nor Jean-Claude Favez in his book sought to diminish the horror at the maltreatment of Soviet POWs at the hands of the Germans. The fact remains that British and American POWs were treated according to the provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1929 throughout the major part of the war. Whether the Nazi military and political authorities would have treated Soviet POWs differently if the Soviet Union had signed the Convention must remain a matter of speculation. Recent scholarship, published also in Germany, indicates that increasing attention is being paid to the fate of what Schulman and Olsen call "the forgotten holocaust."

It was always and still remains the principal aim of the International Committee of the Red Cross to mitigate the sufferings of all prisoners of war of whatever nationality.

JOHN S. CONWAY
University of British Columbia

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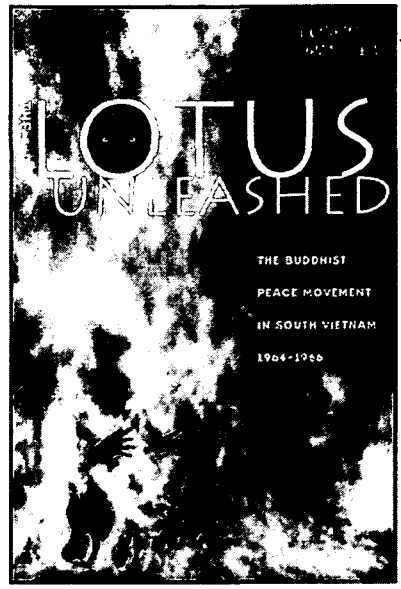
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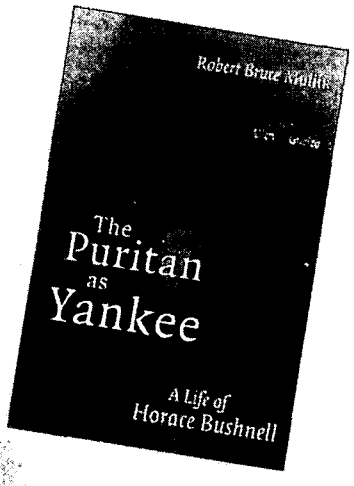
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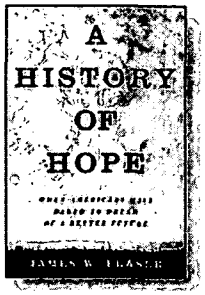
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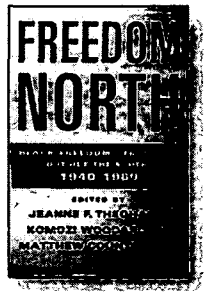
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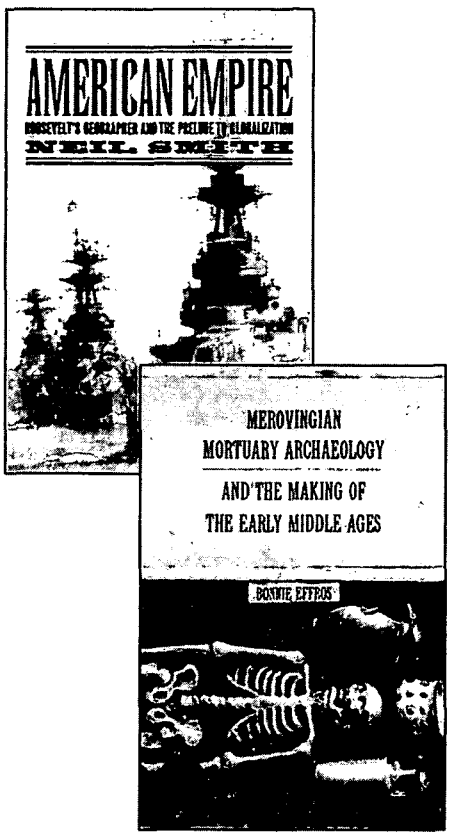
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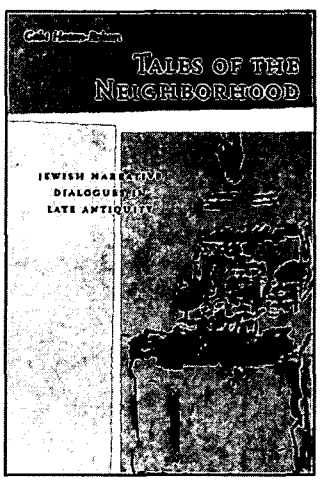


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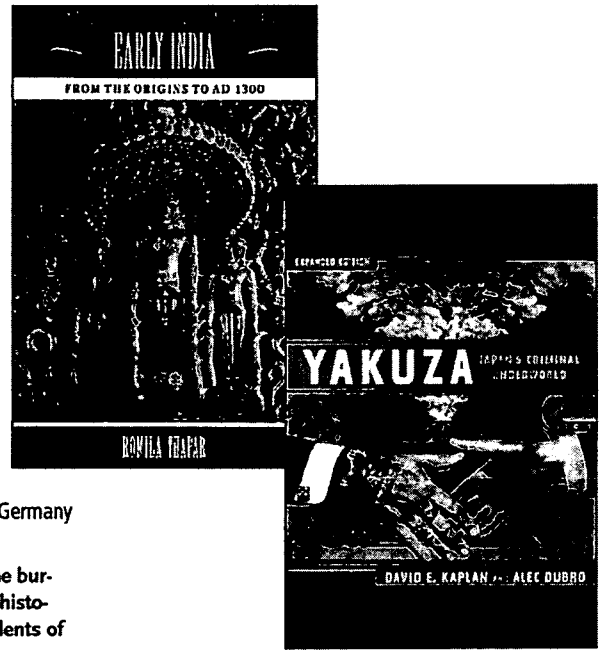
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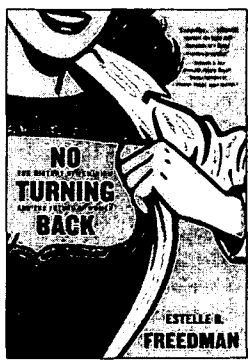
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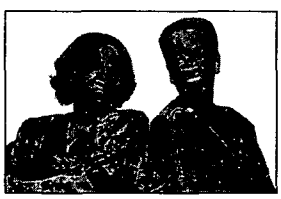
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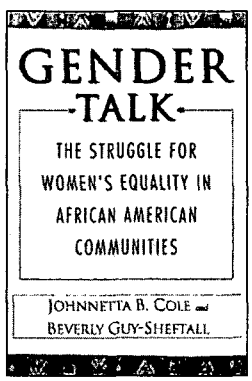
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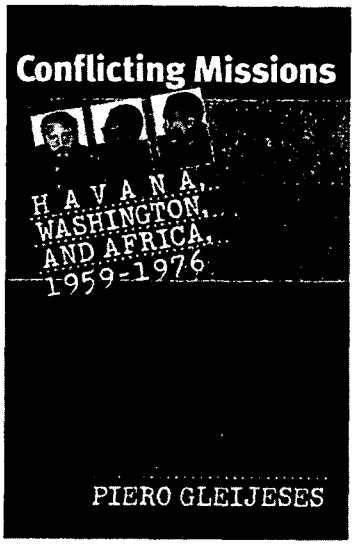
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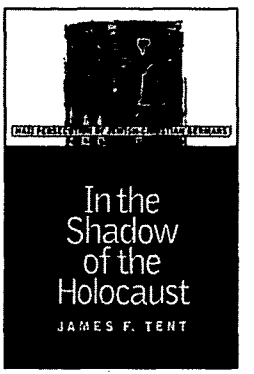
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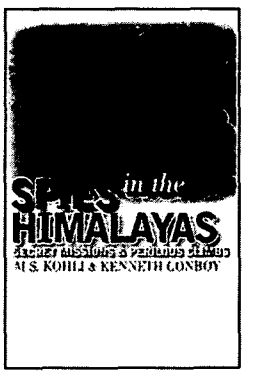
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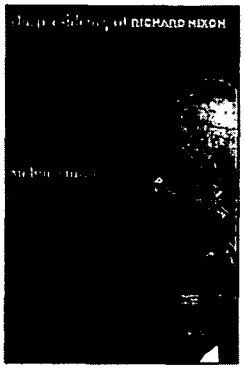
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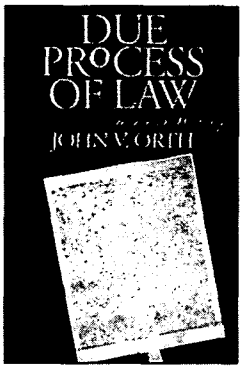
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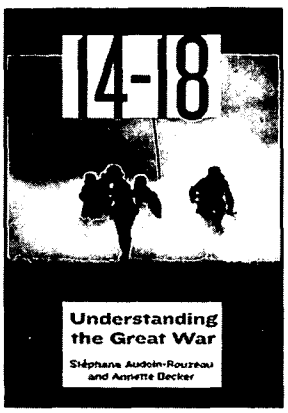
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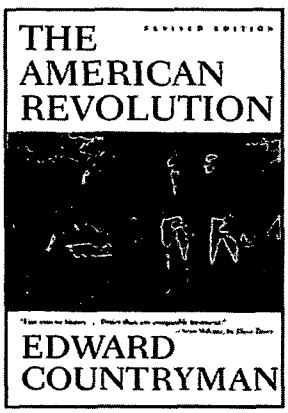
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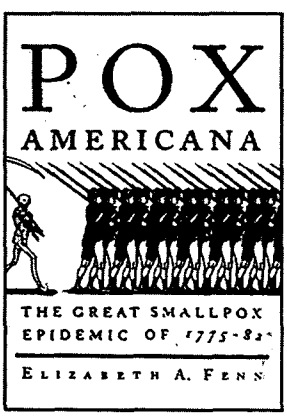
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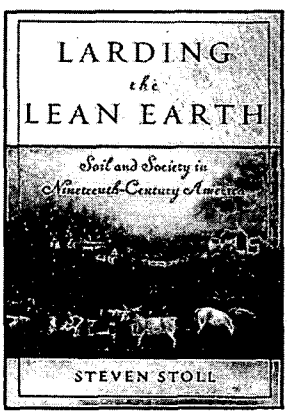
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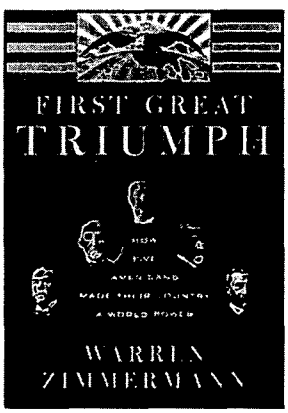
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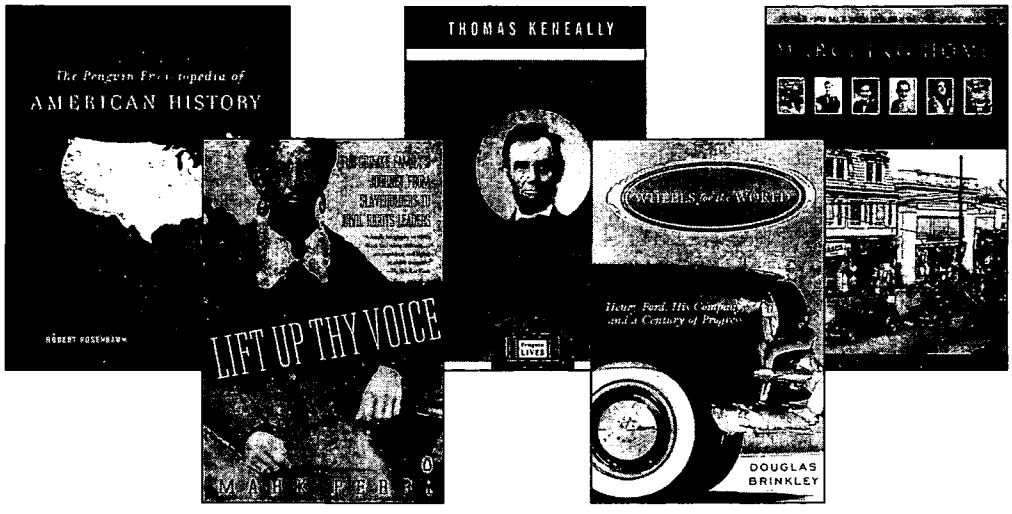


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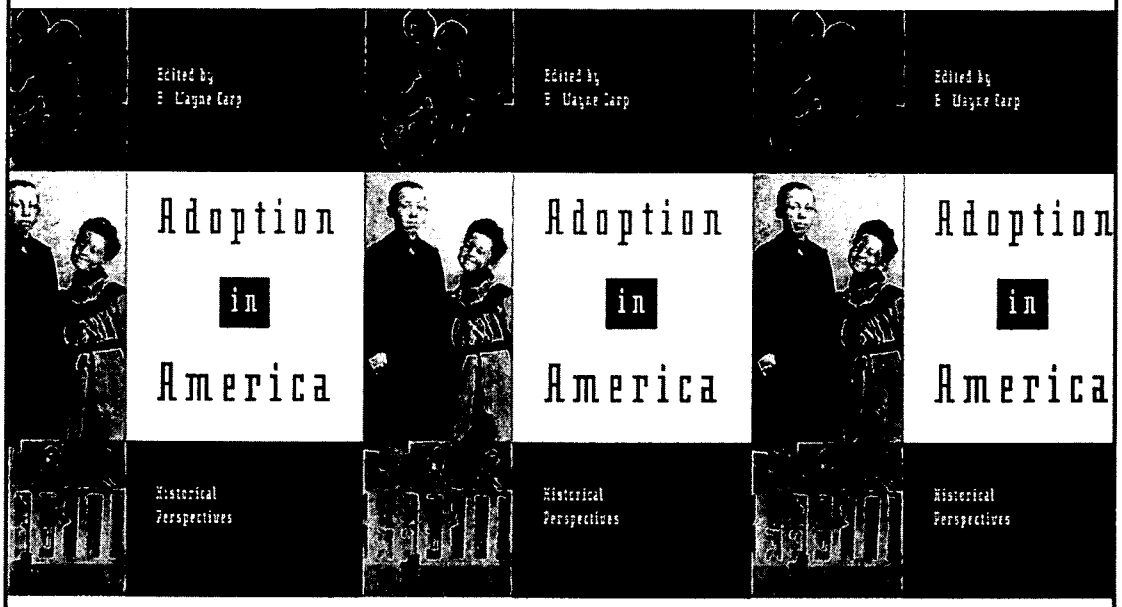
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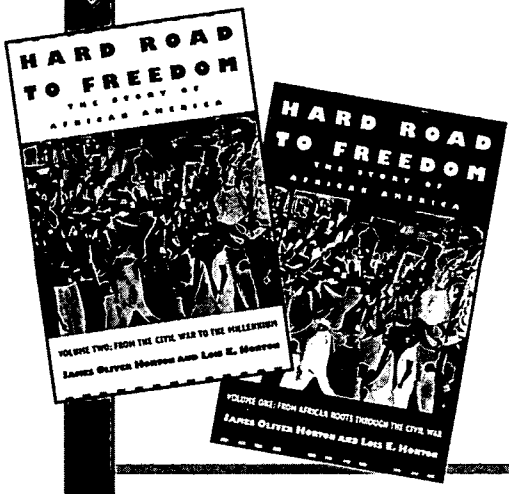
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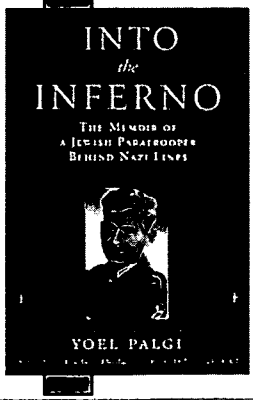
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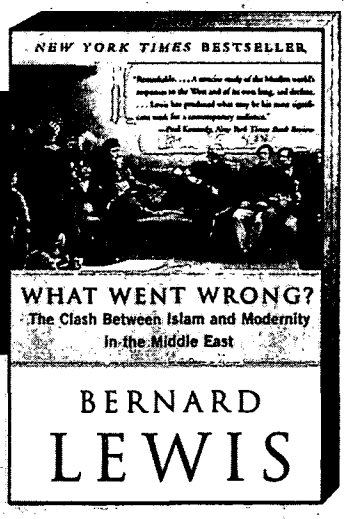
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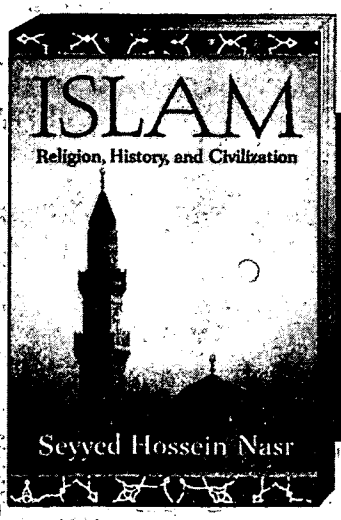
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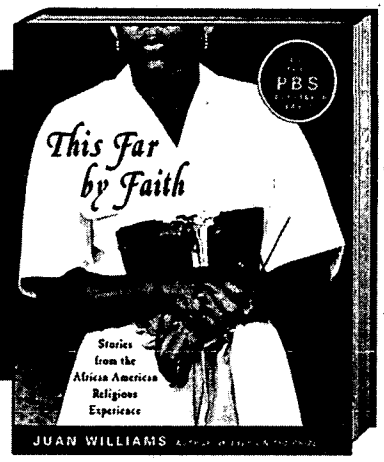
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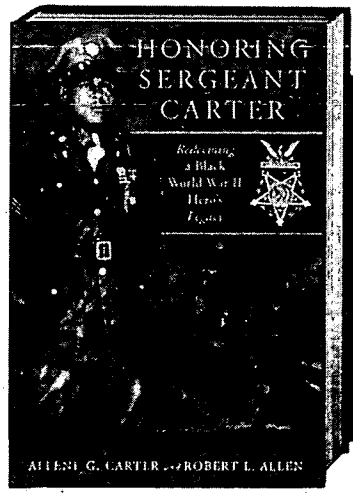
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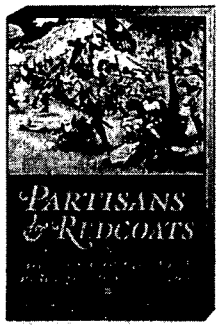
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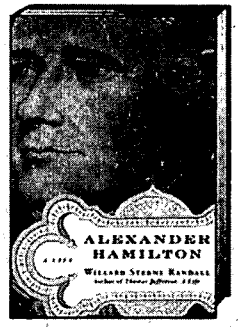
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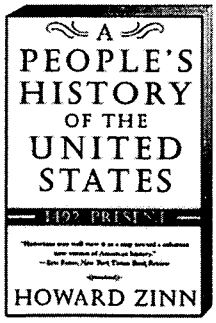
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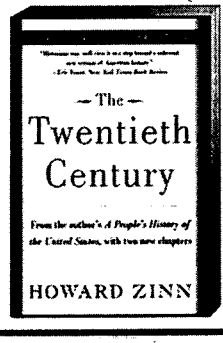
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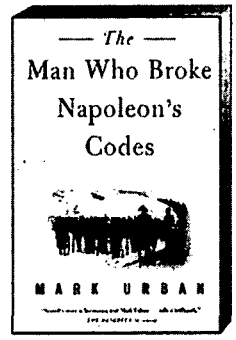
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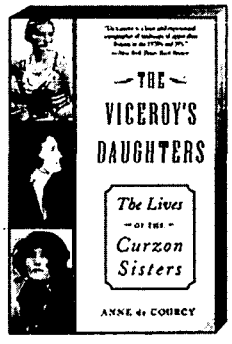
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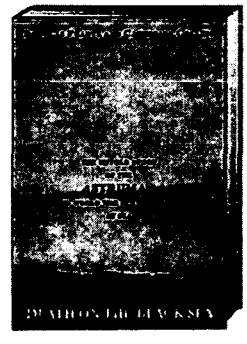
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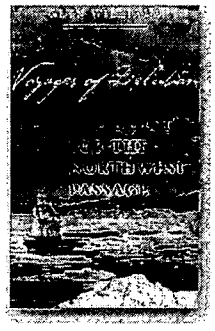


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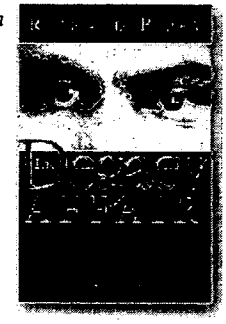
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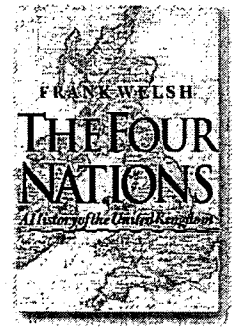


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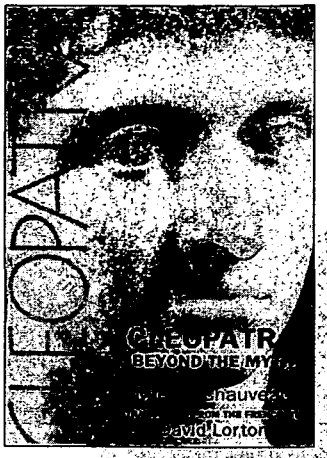
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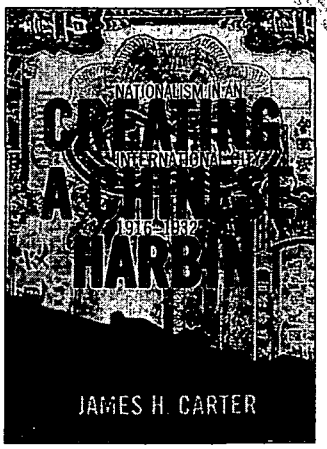
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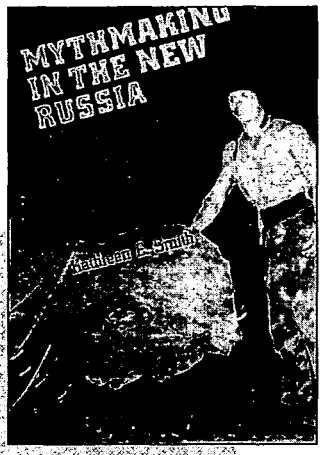


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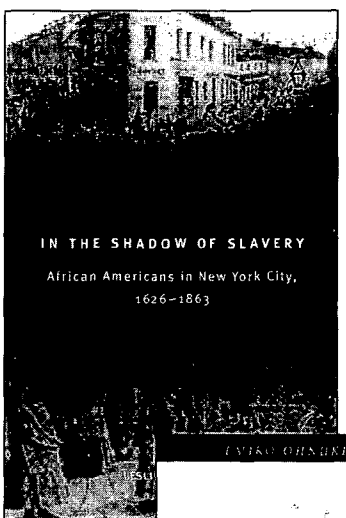
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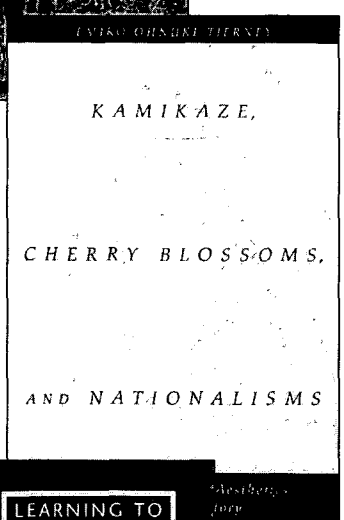
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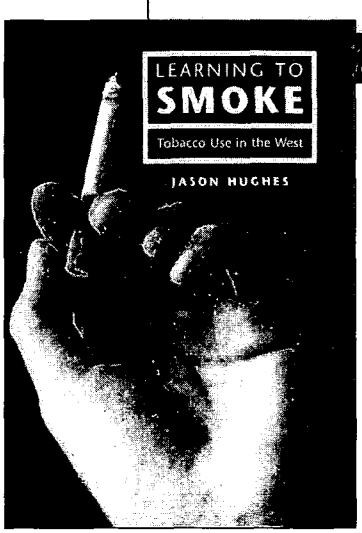
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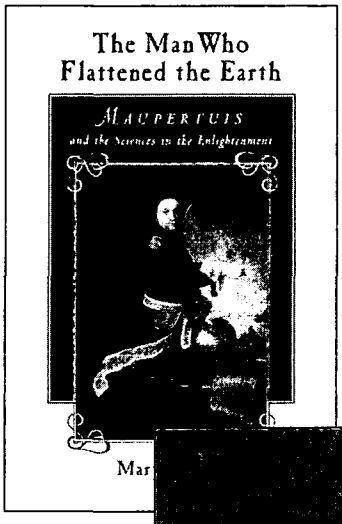
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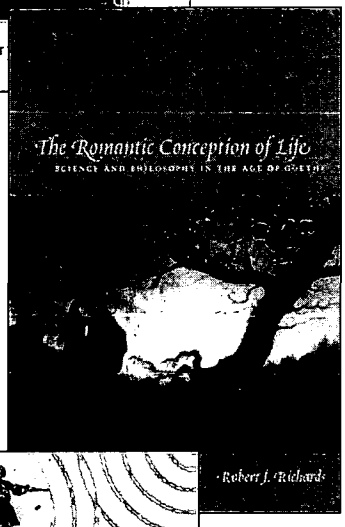
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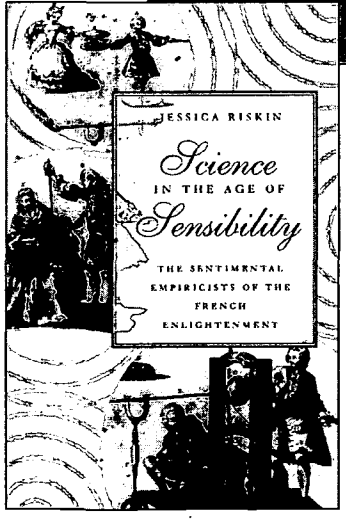
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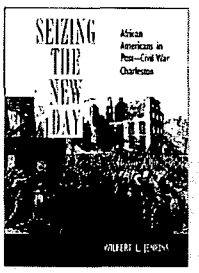
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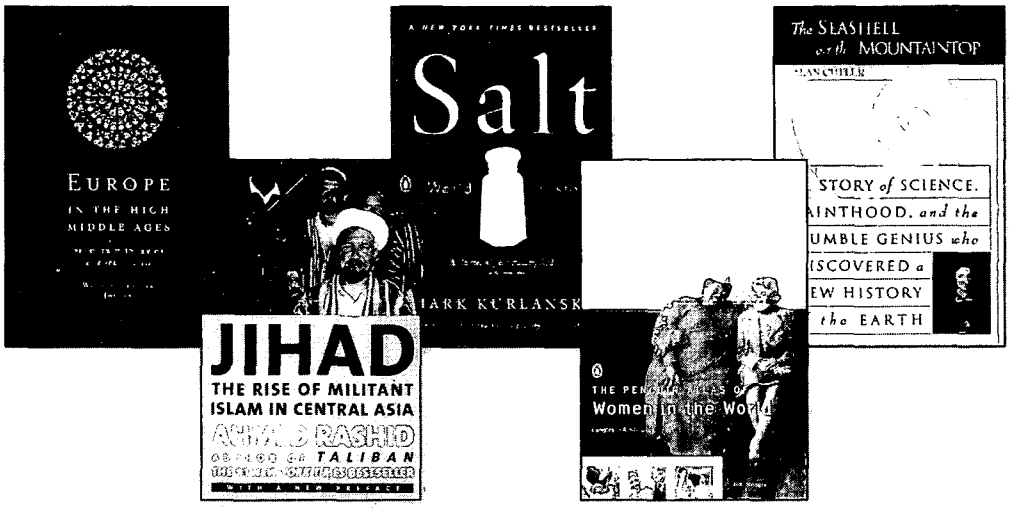
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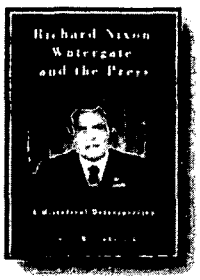
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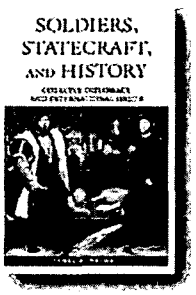
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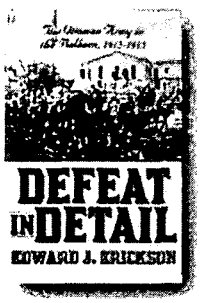
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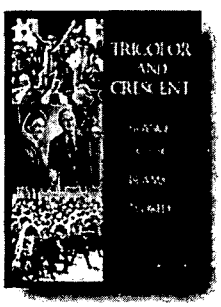
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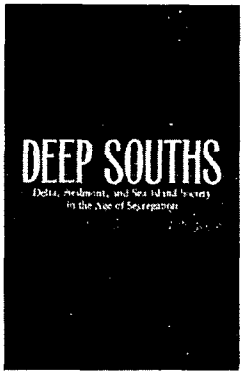
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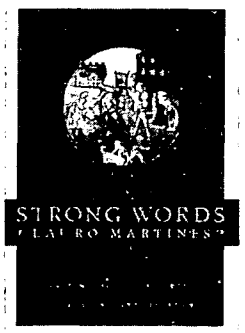
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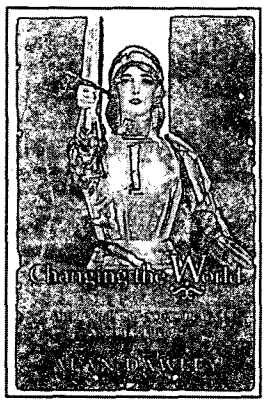


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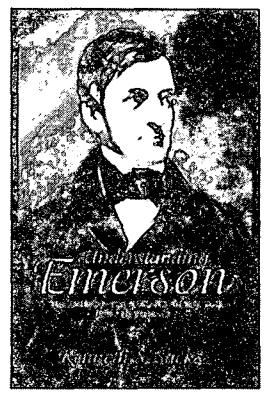


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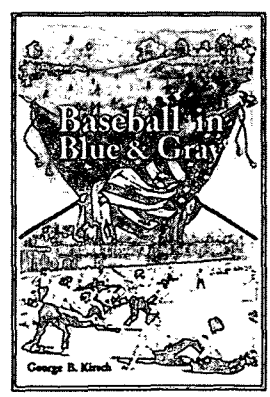
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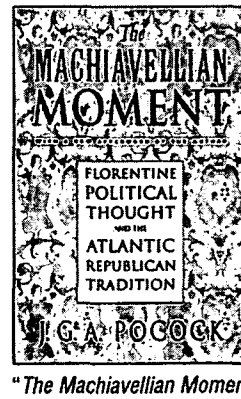
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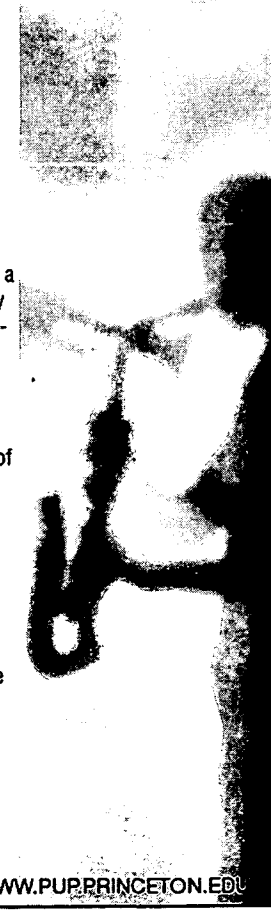
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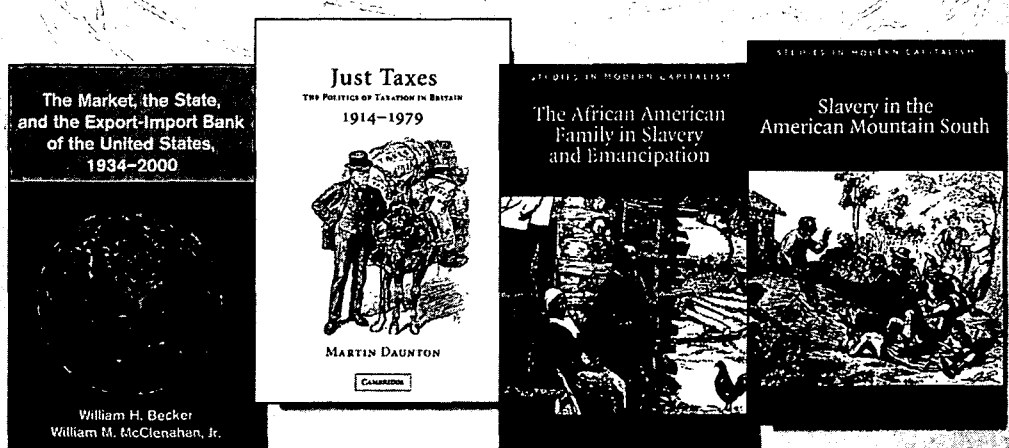
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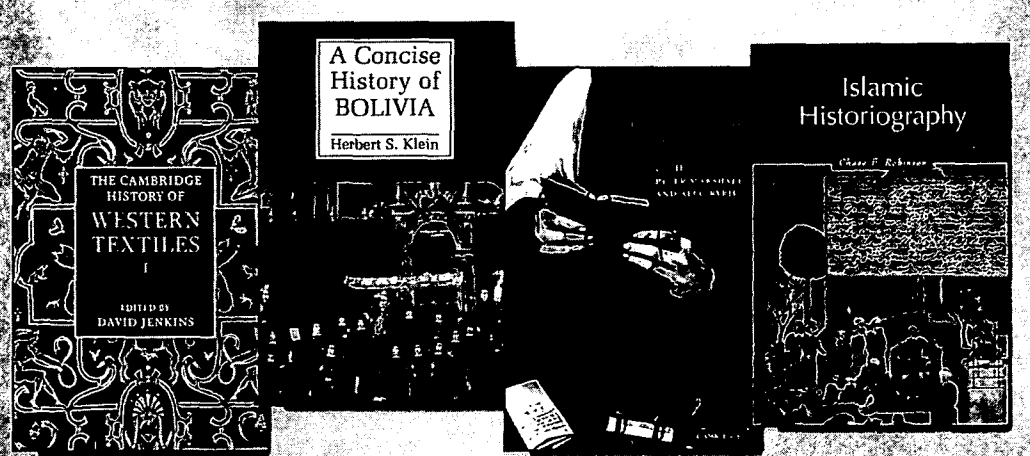
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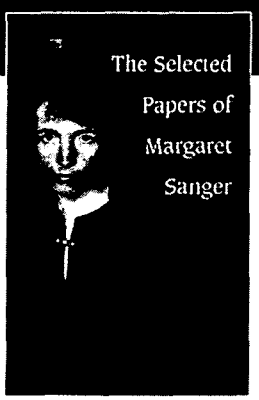
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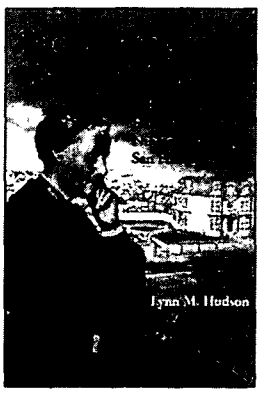
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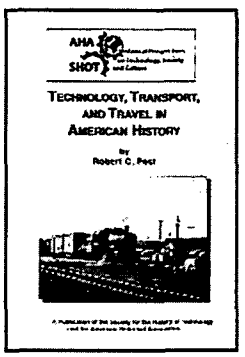
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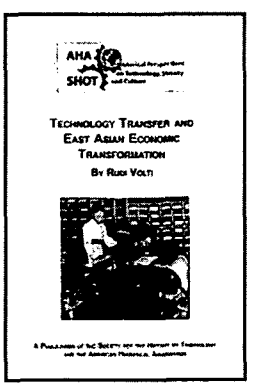
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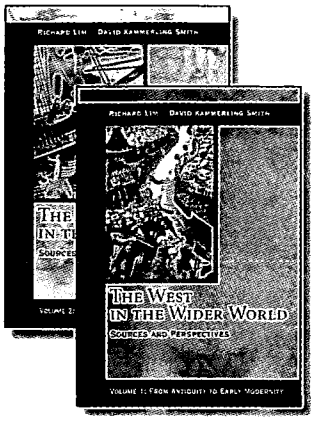
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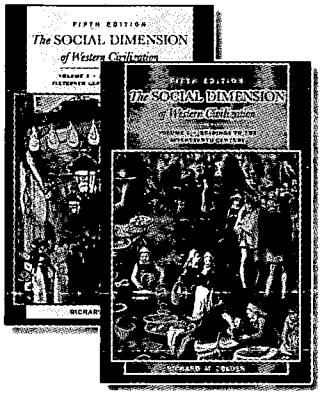
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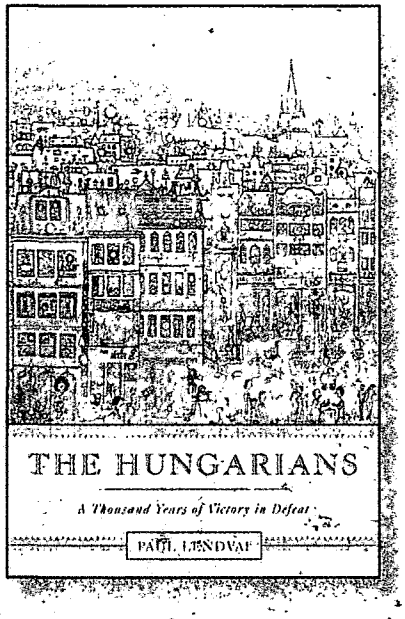
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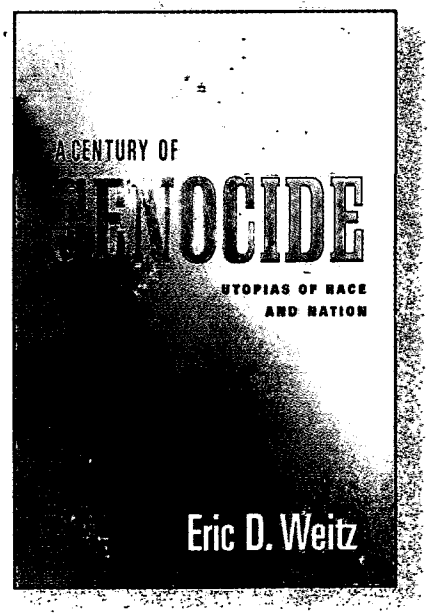
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